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### Publication Date

2019

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

The Linguistic Expression of Affective Stance in Yaminawa (Pano, Peru)

By

Kelsey Caitlyn Neely

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Linguistics

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

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Professor Lev D. Michael, Chair

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Professor Justin Davidson

Summer 2019

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## Abstract

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Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Lev D. Michael, Chair

This dissertation explores affective expression in Yaminawa, a Panoan language of Peruvian Amazonia. In this study, ‘affect’ is used to refer broadly to the English language concepts of ‘emotion’ and ‘feeling’. Affective expression is approached as an interactional phenomenon and it is analyzed in terms of affective stancetaking, i.e., the way speakers position themselves to objects in the discourse as well as their interlocutors via linguistic performance. This study considers affective resources at the levels of the lexicon, morphology, prosody, acoustics (voice quality, speech rate and volume, etc.), and interactional features (turn duration, complexity of backchannels, etc.).

This study contextualizes affective expression in Yaminawa with a detailed description of Yaminawa ethnopsychology and the lexical resources that describe affective states, as well as behaviors and bodily sensations that are associated with particular affects by the Yaminawa. Using methods from Cognitive Anthropology, I investigate the ways that native Yaminawa speakers categorize emotion terms, and show that prosociality vs. antisociality is a major cultural axis along which emotion terms are conceptually organized. This dissertation also provides both a general ethnographic sketch of daily life among the Yaminawa community of Sepahua and a grammar sketch of the Yaminawa language.

Yaminawa is notable for its rich inventory of bound morphemes that are used in affective expression. Some of the affective categories expressed by these bound morphemes, such as sadness, appear to be typologically unusual. In everyday conversation, certain morphological, acoustic, and interactional features cluster together in recurrent affective ways of speaking that are identifiable by speakers even when the propositional content of the utterances cannot be clearly heard. This dissertation describes two salient affective ways of speaking in detail: *shínàì* ‘sad’ speech and *sídàì* ‘angry’ speech. *Shínàì* ‘sad’ speech is characterized by creaky voice, low speech volume, and high frequency and complexity of backchannelling by co-participants, among other features. *Sídàì* ‘angry’ speech is characterized by breathy voice, slow and rhythmic speech rate, and scarcity and simplicity



of backchannels. I also briefly describe the key features of three additional, minor affective stances: *dúù* 'affection', *rátèì* 'surprise', and *bésèì* 'fear'. Some affective resources are used in more than one type of affective speech, for example, high pitch is used in affectionate speech, surprised speech, and commands issued in angry speech. Other affective resources appear to be unique to a single affective type, such as delayed stop release in fearful speech.

While previous descriptions of affective expression in individual languages have tended to focus on single levels of analysis, such as metaphor or morphology, this dissertation aims to provide a model for the holistic description of affective expression in an individual language.

Para todos los yaminahua y nahua,  
los que ya se fueron y los que van a venir,  
que siempre se hable *nũkũ tsãĩ*.

# Contents

<b>List of Tables</b>	<b>ix</b>
<b>List of Figures</b>	<b>xi</b>
<b>Acknowledgments</b>	<b>xiii</b>
<b>Abbreviations</b>	<b>xvi</b>
<b>1 Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Goals and contributions . . . . .	1
1.2 The ethnography of communication and the theoretical orientation of this dissertation . . . . .	4
1.3 Stance and stancetaking . . . . .	6
1.4 What is ‘affect’? . . . . .	7
1.5 Field methodologies and practical considerations . . . . .	9
1.6 Ethical considerations . . . . .	14
1.7 Outline . . . . .	16
<b>2 Introduction to the Yaminawa language and people</b>	<b>18</b>
2.1 Introduction . . . . .	18
2.2 Yaminawa, the Headwaters Nawa dialect complex, and the Panoan family .	19
2.3 History . . . . .	22
2.3.1 Prior to the Rubber Boom period and the 20th century . . . . .	23
2.3.2 Separation and the Amahuaca massacres . . . . .	25
2.3.3 Early contact and relocation of the Río Sepahua and Río Las Piedras Yaminawa . . . . .	27
2.3.4 Contact of the Nahua of Río Mishahua . . . . .	28
2.3.5 Yaminawa and Nahua life in the 21st century . . . . .	29
2.4 A brief general ethnography of contemporary Yaminawa life . . . . .	31
2.4.1 Community structure . . . . .	31
2.4.1.1 Sepahua . . . . .	31
2.4.1.2 Barrio Centroamérica, Barrio Nuevo Belén, Barrio San Miguel, and Barrio San Francisco . . . . .	33
2.4.1.3 Family life and residence groups . . . . .	34

2.4.2	Subsistence and economic aspects of life . . . . .	36
2.4.2.1	Small-scale farming and animal husbandry . . . . .	36
2.4.2.2	Fishing, hunting, and wild-gathering . . . . .	39
2.4.2.3	Resource extraction and other major economic activities . . . . .	40
2.4.2.4	Formal education . . . . .	42
2.4.3	Material culture . . . . .	43
2.4.3.1	The Yaminawa home . . . . .	43
2.4.3.2	Tools . . . . .	44
2.4.3.3	Clothing, adornment, and art . . . . .	45
2.4.4	Community beliefs and practices . . . . .	46
2.4.4.1	General cosmology . . . . .	46
2.4.4.2	Parties and other social occasions . . . . .	47
2.5	Yaminawa communicative practices . . . . .	50
2.5.1	Language attitudes . . . . .	50
2.5.2	Traditional genres . . . . .	52
<b>3</b>	<b>Yaminawa ethnopsychology and cultural domains relating to affect</b>	<b>54</b>
3.1	Introduction . . . . .	54
3.2	Theoretical background and orientation . . . . .	55
3.3	Methodological approaches to Yaminawa ethnopsychology . . . . .	58
3.3.1	Interpersonal and ethical considerations . . . . .	59
3.3.2	Ethnopsychological interviews . . . . .	60
3.3.3	The emotion scenario interview . . . . .	61
3.3.4	Text elicitation based on the emotion scenarios . . . . .	62
3.3.5	Text elicitation based on emotion terms . . . . .	63
3.3.6	Emotion description task . . . . .	63
3.3.7	Pile sort tasks . . . . .	64
3.4	Yaminawa ethnopsychology . . . . .	67
3.4.1	‘Reason’ vs. ‘emotion’, ‘thought’ vs. ‘feeling’ . . . . .	67
3.4.2	The body and mind . . . . .	68
3.4.3	Attitudes toward ‘emotion’ in Yaminawa culture . . . . .	73
3.5	Descriptive affective resources in Yaminawa . . . . .	77
3.5.1	Lexical resources for describing internal states . . . . .	77
3.5.1.1	Lexical resources describing ‘affect’ . . . . .	78
3.5.1.2	Lexical resources describing ‘personality traits’ . . . . .	80
3.5.1.3	Lexical resources describing ‘cognition’ and ‘perception’ . . . . .	81
3.5.2	Lexical resources for describing bodily states and affective behaviors . . . . .	82
3.5.2.1	Lexical resources for describing bodily states . . . . .	82
3.5.2.2	Lexical resources describing social activities and speech types . . . . .	84
3.5.3	Categorization of selected affect terms . . . . .	86
3.5.4	Emotion metaphors . . . . .	97

<b>4</b>	<b>Affective bound morphology in Yaminawa</b>	<b>101</b>
4.1	Introduction . . . . .	101
4.2	The diminutive suffix <i>-shṭá</i> . . . . .	102
4.2.1	The word-prosodic features of the diminutive . . . . .	103
4.2.2	The diminutive in nouns . . . . .	105
4.2.3	The diminutive in verbs . . . . .	109
4.2.4	The diminutive in adverbs . . . . .	111
4.2.5	The diminutive in other word classes . . . . .	114
4.2.6	Summary of the distribution and semantics of the diminutive . . . .	118
4.3	The augmentative suffix <i>-wã</i> . . . . .	118
4.3.1	The word-prosodic features of the augmentative . . . . .	119
4.3.2	The augmentative in lexicalized stems . . . . .	120
4.3.3	The functions and semantics of the augmentative . . . . .	121
4.3.3.1	Nouns and adjectives: size . . . . .	121
4.3.3.2	Nouns: negative affect . . . . .	124
4.3.4	Summary of the distribution and meanings of the augmentative . .	125
4.4	The intensifier <i>-kũ</i> . . . . .	126
4.4.1	The morphological and word-prosodic features of the intensifier . .	126
4.4.2	The intensifier in lexicalized stems . . . . .	128
4.4.3	The intensifier in verbs . . . . .	128
4.4.4	The intensifier in nouns . . . . .	131
4.4.5	The intensifier in other word classes . . . . .	132
4.4.6	The effect of the intensifier combined with the diminutive and aug- mentative . . . . .	135
4.4.7	Summary of the distribution and meanings of the intensifier . . . .	139
4.5	Other affective stance-taking suffixes . . . . .	139
4.5.1	<i>-shara</i> ‘positive evaluation’ . . . . .	140
4.5.2	<i>-chaka</i> ‘negative evaluation’ . . . . .	142
4.5.3	<i>-betsa</i> ‘intense emotion/effort’ and <i>-nãbe</i> ‘pity’ . . . . .	144
4.5.4	<i>-xud</i> and <i>-ã</i> , the benefactive and malefactive applicatives . . . . .	147
4.5.5	<i>=pu</i> , the mirative . . . . .	148
4.5.6	Affective interjections . . . . .	149
4.6	Summary . . . . .	150
<b>5</b>	<b>The expression of <i>shínài</i> ‘sadness, concern’</b>	<b>151</b>
5.1	Introduction . . . . .	151
5.2	The acoustic features of <i>shínài</i> ‘sad’ speech . . . . .	153
5.2.1	Example: the death of María’s father . . . . .	153
5.2.2	Example: the massacre . . . . .	156
5.2.3	Example: Wadu’s dog bite . . . . .	159
5.2.4	Example: Uмба’s ankle . . . . .	163
5.3	The interactional features of <i>shínài</i> ‘sad’ speech . . . . .	165
5.3.1	Example: waiting for Jairo . . . . .	165

5.3.2	<i>Shínàì</i> ‘sad’ affect in troubles telling . . . . .	170
5.4	The use of <i>shínàì</i> ‘sad’ features in non-affective stancetaking . . . . .	174
5.4.1	<i>Shínàì</i> speech in requests . . . . .	175
5.4.2	The use of <i>shínàì</i> features to index advanced age . . . . .	177
5.5	Conclusion . . . . .	179
<b>6</b>	<b>The expression of <i>sídàì</i> ‘anger’ in Yaminawa</b>	<b>182</b>
6.1	Introduction . . . . .	182
6.2	Acoustic features of <i>sídàì</i> ‘angry’ speech . . . . .	183
6.2.1	Example: Teresa tells-off Mother Mercedes . . . . .	184
6.2.2	Example: ‘I’m not making fun of you; that’s just how it is’ . . . . .	187
6.2.3	Example: bothersome grandchildren . . . . .	189
6.2.4	Example: “you’re going out again?!” . . . . .	193
6.3	Interactional features of <i>sídàì</i> ‘angry’ speech . . . . .	197
6.3.1	Example: ‘That ain’t right’ . . . . .	197
6.3.2	Example: ‘should have had a <i>cortamañana</i> ’ . . . . .	199
6.3.3	Frustration in urgent contexts . . . . .	201
6.4	Conclusion . . . . .	204
<b>7</b>	<b>The expression of other affects in Yaminawa</b>	<b>206</b>
7.1	Introduction . . . . .	206
7.2	Affection, <i>dúì</i> . . . . .	206
7.2.1	Example: Teresa feeds a parakeet . . . . .	207
7.2.2	Example: Lucy’s affectionate greeting speech . . . . .	209
7.3	Surprise, <i>rátèì</i> . . . . .	212
7.3.1	Example: the new motocar . . . . .	212
7.3.2	Example: nasty mosquito . . . . .	215
7.4	Fear, <i>bésèì</i> . . . . .	218
7.4.1	Example: María’s first birth . . . . .	218
7.4.2	Example: Jharilín’s fever . . . . .	221
7.5	Summary . . . . .	222
<b>8</b>	<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>224</b>
	<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>228</b>
<b>A</b>	<b>Transcription conventions</b>	<b>239</b>
<b>B</b>	<b>Yaminawa practical orthography</b>	<b>245</b>
<b>C</b>	<b>Sketch of Yaminawa grammar</b>	<b>247</b>
C.1	Overview . . . . .	247
C.2	Typological Overview . . . . .	247
C.3	Segmental phonology . . . . .	249

C.3.1	Phonemic inventory . . . . .	249
C.3.2	Segmental phonological processes . . . . .	250
C.3.2.1	Vowel lowering . . . . .	250
C.3.2.2	/k/ to [ʔ] . . . . .	251
C.3.2.3	The bilabial approximant . . . . .	251
C.3.2.4	Vowel coalescence and reduction . . . . .	252
C.3.2.5	[j] insertion . . . . .	252
C.3.2.6	Coda deletion . . . . .	252
C.4	Phonotactics, prosody, metrical phonology, and morphophonology . . . . .	253
C.4.1	The syllable, the root, the stem, and the word . . . . .	254
C.4.2	Stress . . . . .	257
C.4.3	Metrically-conditioned processes . . . . .	258
C.4.3.1	Truncation of certain trisyllabic noun roots . . . . .	258
C.4.3.2	Metrically-conditioned segment deletion . . . . .	261
C.4.3.3	Metrically-conditioned vowel epenthesis . . . . .	263
C.4.3.4	Other metrically-conditioned processes . . . . .	264
C.4.4	Nasality and nasal harmony . . . . .	267
C.4.5	Tone . . . . .	273
C.4.5.1	Tone in nouns . . . . .	274
C.4.5.2	Tone in verbs . . . . .	279
C.5	Word classes . . . . .	287
C.5.1	Verbs . . . . .	288
C.5.2	Nouns . . . . .	290
C.5.2.1	Adjectives . . . . .	291
C.5.3	Adverbs . . . . .	293
C.5.4	Closed classes . . . . .	294
C.5.4.1	Pronouns . . . . .	294
C.5.4.2	Demonstratives . . . . .	297
C.5.4.3	Postpositions . . . . .	299
C.5.4.4	Ideophones . . . . .	299
C.5.5	Summary of word class changing morphology . . . . .	301
C.6	Verbal morphosyntax . . . . .	303
C.6.1	Verbal roots and stems . . . . .	304
C.6.1.1	Verb roots . . . . .	304
C.6.2	Verbal derivational morphology . . . . .	306
C.6.2.1	Word class derivation . . . . .	306
C.6.2.2	Lexical class derivation . . . . .	308
C.6.3	Body part prefixes . . . . .	313
C.6.4	Verbal inflectional morphology . . . . .	317
C.6.4.1	Tense . . . . .	317
C.6.4.2	Aspect . . . . .	321
C.6.4.3	Modality . . . . .	326
C.6.4.4	Verbal subject marking . . . . .	335

	C.6.4.5 Verbal negation . . . . .	337
C.6.5	Other verbal categories . . . . .	338
	C.6.5.1 Associated motion . . . . .	338
	C.6.5.2 Circadian temporal indicators . . . . .	345
	C.6.5.3 Affective categories . . . . .	346
	C.6.5.4 Miscellaneous verbal suffixes . . . . .	347
C.6.6	Multi-verb constructions . . . . .	349
C.6.7	Borrowed verbs . . . . .	351
C.7	Nominal morphosyntax . . . . .	352
	C.7.1 Nominal roots and stems . . . . .	352
	C.7.1.1 Classes of nominal roots . . . . .	353
	C.7.1.2 Derivational morphology for forming nouns . . . . .	355
	C.7.1.3 Compounding . . . . .	358
C.7.2	Morphology of the noun . . . . .	360
C.7.3	Morphology of the noun phrase . . . . .	360
	C.7.3.1 Case marking . . . . .	361
	C.7.3.2 Plural marking . . . . .	366
C.7.4	Noun phrase word order . . . . .	366
	C.7.4.1 Apposite nouns, adjectives, and numerals . . . . .	367
	C.7.4.2 Demonstratives . . . . .	370
	C.7.4.3 Possession . . . . .	371
C.8	Clausal morphosyntax . . . . .	372
	C.8.1 Basic word order . . . . .	372
	C.8.1.1 Order and omission of arguments . . . . .	373
	C.8.1.2 Order of adjunct noun phrases . . . . .	374
	C.8.1.2.1 Comitative noun phrases . . . . .	374
	C.8.1.2.2 Instrumental noun phrases . . . . .	377
	C.8.1.2.3 Lative noun phrases . . . . .	379
	C.8.1.3 Adverbs and postpositional phrases . . . . .	381
	C.8.1.3.1 Temporal adverbs . . . . .	381
	C.8.1.3.2 Manner adverbs . . . . .	382
	C.8.1.3.3 Locative adverbs and postpositional phrases . . .	383
	C.8.1.3.4 Transitivity agreement within the clause . . . . .	385
C.8.2	Non-verbal predication . . . . .	387
C.8.3	Epistemic and utterance-type enclitics . . . . .	391
C.8.4	Interrogatives . . . . .	399
C.8.5	Imperatives . . . . .	402
C.8.6	Focus . . . . .	403
C.9	Multi-clause morphosyntax . . . . .	411
	C.9.1 Direct speech . . . . .	412
	C.9.2 Switch-reference and temporal adjuncts . . . . .	415
	C.9.2.1 Different subject marking . . . . .	416
	C.9.2.2 Same subject marking . . . . .	419



C.9.2.3	Subject-is-object marking . . . . .	421
C.9.2.4	Non-argument-tracking temporal relation enclitics . . . . .	425
C.9.3	Relativization . . . . .	428
C.9.4	Purpose and reason clauses . . . . .	431
C.9.5	Complement clauses and juxtaposition . . . . .	433
<b>D</b>	<b>Affectively neutral speech: mundane agricultural talk</b>	<b>435</b>

# List of Tables

3.1	Lexical resources describing affective states . . . . .	78
3.2	Nominalized affective states . . . . .	81
3.3	Verbs of cognition and perception . . . . .	81
3.4	Forms describing stable cognitive traits . . . . .	82
3.5	Bodily states and associated affects . . . . .	83
3.6	Social and speech activity predicates . . . . .	84
4.1	Summary of the uses of DIM by word class . . . . .	118
4.2	Summary of the uses of AUG by word class . . . . .	126
4.3	Summary of the uses of INTENS by word class . . . . .	139
4.4	Other affective and evaluative stance-taking suffixes . . . . .	140
4.5	Affective interjections and their associated affects . . . . .	149
5.1	Features used in the construction of ‘sad’ affect . . . . .	152
6.1	Features used in the construction of ‘angry’ affect . . . . .	183
B.1	The official Yaminawa alphabet and comparisons to SIL alphabets . . . . .	246
C.1	Consonant phonemes in Yaminawa (Río Sepahua and Nahua dialects) . . . . .	249
C.2	Vowel phonemes in Yaminawa . . . . .	249
C.3	Summary of tone and sandhi effects of nominal bound morphology . . . . .	276
C.4	Tonal classes of verbal affixes . . . . .	282
C.5	Inventory of personal pronouns . . . . .	295
C.6	Inventory of possessive pronouns . . . . .	296
C.7	Inventory of word class changing morphology . . . . .	301
C.8	Valency changing suffixes . . . . .	309
C.9	Body part prefixes in four dialects of Yaminawa . . . . .	315
C.10	Past tense suffixes . . . . .	318
C.11	Future tense suffixes . . . . .	318
C.12	Aspectual suffixes in Yaminawa . . . . .	322
C.13	Modal suffixes in Yaminawa . . . . .	327
C.14	Associated motion suffixes . . . . .	339
C.15	Circadian temporal indicators . . . . .	346
C.16	Verbal affective suffixes . . . . .	347

C.17 Yaminawa personal pronouns in various cases . . . . .	355
C.18 Inventory of case marking enclitics in Yaminawa . . . . .	361
C.19 Inventory of postpositions . . . . .	384
C.20 Epistemic and utterance-type enclitics . . . . .	392
C.21 Indefinite pronouns . . . . .	397
C.22 Interrogative pro-forms . . . . .	399
C.23 Imperative suffixes in Yaminawa . . . . .	402
C.24 Tentative inventory of focus-like markers . . . . .	403
C.25 Switch reference enclitics in Yaminawa . . . . .	415
C.26 Non-argument-tracking temporal enclitics . . . . .	416

# List of Figures

2.1	Map of major Yaminawa dialect communities . . . . .	19
2.2	Classification of extant Panoan languages (adapted from Fleck 2013) . . . .	21
3.1	Image of a completed general pile sort . . . . .	65
3.2	Image of a completed ‘emotion’ term pile sort . . . . .	66
3.3	Image of a completed evaluation (‘good’ to ‘bad’) pile sort . . . . .	66
3.4	Affect term pile sort 1 . . . . .	87
3.5	Affect term pile sort 2 . . . . .	88
3.6	Affect term pile sort 3 . . . . .	88
3.7	Affect term pile sort 4 . . . . .	89
3.8	Affect term pile sort 5 . . . . .	89
3.9	Evaluation sort 1 . . . . .	90
3.10	Evaluation sort 2 . . . . .	90
3.11	Evaluation sort 3 . . . . .	91
3.12	Cluster: happy/love/calm/sad . . . . .	92
3.13	Cluster: anger/annoyance/jealousy . . . . .	92
3.14	Cluster: fear/shame/disgust/mistrust . . . . .	93
5.1	Spectrogram for example 79, line 2 . . . . .	154
5.2	Spectrogram for example (79), line 4, clause 1 . . . . .	155
5.3	Spectrogram for example (79), line 4, clause 2 . . . . .	156
5.4	Decrease of rate but no final lengthening in (80) lines 1-2 . . . . .	159
5.5	Pitch increase between lines 2-3 of (81) . . . . .	161
5.6	Final lengthening in (81) line 4 . . . . .	162
5.7	Final lengthening and pitch increase in (82) line 1 . . . . .	164
6.1	Breathy voice in an angry imperative . . . . .	186
6.2	Aspiration and clipping in angry speech . . . . .	187
6.3	Falling to low intonational contour in insulting speech . . . . .	189
6.4	Falling and global low pitch in annoyed speech . . . . .	191
6.5	Creaky voice in annoyed speech . . . . .	192
6.6	Breathy voice in annoyed speech . . . . .	192
6.7	Falling pitch in annoyed speech . . . . .	195
6.8	Global low pitch in annoyed, non-critical speech . . . . .	196

6.9	Breathiness calculated by HNR values for final four vowels of (92) line 7 . . . . .	196
7.1	Rising to ultra-high pitch in affectionate speech . . . . .	208
7.2	Falsetto voice quality in affectionate speech . . . . .	211
7.3	Surprised intonational contour . . . . .	215
7.4	Surprised intonational rise . . . . .	217
7.5	Surprised intonational rise and fall . . . . .	218
7.6	<i>bésèi</i> ‘fearful’ rhythmic delayed-stop release, part 1 . . . . .	220
7.7	<i>bésèi</i> ‘fearful’ rhythmic delayed-stop release, part 2 . . . . .	220
C.1	Template of major verbal categories . . . . .	304
C.2	Order of elements in the noun phrase . . . . .	367

# Acknowledgments

This dissertation would not have been possible without the support and involvement of the Yaminawa community. Beyond the obvious fact that the data contained herein is entirely the product of Yaminawa and Nahua speakers, much of the insights and analyses were born of conversations that I had with my language teachers or other community members. Indeed, I chose to investigate affective stance because of my language teachers' insistence that affective speech is a key aspect of the language. I am deeply grateful for the trust that my language teachers have placed in me to accurately and respectfully represent their language to English-language readers who may never know them personally. I sincerely hope that this work meets or exceeds my teachers' expectations in that regard. I am also forever grateful for the hospitality, generosity, and friendship that the Yaminawa and Nahua have shown me. While this dissertation is unfortunately written in English and therefore not accessible to them at this point in time, I would not have been able to finish it without my Yaminawa and Nahua friends encouraging me year after year. The faith they have placed in my ability to finish this dissertation has been some of the most effective encouragement a graduate student could hope for.

I have been fortunate to have more Yaminawa and Nahua teachers than I can name, but this work is particularly indebted to the contributions of my regular consultants: Delicia Gómez Ramírez, Rebeca Seído Thaihui, José Manuel Ramírez Saldaña, María Miranda Llergo, Alejandrina "Lucy" Atsahuadadiva Dispupidiva, Rosa Gómez Ramírez, María Luísa Garcerán Álvarez, Mercedes "Mehi" Maynahuarute Sopote, María Ramírez Ríos, Pascual Gómez Flores, José Ramírez Ríos, Teresa Ramírez Saldaña, Juan Gómez Ramírez, María Inmaculada "Macu" Piño Melendez, Julio Gómez Ramírez, Manuel Gómez Flores, and María Melendez Mosombite.

I have also been fortunate to have more teachers in linguistics than I can name here. Of these, I owe the most to my dissertation chair Lev Michael. Beyond being an amazing adviser in general, Lev was the person who initially suggested that I work on Yaminawa and Nahua in Sepahua. Lev's thoughtful and meticulous comments on every draft of every chapter of this dissertation have greatly improved the quality of both the analysis and the writing. He helped me refine my broad and nebulous ideas about what makes Yaminawa amazing and shape them up into a thesis that paints a coherent representation.

I am also very grateful to my other committee members Eve Sweetser and Justin Davidson for their comments and insight, particularly as researchers interested in languages that are very different than Yaminawa. I am especially grateful for Eve and Justin's patience as this dissertation slowly took shape, and for their willingness to participate in a

dissertation defense, which is not traditionally held in Linguistics at Berkeley.

This dissertation would not have been possible without the support of many other individuals in the Linguistics department at Berkeley. Belén Flores and Paula Floro are administrative superheroes and the department simply could not function without their dedication. I owe thanks to Larry Hyman for helping me overcome my fear of tone languages, and to Line Mikkelsen and Peter Jenks for showing me that generative syntax and field linguistics can go hand-in-hand and improve one another. Christine Beier taught me everything I know about field logistics in Peruvian Amazonia, from what to pack to how to roll with the punches when things don't go as planned. Berkeley Linguistics is an amazingly supportive department, and I have been truly lucky to have the opportunity to study in this environment. This work was funded in part by a departmentally-administered Oswalt Endangered Language grant in 2015, for which I am very grateful. I also received support for my graduate studies from the Ray A. Rodriguez memorial fellowship at UC Berkeley and additional Oswalt Endangered Language grants for fieldwork on Hup (2011) and Máíjki (2012). I respectfully acknowledge that my graduate studies were carried out on the traditional, ancestral, and unceded land of the Ohlone people.

My understanding of Yaminawa language and culture has greatly benefited from my fellow Amazonianists at Berkeley. Zach O'Hagan, thanks for all the years of friendship, and always answering my emails/messages about even tiny details of my work, and for introducing me to the Caquinte community of Kitepámpani. Kampan Arawak peoples couldn't be more different than Panoans, and so much of this dissertation owes its perspective to our conversations about the differences between the two. Emily Clem, thanks for all the conversations in the *sala* at MAGY, and for saving my life that one time when I (possibly) had cholera. Our conversations about Amahuaca and Yaminawa have challenged and enriched my understanding of Panoan linguistics. Thanks also to Jevon Heath, who accompanied me in Sepahua in 2013. The Yaminawa always ask me how *Kakadawa* is, and hope you will come back one day. Thank you, Tammy Stark for always being excited about my work and languages in general. Thank you, Amalia Skilton for the dozens of useful papers you have pointed me to over the years. Thank you, Stephanie Farmer for teaching me some of my finest fieldwork coping mechanisms. Thank you, Myriam Lapierre for our long conversations about nasality and prosody in Amazonian languages, and for always letting me crash on your couch.

As I write this acknowledgments section, I am marking 10 years since I first became interested in Amazonian linguistics. I am deeply indebted to Patience Epps for hiring me as a research assistant as an undergrad at the University of Texas at Austin, and for mentoring me throughout my time there. So much of my deep appreciation for Amazonian languages and their rich social and cultural ecologies was learned from Pattie. I am so grateful to UT Austin Linguistics, especially Pattie, Nora England, and Tony Woodbury, for providing me with a second intellectual home during the final stretch of finishing this dissertation.

I also wish to thank my fellow Panoanists, Adam Tallman, Carolina Rodríguez, Gabriela Tello, Roberto Zariquiey, Daniel Valle, Pilar Valenzuela, Alejandro Prieto, and Livia Caramargo Souza: y'all are the best group of colleagues anyone could hope for, and your ideas

and our conversations have greatly enhanced my understanding of Yaminawa.

I could not have finished this dissertation, or even started it, without so much support from my fellow graduate students, especially my cohort: Nico Baier, Erin Donnelly, Matt Faytak, Joe Giroux, Matt Goss, Jevon Heath, Jack Merrill, and Melanie Redeye. Special thanks go to Nico in particular for always providing me with beautiful, simple solutions to my  $\text{\LaTeX}$  formatting woes. Thanks are due also to Nik Rolle, Ginny Dawson, Jess Cleary-Kemp, Julia Nee, Erik Maier, Katie Sardinha, and Florian Lionnet. I felt a lot of things while writing this dissertation, but I never felt alone. Berkeley has been an amazing place to do research, and I have been very fortunate to find myself surrounded by so many awesome researchers who are so sincerely invested in the communities where they work. Thanks also to my non-linguist friends for keeping me grounded. I am especially grateful to Amy and Amelia for all the laughter and ladies' nights. Thank you to Nikki for being someone I can always depend on.

Gracias también a mis amigos peruanos que me apoyaban através de este proceso muy largo de mi doctorado. Sobre todo, gracias a Martha, Angelica, y Romer por su amistad y apoyo logístico. No sería posible llevar a cabo este trabajo sin ustedes. Soy muy agradecida también a los equipos del Ministerio de Educación que trabajaban con las comunidades yaminahua y nahua en los procesos de normalización del alfabeto en 2016-2017. Sobre todo, gracias al profesor Fernando García y las lingüistas Carolina Rodríguez, Natalia Verástegui, y Loreta Alva por su dedicación a los derechos de pueblos indígenas y a la educación intercultural-bilingüe. Estoy especialmente agradecida a Carolina y Gabriela por recibirme en sus casas respectivas. Antes, yo tenía miedo de Lima, una ciudad tan inmensa y cosmopolitana, pero ahora me siento en casa. Thank you also to my *gringa* homegirl Leah, who makes the best gumbo in Peru.

Estoy muy agradecida a la familia de Delicia Gómez y Elmer Flores, por prestarme un terrenito para construir la casa, y por siempre tratarme como si yo fuera parte de la familia Flores Gómez. Rebeca, gracias por tu entusiasmo por los idiomas nahua e yaminawa, y tu amistad. Has contribuido bastante a este estudio y a mi propio entendimiento de tu idioma. Marci, Seuma, Elisbeth, y Marianela, vivir al lado de ustedes, he sentido como más que una vecina, como una hermana o cuñada entre ustedes. Gracias a todo Barrio Centroamérica, por su amistad y masato. Ustedes están siempre en mi corazón.

I would never have even gotten to grad school if it weren't for the efforts and support of my parents, Joe and Pam. Thank you for everything. To my in-laws Ed and Donna, thank you, too, for your constant support, especially for all the times you helped us move across a continent. And to my brother, Wesley, thanks for all the grad student commiseration and for letting me hang out and work in your office space at SIO.

This work would not have been possible without the emotional, financial, technical, and intellectual support of my partner Alex. Thank you for all the sacrifices you have made for me and for this project.



# Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	agent-like argument of a transitive verb
A/S > O	subject is object; A/S of marked clause is P of following clause
ABS	absolutive
ACC	accusative
AM	associated motion
ANA	anaphoric
ASSERT	assertive
ASSUMP	speaker's assumption
AUG	augmentative
AUX	auxiliary
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
CIRC	circadian temporal indicator
CN	contemporary narrative
CNTEXP	counterexpectational
COM	comitative
COM.APPL	comitative applicative
COND	conditional
CONT	continuous
CONTR	contrast
Conv	conversation
DEM	demonstrative
DESID	desiderative
DIM	diminutive
DIST	distal
DISTR	distributive
DS	different subject
DUB	dubitative
E	elicitation
EMPH	emphatic
EP	epenthetic syllable

ERG	ergative
EV	epenthetic vowel
EXCLAM	exclamation
EXIST	existential
FREQ	frequentative
FRUST	frustrative
FUT.IPFV	future imperfective
FUT1	future ‘tomorrow, a few days from now’
FUT2	future ‘weeks/months from now’
FUT3	future indeterminate ‘years from now’
GEN	genitive
GIVEN	given, previously mentioned
GUESS	speaker lacks epistemic authority
HABIT	habitual
HORT	hortative
IDEO	ideophone
IMPED	impedimentive
IMPER	imperative
IMPER.INDIR	indirect imperative
IMPER.POL	polite imperative
INCEPT	inceptive
INS	instrumental
INTENS	intensifier
INTENT	first person’s intent
INTERJ	interjection
INTERR	interrogative
INTERR.CONFIRM	interrogative targeting confirmation
IPE	immediately prior event
IPFV	imperfective
ITER	iterative
ITR	intransitive OR intransitive concord
LAPSE	lapse of time
LAT	lative
LOC	locative
LOC.REG	locative (for regions, non-specific)
MAL	malefactive
MIR	mirative
NEG	negation
NEW	new information, new topic
NF	non-finite
NMLZ	nominalizer
NOM	nominative
OPT	optative

P	patient-like argument of a transitive verb
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
POT	potential
PRF	perfect
PRIV	privative
PROHIB	prohibitive
PROX	proximal
PST1	past, last night
PST2	past, yesterday to days ago
PST3	past, days ago to weeks ago
PST4	past, weeks ago to months ago
PST5	past, more than 6-9 months ago
PST6	past, more than 1-2 years ago
PURP	purpose
REAS	reason
RECIP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
REP	reportative evidential
REDUP.REPEAT	reduplication - repeated action
S	single argument of an intransitive verb
SG	singular
SRC	source
SS.PE.A/S > A	same subject, prior event, A/S of marked clause is A of following clause
SS.PE.A/S > S	same subject, prior event, A/S of marked clause is S of following clause
SS.SIM	same subject, simultaneous event
SUB	subordinate
TN	traditional narrative
TR	transitive, transitive concord
VLZ	verbalizer
VOC	vocative
?	unknown meaning/function

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1 Goals and contributions

This dissertation examines the ways in which varied linguistic resources are combined in Yaminawa to construct affective stances in everyday speech. Yaminawa, along with its mutually-intelligible sister language Nahua, are Panoan languages of Peruvian Amazonia.<sup>1</sup> Previous anthropological and ethnographic research on Yaminawa speakers has identified their emotive expressivity as a noteworthy feature of Yaminawa language use (see Townsley 1988, Feather 2010, and Shepard 1999), but prior linguistic work on Yaminawa and related languages has not described these features beyond exemplifying some of the bound morphemes that have affective components to their meaning (e.g., Faust and Loos 2002). This dissertation provides a detailed account of the linguistic resources (morphological, prosodic, and pragmatic) used in affective stancetaking in Yaminawa, and describes the construction of five salient affective ‘ways of speaking’ by analyzing the features used by different speakers to communicate affective stances in everyday interactions.

The description of affective speech in Yaminawa presented in this dissertation is contextualized by both a general ethnographic description of the social and material conditions of Yaminawa life in the small town of Sepahua during the study period (chapter 2), and a detailed investigation into Yaminawa ethnopsychology and their understanding of emotion or affect (chapter 3). One of the key findings of this dissertation is that, while Yaminawa language employs a diverse range of linguistic resources to express emotions, there only appear to be a small number of lexicalized affects or emotions, and the language does not have any lexicalized term that corresponds, even roughly, to the English-language notions of ‘affect’ or ‘emotion’. Nevertheless, affective expressivity is an important feature of Yaminawa that has been grammaticalized as bound morphology in many cases (as described in chapter 4). Not only is affective stance manifested at the level of individual turns in Yaminawa, but there are also affective ‘ways of speaking’ (see

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<sup>1</sup>In this dissertation, I refer to both Nahua and the Río Sepahua dialect of Yaminawa using the blanket term ‘Yaminawa’. See chapter 2 for a detailed description of the linguistic, social, and historical relationships between these two linguistic varieties.

section 1.2) where a single affective stance dominates part of an interaction or narrative (some of these are described in chapters 5-7). These affective ways of speaking are highly salient and their affective content is often understandable to even to many non-speakers who have had contact with Yaminawa culture. Affective stancetaking in Yaminawa draws on morphological, prosodic, and/or phonetic features drawn from these affective ways of speaking to convey affective stances via the indexation of affective ways of speaking. Affective ways of speaking index other social meanings beyond emotion. For example, in chapter 5, I show that *shínàì* ‘sad’ speech is used to index advanced age and authorial authority in the telling of traditional narratives and oral histories. Affective ways of speaking and affective stancetaking are woven into virtually every interaction and narrative.

In the documentation of less-studied languages, few studies have described affective speech specifically. In grammars, descriptions of affective uses of linguistic features are often limited to morphology (such as the cross-linguistically common use of diminutives to express affection or positive evaluation). If other features are to be found, they are often scattered across different chapters (such as prosodic phonology, nominal morphology, and discourse particles). Even for well-studied languages like English, there is not, to my knowledge, any model for what a holistic account of affective speech would look like.<sup>2</sup> The closest approximation to such an account is, at this time, Ponsonnet (2014)’s description of the language of emotions in Dalabon, critically endangered language of Australia.<sup>3</sup> However, Ponsonnet’s study of Dalabon is primarily oriented toward the metaphors and constructions used to describe or express emotional states directly, and the entire description of other linguistic features used in the expression of affect are contained within a single brief chapter. Most of comprehensive treatments of ‘emotion language’ or ‘affective language’ in particular languages or cross-linguistically are concerned with what Kövecses (2000) refers to as “descriptive emotion terms” (as opposed to “expressive” ones – typically interjections).<sup>4</sup> More recently, a special issue edited by Ponsonnet and Vuillermet (2018b) brings together several descriptions of the morphological expression of emotions across a number of different languages. Other works that concern expressive resources more generally, such as Webster’s 2015 ethnography of Navajo poetry, only concern affective stances in the context of broader sociolinguistic or artistic stylistics.

This study treats the linguistic features used in affective stancetaking holistically, considering the range of meanings that they have in combination with other features at the same or different levels of linguistic analysis. This dissertation contributes to the cross-

<sup>2</sup>The closest work that I have found thus far is Martin and White (2005) which is more an argument for a particular framework and less a descriptive account of appraisal or evaluation in English.

<sup>3</sup>Mihas’s (2017) volume on conversational structure of Alto Perené (Ashéninka), an Arawak language of Peruvian Amazonia, is noteworthy for its description of conversation (including gesture) in an Amazonian language, but this work does not treat features of affect in a comprehensive manner. As chapter 3 discusses, Campan Arawak peoples are far less affectively expressive due to cultural practices that regard strong emotions volatile (see also Shepard 1999). It is likely that affective stance is performed in a much more understated way in these languages as compared to Yaminawa.

<sup>4</sup>Reber (2012) is an example of one very thorough treatment of affective “sound objects” (forms such as *oh*, *ah*, *ooh*, whistling, and clicks) in English, from an interactional perspective.

linguistic and cross-cultural study of affect by providing a model for how affective speech (particularly expressive forms), and stancetaking more broadly, may be treated in language descriptions. In other words, this dissertation is a first attempt at a grammar of affective speech in a particular language.

Beyond the academy, the documentation and description of affective speech is also of import to language communities. The Yaminawa themselves consider the socially-appropriate use of affective features to be fundamental to daily language use. This is evident from both my interactions with my language teachers in the context of carrying out linguistic research, and my observations of informal language teaching in Yaminawa homes. The research for this dissertation is just part of the larger Yaminawa Language Documentation Project that I have carried out with the Yaminawa community since 2013. From the earliest days of this project, Yaminawa speakers have consistently volunteered affective forms even in elicitation, and learning affective patterns has been a necessary component of my research on other linguistic domains such as the word prosodic system and verbal morphology. My experiences learning the Yaminawa language, along with the encouragement of my Yaminawa language teachers and friends, convinced me to pursue an account of affective speech for my dissertation.

In order to accomplish these goals, this dissertation involves a number of distinct parts:

- (i) descriptions of the descriptive (chapter 3) and morphological (chapter 4) resources used for affective expression;
- (ii) descriptions of how features are combined in conventionalized ways to communicate affective stance for culturally-significant affect types, *shínàì* ‘sad’ speech (chapter 5), *sídàì* ‘angry, complaining’ speech (chapter 6), as well as a variety of less-frequently performed affects, specifically affection, fear, and surprise (chapter 7);
- (iii) an ethnographic description of Yaminawa life and speech behavior to contextualize these descriptions (chapter 2);
- (iv) a detailed investigation into Yaminawa ethnopsychology and the cultural domains relevant to internal states, ‘emotion’ or ‘affect’, and social life (chapter 3); and
- (v) a discussion of how linguistic structure, cultural beliefs and values, social and speech practices, and cognition and psychology intersect in everyday speech (chapter 3).

The remainder of this chapter situates this dissertation within the academic traditions of linguistic anthropology and the ethnography of communication (section 1.2), provides background on the notion of ‘stancetaking’ (section 1.3), delineates the type of phenomena considered ‘affect’ for the purposes of this dissertation (section 1.4), outlines the principal methodologies used (section 1.5), and discusses the history of my personal involvement in the Yaminawa community and some of the ethical considerations central to this study (section 1.6).

## 1.2 The ethnography of communication and the theoretical orientation of this dissertation

The theoretical orientation of this dissertation, as well as much of its methodology, is rooted in the ethnography of communication (see Hymes 1964, 1974, Bauman and Sherzer 1975, Sherzer and Urban 1986, Urban 2000, Beier 2010, Senft 2010, Keating 2011, and Floyd 2018 among others).<sup>5</sup> The ethnography of communication is an orientation concerned with the broader cultural and social context of utterances, beyond discourse alone. This approach looks beyond structuralist forms like phonemes, morphemes, and words to consider prosody, voice quality, gesture, and interactional characteristics as additional loci of meaning. The ethnography of communication attempts to describe communication and the culture in which it is embedded in emic terms or concepts wherever possible.<sup>6</sup>

Hymes (1974) provides the SPEAKING model as a rough guide to the types of etic components of communication that linguistic anthropologists might attend to. These components include:

- *Setting* - the temporal and spatial organization of the event and the social and cultural value or importance of that organization;
- *Participants* - the identities (age, gender, ethnicity, etc.) and relationships of the participants, and their roles in a particular communicative event (speaker, hearer, addressor, addressee);
- *Ends* - the goals, purpose, or outcomes of the communicative event;
- *Act sequences* - interdependencies of form and content in meaning;
- *Key* - the “tone” or manner of speaking (particularly emotional tone, but can include use of sociolects);
- *Instrumentalities* - the use of distinct registers, language varieties, or modalities (written vs. oral);
- *Norms* - issues relating to turn-taking, genderlects, and other community expectations or practices derived from social structure; and
- *Genres* - the type of speech, such as a song, myth, joke, etc..

In the literature relating to the ethnography of speaking, the terms ‘style’, ‘genre’, and ‘way of speaking’ are employed by different authors to refer to different characteristics of speech. In her work on Nanti (Arawak, Peru) ways of speaking, Christine Beier points

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<sup>5</sup>Ethnography of communication is also known as the ethnography of speaking. Sometimes a distinction is made between the two, with the ethnography of speaking being concerned only with speech, and the ethnography of communication being concerned with gesture and other non-speech means of communication.

<sup>6</sup>The term ‘emic’ is employed here to mean in the native terms or concepts of the language or culture of study. ‘Etic’ is used to refer to terms or concepts from the researcher’s language or culture (or from the academy) that might be employed as labels of convenience. This usage is somewhat different from the original emic/etic distinction as formulated by Pike (1954).

out that the terms ‘style’ and ‘genre’ “have a long history of use, which means that a heterogeneous set of definitions and assumptions adhere to them in their use” (2010:p.162). She instead adopts the overarching notion of ‘ways of speaking’, which is defined as “a recurrent, conventionalized, socially meaningful sound pattern manifest at the level of the utterance” (p.1). In her view, ‘genre’ is “too static, inflexible, preordained, and comprehensive”, and ‘style’ is “too individualized, epiphenomenal, and idiosyncratic” to accurately characterize Nanti ways of speaking (p.162). Other works in the ethnography of communication, such as Sherzer (1983), maintain the use of ‘style’.

This dissertation concerns phenomena that are distinct from those considered by Beier (2010), as well as Sherzer (1983) and Senft (2010). Whereas these other works are concerned with ways of speaking that correspond to specific ‘settings’, ‘ends’, and ‘genres’ (such as scolding, greetings, or religious speech, respectively), this dissertation is concerned primarily with ways of speaking that correspond to particular ‘act sequences’ and ‘keys’ in Hymes’ terms. In Yaminawa, linguistic affect is manifested as both ways of speaking and stancetaking. Yaminawa has a number of salient and recurrent affective ways of speaking, most notably *shínàì* ‘sad’ speech and *sídàì* ‘angry’ speech (see chapters 5 and 6, respectively). Affective ways of speaking in Yaminawa are characterized by their acoustic form (particularly prosody and voice quality), the types and frequency of affective morphology employed, and the overall structure of the interaction (turn duration, degree of overlap, and the complexity and frequency of backchannels). Affective ways of speaking are identifiable even to younger, non-speaker ethnic Yaminawa and Nahua, and to non-speaker, non-indigenous people living in close proximity to Yaminawa and Nahua speakers. The use of affective ways of speaking to communicate social meaning remains important in Yaminawa culture, even as younger generations shift to speaking Spanish in the home.

Developing out of the ethnography of communication, the discourse-centered approach to culture put forth by Sherzer (1987) and Urban (2000) proposes that “culture is localized in concrete, publicly accessible signs, the most important of which are actually occurring instances of discourse” (Urban 1991:p.1). Individual instances of discourse, like the ones discussed in this dissertation, are not viewed as isolated, but rather occur in the context of previous instances of discourse. In this approach, language and meaning are not considered independent or prior to discourse; as Urban (1991) explains,

It is not that the meanings are necessarily shared, but that the collection of instances from which meanings are culled is publicly accessible. The collection forms the basis for recognizing interconnections, but the interconnections that are recognized may vary from person to person, depending in part on the degree and kind of access they have had to the overall community history. Recent discourse studies seem to be suggesting, therefore, that shared meaning is a product of public accessibility rather than (or in addition to being) a necessary precondition for it. (p.9-10)

While earlier work in this tradition took Boasian texts, ceremonial dialogue, and ritual genres of discourse as objects of study, more recent work in this tradition (e.g., Michael



2008 and Beier 2010 on Nanti), including this dissertation, investigates cultural and social themes through the analysis of discourse in the form of everyday interaction.

### 1.3 Stance and stancetaking

This dissertation does not presume to identify speakers' actual internal states on the basis of the affective forms that they may or may not employ; rather, I analyze these forms as the linguistic realization, or performance, of affective stances. Thus, the affective stance that a speaker takes need not map to the speaker's actual affective state. Beyond the obvious implication that this allows speakers to mislead listeners about their affective state, it also allows speakers to take stances that reflect an affective state that they experienced in the past (such as employing *bésèi* or *ràtèi* 'fearful' or 'shocked/ashtonished' speech to describe a harrowing event that took place years prior) or a hypothetical state that they would experience given a particular state of events (such as employing *shínàì* speech to describe how they would feel if/when a dear friend travels far away). Indeed, these properties of displacement and prevarication are observed to be more general properties of language in general (Hockett 1960). Affective stance does not impact the truth-conditional meaning of the utterance.

The view of stance adopted in this dissertation is similar to that presented in DuBois (2007). I define stance as a position or orientation toward an object that may be optionally communicated by a subject (the speaker) to another subject (their interlocutor(s)). The object of a stance may be the proposition itself, a particular object in the discourse (e.g., an argument or adjunct in the sentence), the other subject(s), or some aspect of the social context.<sup>7</sup> In taking a stance on a particular object, a speaker (subject) is also necessarily aligning or orienting herself with the interlocutor(s) (the other subject(s)). Stancetaking is the act of expressing a stance in discourse.

The notion of stance itself goes back at least to Goffman's 'footing' (1981), but most of the literature on stancetaking is comparatively recent (see Kockelman 2004, Kärkkäinen 2006, Englebretson 2007, and Jaffe 2009), and much of this general approach has grown out of the well-established Conversation Analysis (CA) approach to analyzing discourse (see Goodwin and Heritage 1990 for an overview of the history and development of CA). The analysis of affect as a distinct type of stance has precedent at least as far back as the late 1980s (Haviland 1989, Biber and Finegan 1988), and there has been considerable recent work taking an interest in the affective stance specifically, including DuBois and Kärkkäinen (2012), Goodwin et al. (2012), and Koike (2015). My approach to affective stance follows that of Ochs (1996),<sup>8</sup> who characterizes affective stances as follows:

In all communities, affective stances are socio-culturally linked to social acts, in the minds of speakers (illocutionary acts), of hearers (perlocutionary acts),

<sup>7</sup>This list of possible objects of stance is not intended to be comprehensive, and stances can be taken toward many other types of objects, including other stances taken in the discourse.

<sup>8</sup>Elinor Ochs's work on affect, as well as Bambi Schieffelin's and Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen's, fits within the Interactional Linguistics tradition, which is informed by CA and CA methods, but which is not identical to CA in its theory or approach.

or of both speakers and hearers. For example, sadness may be conventionally linked to condolences, negative affect to complaints, positive affect to praises, and so on. We can think of these relations constitutively in the sense that particular affects help to constitute the meaning of particular acts. Where these affects are indexed by a linguistic form, that form may also constitutively index associated social acts. (p.420)

Stances are distinct from ways of speaking in that stancetaking occurs at the level of individual turns, or even individual constituents within a turn, whereas ways of speaking extend across multiple turns of discourse. Stancetaking is doubly-indexical, i.e., it points to both an object and the other subject (see Silverstein 1976 on indexicality). Stancetaking may also index other stances and social meanings. In Yaminawa, affective stancetaking frequently indexes affective ways of speaking by drawing on the morphological and acoustic resources that characterize these ways of speaking. Affective ways of speaking in Yaminawa are characterized by a predominating affective stance that is taken and expressed across multiple utterances and potentially by multiple speakers. Affective stances can also index social acts that are not necessarily affective: for example, Yaminawa *shínài* ‘sad’ stance indexes advanced age and authorial authority in narrative (see Chapter 5).

## 1.4 What is ‘affect’?

The term ‘affect’ is used many different ways across the social sciences.<sup>9</sup> This section describes the use of this term in linguistics, anthropology, and psychology, and defines the term as it is used in the context of this dissertation. In this section, I also delineate the types of phenomena considered to be ‘affective’ speech in Yaminawa, including the distinction between ‘descriptive’ and ‘expressive’ affective resources in the language.

In linguistics and anthropology ‘affect’ is frequently used almost interchangeably with ‘emotion’, but there are some authors who have developed somewhat more refined definitions of the term. Ochs and Schieffelin (1989) takes “affect to be a broader term than emotion, to include feelings, moods, dispositions, and attitudes”(p.7). Martin and White (2005) defines ‘affect’ as “[dealing] with resources for construing emotional reactions” and groups it with “judgment” (“concerned with resources for assessing behavior according to various normative principles”) and “appreciation” (“resources for construing the value of things”) under the umbrella term “attitude” (p.35-6). Wilce (2009) adds that “affect can encompass desires as well” (p.31). To the extent that definitions of affect appear in the linguistic anthropological literature, Ochs and Schieffelin’s (1989) “feelings, moods, dispositions, and attitudes” is by far the most widely used (see also Kulick and Schieffelin 2004, and Besnier 1990).

In psychology, affect refers to feelings or sensations in a way that is more fundamental and cross-culturally universal than ‘emotion’. Barrett (2017) describes ‘affect’ as “the general sense of feeling that you experience throughout each day” and distinguishes it

<sup>9</sup>‘Affect’ comes from the Latin term *affectus* meaning a “mental or emotional state or reaction” (OED Online 2017).

from ‘emotion’ in that it is “a much simpler feeling with two features”, which are *valence* (pleasantness vs. unpleasantness) and *arousal* (calmness vs. excitement)(p.72) (see also Russell and Barrett 1999 and Russell 2003). Russell (2003) defines “core affect” as “a neurophysiological state that is consciously accessible as a simple, nonreflective feeling”, which is similar to the use of ‘emotion’ in Damasio (2003), who uses the term ‘feeling’ to refer to “the perception of a certain state of the body along with the perception of thinking” (p. 86). For other psychologists, the distinction between the terms ‘affect’ and ‘emotion’ is somewhat more blurred. In the work of Silvan Tomkins, “(innate) affect” refers to a set of nine physiological reactions that are claimed to be present from birth (2008: xiv). This is distinguished from ‘feeling’ which describes “our awareness that an affect has been triggered”, and ‘emotion’ which describes “the combination of whatever affect has just been triggered as it is coassembled with our memory of previous experiences of that affect” (ibid.).<sup>10</sup>

This dissertation is principally concerned with the performance of affect by Yaminawa speakers via linguistic means, not the psychological or physiological experience of affect by Yaminawa speakers. While many (western) folk theories consider emotion to be universal and invariable, this does not appear to be supported by evidence from the study of emotion cross-culturally (see chapter 3). As such, I treat affective performance as socially and culturally constructed. As I discuss in chapter 3, the Yaminawa language does not have any lexeme that corresponds directly to English ‘emotion’ or ‘affect’, and I do not assume that any of the cultural domains and emotion terms in the language correspond to identical domains in western culture or the English language. In order to avoid artificially splitting Yaminawa cultural domains relating to affect into etic categories based on my English-speaking, first-world, western world view, I take a broad view of what constitutes ‘affect’. For the purposes of this dissertation, I use the term ‘affect’ to refer primarily to the categories of ‘emotions’ and ‘feelings’. In chapter 3, I present the lexical resources in the Yaminawa language for describing ‘affect’, and I use these categories to characterize the affective expressive resources and stances of chapters 4-7.

The distinction between descriptive and expressive resources is notable in linguistic research on affect. Descriptive emotion language is that which is used to describe emotional or affective states: emotion terms themselves, metaphors for affective states, and similar lexicalized or figurative forms (Kövecses 2000:p.3-4). Expressive emotion language is that which is used to express emotion: interjections, prosody, etc.. Potts (2007) provides a thorough treatment of “expressives”, which, in his work, are essentially limited to interjections and other lexicalized affective operators like “damn” or “that bastard”. He identifies six characteristics of expressives:

- *Independence*: Expressive content contributes a dimension of meaning that is separate from the regular descriptive content.
- *Nonreplaceability*: Expressives predicate something of the utterance situation.

<sup>10</sup>Tomkins (2008), which is an omnibus edition of four volumes by Tomkins on affect, notes that “Tomkins eventually dropped the term “emotion” in favor of the much larger category of these coassemblies that he called “scripts”(p.xiv).

- *Perspective dependence*: Expressive content is evaluated from a particular perspective. In general, the perspective is the speaker's, but there can be deviations if conditions are right.
- *Descriptive ineffability*: Speakers are never fully satisfied when they paraphrase expressive content using descriptive, i.e., nonexpressive, terms.
- *Immediacy*: Like performatives, expressives achieve their intended act simply by being uttered; they do not offer content so much as inflict it.
- *Repeatability*: If a speaker repeatedly uses an expressive item, the effect is generally one of strengthening the emotive content, rather than one of redundancy. (p.166)

The expressive phenomena considered by this dissertation have all of these properties except for nondisplaceability, as affective stances and ways of speaking may be used to express either past or hypothetical affective states in addition to current ones, and repeatability, as it is not clear how this characteristic can be implemented in the prosodic domain. Exaggeration of expressive intonation, voice quality, and timing would have similar effects to the repeated use of lexical or morphological resources.

## 1.5 Field methodologies and practical considerations

This dissertation draws methodologies from many different traditions, including field linguistics, acoustic phonetics, ethnography, and cognitive anthropology. This section provides a broad view of the way that data was collected, managed, transcribed and annotated, and ultimately analyzed.

The data used in this dissertation was collected over a period of approximately 17 total months (75 weeks) of fieldwork between June 2013 and August 2017 in the Yaminawa community of Barrio Centroamérica (formerly Huaihuashi), district of Sepahua, Atalaya province, Ucayali, Peru (see chapter 2 for more information about the fieldsite). In addition to Barrio Centroamérica, I also carried out more limited amounts of fieldwork in other *barrios* (Sp.) 'neighborhoods' of Sepahua (specifically Nueva Esperanza, San Miguel, Nuevo Belén, and the Nahua encampment outside the Dominican mission), as well as some work in the cities of Atalaya and Pucallpa (both in Ucayali region). Nearly all Yaminawa speakers in Sepahua are also speakers of Spanish, and in most cases, data was collected using Spanish as a contact language. I collected data primarily in the form of audio recordings, handwritten field notes, digital transcriptions and translations, and still photography.

The audio data collected during the study period totals over 567 hours and consists of spontaneous conversation, traditional narratives and songs, personal and contemporary narratives, and both naturalistic and non-naturalistic elicited speech. Elicitation refers to field linguistic methods that provide speakers with a linguistic stimulus, either in the target language or a contact language, in order to elicit data such as a translation or correction in the target language. Some examples of non-naturalistic elicited speech are word lists, tone frames, translated phrases or sentences (including back translations of phrases

or sentences I produced in Yaminawa), corrections of phrases or sentences I produced, and responses to questionnaires and stimuli. I consider elicited speech to be naturalistic when the nature of the task allowed speakers to respond in a free-form, open-ended way. Examples of naturalistic elicited speech in this corpus include short narratives where speakers were asked to respond to a specific prompt (e.g., ‘What would you think/feel if...?’), respond to a specific stimuli (e.g., describe what’s going on in an illustration or photograph), or engage in a structured interaction with another speaker (e.g., responding to a prompt/stimuli together or role playing an interaction type). Approximately 200 hours of the corpus is naturalistic monologic narrative and song.<sup>11</sup> I collected two broad types of narrative: personal or contemporary narratives that relate events that took place during the remembered history of the Yaminawa, and traditional narratives that relate events that took place before the remembered history of the Yaminawa.<sup>12</sup> I consider both types of narrative data to be naturalistic and spontaneous in that speakers volunteered the narratives with minimal prompting (typically no more than ‘Tell me a story, please’, or ‘Tell me about X event’) and were allowed to narrate as little or as much as they wished. Traditional narratives are somewhat less spontaneous than personal or contemporaneous narratives in that they typically have canonical elements that appear across different speakers and even different communities. I consider song to constitute naturalistic speech that may occur spontaneously, but I do not consider it to be spontaneous in the sense of un-constrained, as each song genre is associated with a set of conventions that constrain the structures, forms, and themes that may be used (see section 2.5.2 in Chapter 2 for more on traditional narrative as well as song).

This dissertation primarily concerns speech in interaction. Over the study period, I collected over 22 hours of recordings targeting interaction among multiple speakers specifically.<sup>13</sup> I consider ‘spontaneous conversation’ to be a speech interaction involving two or more speakers that is not directly prompted nor significantly constrained. Most of the conversational data was recorded by inviting 2 or more individuals to a household and recording their interaction while I prepared lunch or performed other tasks nearby. Clearly, recorded conversation is neither completely unprompted nor unconstrained. The presence of a recording device, the requirement that speakers stay relatively nearby it, and the pre-planned time, context, and participants are all constraints on the interaction. To minimize these factors, I chose participants based on months of observing who typically hangs out conversing with whom, allowed the participants to choose the time block for

<sup>11</sup>I use the term ‘monologic’ to refer to speech that is dominated by a single speaker, where any other participants present have few, if any, contributions that take the form of speech. To say that any of the recordings are truly monologic in the sense of only a single participant would be misleading as, in all cases, I was also a participant: narratives, songs, and other apparently monologic genres were all performed either in my presence or for my future listening.

<sup>12</sup>The Yaminawa refer to such traditional narratives as *shédípàwù* ‘ancestor (stories)’. My language teachers María Ramírez and Pascual Gomez, who represent the oldest living generation of Yaminawa, estimate that the events in these stories took place during the lives of their grandparents’ grandparents or perhaps a little bit before.

<sup>13</sup>There are multiple cases where recordings that were expected to be monologic, with a single speaker wearing a lapel microphone, spontaneously became dialogic or multilogic when other speakers unexpectedly dropped in and started participating.

making the recording, and selected a location where the chosen participants typically congregated to converse when there wasn't a recording device present (see Chapter 2 for a description of everyday life among the Yaminawa). Typically, participants experienced a little awkwardness choosing an initial topic of conversation for these recordings, but in most of the recording sessions they became comfortable and stopped actively attending to the recorder after the first 10 minutes or so, and they sometimes forgot about the recorder so completely that they accidentally discussed topics that they later chose to have redacted from the recording (see section 1.6). I take this degree of comfort in the recording session as evidence that the speech that was recorded was, in general, both natural and spontaneous.

Video recordings do not form part of the corpus as the project participants did not feel comfortable with filming due to previous experiences being filmed by outsiders. Descriptions of gestures or other non-audible aspects of interaction in this dissertation are the product of my fieldnotes and/or reconstructions from memory that were corroborated by participants in that interaction at a later date. As a result, my analysis of affective expression in Yaminawa seldom makes reference to facial expression or gesture.

All recordings used in the corpus were made with a Zoom H4n audio recorder, in WAV format at a sampling rate of 44.1kHz. For recordings that I expected to be multilogic, I used the internal microphones on the Zoom recorder. For recordings that I expected to be (primarily) monologic, I used an external AudioTechnica 803B omnidirectional condenser lapel mic. I used Audacity<sup>14</sup> (various releases from version 2.0.x to 2.2.x over the span of the project) to add metadata and delete blank stereo tracks from recordings. I used ELAN (most recent version 5.0.0-beta (2017), see Wittenburg et al. 2006) to produce time-aligned transcriptions with translations and other annotations for both monologic and multilogic naturalistic speech. Acoustic measurements (such as pitch measurements, harmonic-to-noise ratios, and duration measurements – see chapters 5-7) were made with Praat version 6.0.0 or later (Boersma and Weenink 2017).

Much of what I have learned about Yaminawa and Nahua language and culture has come from informal situations where I learned through experience actively participating in daily life. I have had far more Yaminawa, Nahua, and Sharanahua teachers than I can list here. A much smaller group of individuals regularly worked with me to produce recordings and to teach me. My primary language teachers were: †José Ramírez Ríos, María Ramírez Ríos, Pascual Gomez Flores, Manuel Gomez Flores, María Melendez Mosombite, María Luísa Garcerán Álvarez, Teresa Ramírez Saldaña, Juan Gomez Ramírez, Delicia Gomez Ramírez, José Manuel Ramírez Saldaña, María Miranda Llergo, Rosa Gomez Ramírez, María Inmaculada Piño Melendez, Julio Gomez Ramírez, Rebeca Seido Thaihui, Alejandrina “Lucy” Atsahuadadiva Dispupidiva, and Mercedes Maynahuarute Sopote. This group is composed of roughly three generational cohorts: those currently over age 65 (6 speakers: 3 men and 3 women, all Yaminawa), those aged 45 to 65 (8 speakers: 3 men and 5 women, majority Yaminawa, one Nahua woman and one Sha-

<sup>14</sup>Audacity(R) software is copyright (c) 1999-2018 Audacity Team. Web site: <https://audacityteam.org/>. It is free software distributed under the terms of the GNU General Public License. The name Audacity(R) is a registered trademark of Dominic Mazzoni.

ranahua and Amahuaca speaking woman), and those aged 25 to 45 (3 speakers, all Nahua women).<sup>15</sup>

I visited Sepahua at different times of the year over the duration of this project, with the goal of experiencing and documenting both Yaminawa language and life in all seasons. I was able to cover most of the months of the year, with the exception of mid-January to mid-March (the peak of the rainy season, when it is difficult to make quality recordings), and late November to mid-December. Regardless of the season, nearly all of the recordings were made between the hours of 7 a.m. and 5 p.m. (about an hour after sunrise to an hour before sunset). These are times of day when it was most convenient for language teachers/consultants to work with me, and also the times of day when there is the least amount of background noise inside Yaminawa homes. The hours immediately before and after dawn involve much work to prepare breakfast and coordinate and begin daily household and agricultural work, not to mention getting school-aged children ready for school. The last hour of daylight is when most adults bathe, and the municipal electricity turns on and family TV watching time begins at around 6 p.m. While I occasionally did transcription and translation work with language teachers after 6 p.m., I did not generally make recordings during this time. Most conversational recordings were made in the public spaces in Yaminawa households where the group of participants most typically interacted when not being recorded (typically a covered patio).<sup>16</sup>

Affective stancetaking is ubiquitous in Yaminawa speech, making it easy to document its occurrence in natural, conversational context, but I also employed several specific methods for documenting affective speech styles and Yaminawa ethnopsychology in particular. These included the following:

- a 114 item set of affect-targeting prompts for short personal or fictionalized narratives,
- interviews on ethnopsychology and ethnomedicine,
- a series of pile sort tasks, and
- elicited utterances targeting affective bound morphology.

The data produced using the interview, experimental, and elicitation methods listed above proved to be of varying quality, and these methods and their results are evaluated in greater detail in chapter 3 on Yaminawa ethnopsychology and the cultural domains relating to affect.

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<sup>15</sup>This sample of speakers is conveniently similar to the apparent distribution of adult speakers across age and gender in Sepahua. This was not by design, merely by coincidence, and is due in large part to my willingness to work on a regular basis (1.5-3 hours per week) with around 12 to 15 language teachers/consultants in any given field season, an unusually high number for a solo fieldworker.

<sup>16</sup>Of these just one recording was made in a kitchen, and another in my small house. While kitchens and fields are very commonly spaces for everyday conversation of the public type, I ultimately avoided recording conversation in these places due to the significant ambient noise. I generally avoided recording conversation in my home because it was not a natural place where participants congregated to interact in my absence, but I made one exception for a conversation involving one of my nearest neighbors, her mother, and her cousin who is also one of my close friends who regularly hangs out with me in my house.

Data was transcribed and reviewed with Yaminawa and Nahua participants. For recordings of conversation and personal narratives, one of the transcriber-reviewers was ideally one of the participants in the speech event. This was not always possible in situations where all of the participants were elderly, Yaminawa-dominant, and/or not available afterward to do transcription work. It was also sometimes the case that participants were available and wanted to work, but simply found transcription and review work tedious and unenjoyable. Other participants found transcription and annotation to be an intellectually stimulating challenge. Participants were encouraged to communicate to me what work they found most interesting and considered most valuable to the documentation of the language. Rebeca Seido, Mercedes “Mechi” Maynahuarute, Alejandrina “Lucy” Atsahuadadiva, Rosa Gómez, María Miranda Llergo, José Manuel Ramírez, and Delicia Gómez were remarkably dedicated and engaged in the transcription and translation work that underpins this study, and their intellectual contributions to this dissertation and the documentation project as a whole are innumerable.

Appendix A provides a detailed guide to the transcription conventions that I use in this dissertation and the principles that I use to segment continuous speech into individual lines. The matter of translation of affective forms in Yaminawa to corresponding English ones is an important one. This dissertation involves three languages, Yaminawa, Spanish, and English, which each have a distinct role: study language, contact language, and analysis language, respectively. My most important principle of translation for this dissertation is to balance faithfulness to the structure and form of Yaminawa with faithfulness to the affective meanings of those structures and forms. Where literal meaning requires explanation beyond the morpheme glosses, I provide this in parentheses. Where additional contextualizing information is relevant, this too is presented in parentheses in the translation line, or in a description labeled ‘CONTEXT:’ above the data line. To the best of my ability and understanding of the language, I have also made efforts to stay faithful to the information structure of the Yaminawa sentences, and I use a mix of lexical choice, expressives, and sentence-final punctuation (.,?,!) to approximate the affective meanings of the Yaminawa forms as closely as possible in my English translations. The English translation choices I make are informed by the various affectively expressive translations into Peruvian Amazonian Spanish that have been provided for me by the participants themselves as well as other consulting speakers. Integral to this is the fact that I command a full expressive repertoire in both Peruvian Amazonian Spanish and my native dialects of English (Standard American and Southern/East Texas); beyond just knowing how affective forms in these dialects sound and what they mean, I also understand how they *feel* when employed in interaction. While my command of Yaminawa pales in comparison to my Spanish or English, I have also attempted to triangulate the most affectively accurate translation using my scholarly-academic knowledge of Yaminawa, my understanding of these forms via native speaker translations into Spanish, and my own lived experiences as an emotional being and interaction participant in the Yaminawa community over a period of over five years.



## 1.6 Ethical considerations

All research with human subjects requires careful planning and consideration of multiple perspectives to be carried out as ethically as possible. In any community-based project that aims to work with marginalized minority populations, this requires even greater attention and care. This section outlines some of the key ethical considerations central to both the overall design and day-to-day operation of this project.

This project was carried out in compliance with all of the ethical research protocols required by the University of California, Berkeley for human subjects research in the social sciences. The requirements included submitting the project plan through the internal review board process, obtaining informed consent of participants, allowing participants to determine their own degree of involvement and whether they wished to be identified, and excluding potentially sensitive data from the corpus in order to minimize risk to participants. Typically human subjects research uses a written consent protocol. Because of low literacy rates in rural Peruvian Amazonia, and the long history of the use of written documents as an obstacle to indigenous people in the region, I decided that written consent was not an appropriate nor the most ethical choice for this project. Instead, I collected informed consent in an oral, dialogic, iterated manner. Because a language documentation concerns the intellectual property (a language) of a group of people and not any one individual, this project obtained both individual and collective consent.

In order to obtain the collective consent of the Yaminawa community, I began my introducing myself to Yaminawa and Nahua households in Sepahua, then we organized a meeting where I explained the general nature of ‘language documentation’ and gave examples of the types of activities it involves and the types of products that may result. During the first field season in particular, we held several community-wide meetings to discuss the project. I allowed the Yaminawa themselves to determine the participants of such meetings, based on their own ideas about who constitutes part of the ‘community’. I also allowed the Yaminawa themselves to make determinations about who constitutes a speaker of the language and about who constitutes a non-speaker stakeholder in the project. These meetings were open to anyone interested in listening, regardless of the *barrio* they live in, their ethnic identity, or whether or not they speak Yaminawa. As a result the meetings had many attendees, but, generally speaking, it was primarily individuals who identify as Yaminawa or Nahua, or their non-Yaminawa/Nahua spouses, who actively participated in the meetings by asking questions and making proposals. While the Yaminawa and Nahua have experience having anthropologists and missionary linguists in their communities, these types of researchers generally only worked with a small number of individuals on a regular basis and only occasionally engaged the broader community. In the past, these individuals did not produce and return language or cultural materials to the community as a whole (nor to individual participants in some cases). As a result, the project was initially met with some degree of skepticism, despite community-wide agreement that the project was acceptable and could go forward.

On the individual level, participants were passively recruited: a few older people who had worked with anthropologists in the past were quick to volunteer themselves during

the community-wide meetings, and from there I simply allowed others in the community to come witness the early stages of the work and invited them to participate if they wished. At the beginning of my first session with each participant, we recorded an oral dialogue where I would explain each aspect of the project (producing recordings, the types of data to be collected, archiving, attribution, etc.) as I understood it and allow the prospective participant to ask more questions, suggest modifications, and agree or decline to each point. For example, all participants wished to be credited by name for their contributions to the project, but some declined to do grammatical elicitation work or record monologic narratives due to discomfort or insecurity about their production of model speech in the language (but were happy to translate or do lexical work), while others declined to do phonetic research because they did not feel that it constituted documentation of Yaminawa language. At the end of the first session of data collection, I provided each participant with their compensation, then asked if they would like to schedule another session to work with me, to ensure that they did not feel that the compensation was dependent on future participation (despite the verbal explanation of this in the informed consent, I wished to show participants with my actions that I was sincere).<sup>17</sup> Typically, participants continued to work with me until some other economic opportunity or life situation prevented them from being able to.<sup>18</sup> At the beginning and end of each field season, I have made efforts to update both individual participants and the broader community of project progress, and to renew informed consent through dialogue.<sup>19</sup>

My views on informed consent and my protocols for obtaining it are born out of my broader fieldwork and research ideology that participants in language documentation projects should be invited and encouraged to participate as collaborators in the design and direction of the project, not merely ‘consultants’ or ‘subjects’. This approach is consistent with the recommendations made by Leonard and Haynes (2010): the needs of both the community and the researcher are addressed, and both the community and the researcher contribute their unique expertise. While not all Yaminawa and Nahua that participated in this project had strong opinions about the direction of the work, many did, particularly younger speakers (and non-speaker community members) who feel re-

<sup>17</sup>Individual financial compensation was 12 Peruvian Nuevos Soles (about \$ 3.65 USD at the time of writing) per hour. Compensation was determined in part through negotiation with the participants in two project-wide meetings in 2013. This amount is deemed by both myself and the participants to reflect adequate respect for the time and intellectual contributions of the speakers without being so high as to be coercive in the local economy. For comparison, this rate is slightly higher than the pro-rated hourly pay of Peruvian school teachers.

<sup>18</sup>In a few cases where individuals quit working because of some kind of complaint that they had with me or the work itself, we did a quick exit protocol where I asked them if they would like any of their prior data or recordings to be deleted or their name removed from them, etc. (in all cases speakers requested that I maintain the data and credit them by name). Reasons for discontinuing participation were generally political: not wanting me to work with a certain family or not wanting me to work with younger (Nahua) speakers in favor of working more hours with elderly (Yaminawa) speakers. So far, all of the individuals who quit for those reasons asked to resume participation after the underlying source of the political tension was resolved between the families or individuals.

<sup>19</sup>This is not always possible in cases where participants have moved away from Sepahua and I have lost contact with them. In these (few) cases, I maintain and attribute the data according to my most recent knowledge of the participant’s wishes.

sponsible for the future transmission of the language. On the micro-level, this type of collaboration entails individual collaborators working on aspects of documentation that are in line with their personal talents, preferences, and priorities. On the macro-level, this collaboration produced a project design that focuses on traditional narrative verbal art and conversation (at the expense of other avenues such as the documentation of traditional verbal art in the form of songs or a detailed investigation into tone). Traditional stories (*shédípàwù*) and everyday speech were considered priorities by both older and younger community members. As a result of the focus on traditional verbal art, a 140 page draft of bilingual folktales was produced and disseminated to community members in 2017 and expanded to over 400 pages that same field season. As different project goals are met (such as the final publication of the book of folktales), we expect that the project will continue to branch out into different directions. Late 2016 saw increased interest in taking on a dictionary project, and 2017 saw many conversations about the specific goals of that project, what types of data it should include, and how the work should be organized. The particular focus of this dissertation on affective expression in conversation is a direct result of Yaminawas' and Nahuas' own evaluations about what is important in speaking the language and their desire to document the language as it is used everyday in family life.

## 1.7 Outline

Chapter 2 provides a general introduction to the Yaminawa language, the daily lives of the Yaminawa, and the linguistic practices and attitudes that I observed. This ethnographic description is intended to provide context for understanding the importance of affective expression in Yaminawa verbal life. Chapter 3 describes the specific methodologies I used to investigate the cultural domains and descriptive resources relating to affect, the results of these methods (including inventories of psychological predicates, emotion terms, and emotion metaphors), and a discussion of Yaminawa ethnopsychology. Chapter 4 describes the primary morphological resources used in affective stancetaking and uses corpus data to examine the role of these morphemes in the construction of other types of stance. Chapters 5-7 present three prevalent affective speech styles and analyze how different types of linguistic resources are used in the construction of each. Chapter 8 concludes with some observations on methodologies for describing affective speech and some directions for future research.

In addition to the eight chapters that form the dissertation itself, this document includes five appendices to further orient the reader. Appendix A describes the transcription conventions used in this document and details my philosophy for translating affect-laden speech from Yaminawa to English. Appendix B presents the practical orthography and provides comparisons to other orthographies used in publications by other authors. It is recommended that the reader read appendices A and B before reading chapters 3-7. Appendix C is a grammar sketch of Yaminawa, describing the phonology, word prosody, morphology, syntax, and typological profile of the language. The grammatical sketch is intended to serve as a resource for readers who wish to understand the linguistic examples

in greater detail or whose interest in the language is not limited to affective expressivity. Appendix D gives examples of non-affectively-laden speech, specifically mundane agricultural talk, to provide the interested reader with a baseline for comparisons to the affective ways of speaking presented in chapters 5-7.

## Chapter 2

# Introduction to the Yaminawa language and people

### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides linguistic and general ethnographic context for understanding the position and role of affective speech in both the linguistic structure and social ecology. My goal is to provide a sense of who the Yaminawa people are, how they live and interact, and the historical, social, ecological, and economic settings of Yaminawa life. Throughout this chapter, I also describe my relationship to the Yaminawa, both in the collective and as individuals, in order for the reader to better understand my perspective of Yaminawa life as an outsider living and working among them. An understanding of both the general landscape of Yaminawa life and my perspective on it is key context for understanding the material in the following chapters. This chapter establishes that affective expression is not a peripheral phenomenon in Yaminawa language, rather it is a social practice integral to everyday life in Yaminawa culture, even among non-speakers.

Section 2.2 describes the location of the Yaminawa, the languages that constitute the Headwaters Nawa dialect complex, and how these linguistic varieties are situated within the Panoan family. This section also provides an overview of Panoan studies (both linguistic and ethnographic). Section 2.3 describes the recent history (since the Rubber Boom at the turn of the 20th century) of the Yaminawa and Nahua. Section 2.4 is an ethnographic description of Yaminawa social structure, contemporary life, and general cosmology. Section 2.5 describes the communicative practices of the Yaminawa, including language attitudes, major genres for speech, and a description of the language documentation and maintenance efforts that are being taken by many Yaminawa families.

## 2.2 Yaminawa, the Headwaters Nawa dialect complex, and the Panoan family

The variety of Yaminawa discussed in this dissertation is the spoken in the district of Sepahua, Atalaya province, Ucayali region, Peru. This dissertation is based on data from both speakers of Yaminawa proper (Río Sepahua dialect, ISO: yaa)<sup>20</sup> and Nahua (ISO: mts), which is spoken just two days travel upriver from Sepahua in Santa Rosa de Serjali (also referred to simply as Serjali) on the Mishagua river (sometimes spelled Mishahua). These two dialects form part of a larger dialect complex that extends from the Yawanawá (ISO: ywn) communities of the Río Gregorio in Brazil at the northern end to the Nahua community of Serjali at the southern end. Yaminawa (ISO 639-3: yaa) and Sharanahua (ISO: mcd) speakers in and around Pucallpa are diaspora communities. Yaminawa communities of an unknown dialect are also found near Cobija in Bolivia. Figure 2.1 shows the locations of major Yaminawa dialect speaking communities in Peru, Brazil, and Bolivia.<sup>21</sup>

Figure 2.1: Map of major Yaminawa dialect communities



<sup>20</sup>In this section I use the three letter codes of the ISO (International Organization for Standardization) 639-3 standard for language identification, as an aid to readers who may wish to look for additional information on these languages elsewhere. While these codes do not neatly or correctly reflect dialect similarity, they are useful for finding primary and secondary language materials.

<sup>21</sup>Base map sourced from Google Maps 2018. Inset map of South America by Wikipedia user Bytebear.

The Panoan linguistic family consists of about 18 extant languages (plus 12 more that no longer have speakers) spoken by around 40,000 to 50,000 people (Fleck 2013:p.9). Shipibo-Konibo is the most widely spoken Panoan language, with over 22,000 speakers (according to the 2007 Peruvian Census). Some common characteristics of Panoan languages are that they are morphologically ergative, predominantly suffixing, and use switch reference markers to chain multiple clauses together in their syntax. Full grammatical descriptions have only been produced for four Panoan languages so far: Matses (Fleck 2003), Shipibo-Konibo (Valenzuela 2003b), Kashibo-Kakataibo (Zariquiey 2011, 2018a), and Chácobo (Tallman 2018). Several other Panoan languages are described in sketch grammars (see Camargo 1991, Cândido 2004, Cunha 1993, de Souza 2012, Faust and Loos 2002, Garcia 2002, Karadamou 2016, Paula 2004, Montag 1979, and Souza 2013).

While no rigorous internal classification for the Panoan family as a whole has been produced using the comparative method, classifications based on impressionistic similarity group Yaminawa as a member of the Mainline branch, within the Headwaters subgroup (Loos 1999) or the Headwaters Nawa subgroup (Fleck 2013). The Yaminawa languages (ISO: yaa, mts, mcd, ywn, swo) are noted to form a large dialect complex by Fleck (2013), who further groups these languages with Amahuaca (ISO: amc) and Huni Kuin (also commonly known as Kashinawa or Cashinahua, ISO: cbs) to form the Headwaters subgroup within the Nawa group of Mainline branch Panoan. A summarized adaptation of Fleck's (2013) classification (omitting languages that no longer have speakers) is provided in figure 2.2.

Based on Yaminawa speakers' own judgments, Yaminawa, Nahua (Yora), Sharanahua, Yawanawa, Mastanahua, Marinahua, Moronahua, Chaninahua, Chitonahua, Shanenawa, and Shawanawa form part of a large dialect complex.<sup>22</sup> Phylogenetic work by Zariquiey et al. (2017) demonstrates Marinahua, Yaminawa, Nahua, Mastanahua, Sharanahua, and Chaninahua to exhibit a high degree of lexical similarity, but they have considerable grammatical variation, suggesting that the apparent dialect complex may actually be the result of lexical leveling due to contact.

Two other major Panoan languages are grouped by Fleck (2013) in the Headwaters subgroup: Amahuaca and Huni Kuin. Preliminary original fieldwork that I carried out on these languages indicates that, while Amahuaca is more widely understood by Yaminawa speakers in Sepahua than Huni Kuin is, this is due to a more intimate contact situation with Amahuaca speakers. Huni Kuin appears to have greater phonological similarity to Yaminawa. Zariquiey et al. (2017) suggests that Nahua and Mastanahua are grammatically more similar to Amahuaca than to Yaminawa; however, the grammatical component of that study is based on only 68 grammatical features. Having worked extensively on Sepahua Yaminawa and Nahua, and to a lesser extent, Amahuaca, my own impression is that, overall, Nahua is considerably more grammatically similar to Sepahua Yaminawa and the Yurúa Yaminawa described by Faust and Loos (2002) than to Amahuaca. Not only is the

<sup>22</sup>Very recently, in 2016, a group of people who are identified by outsiders as the Xinane were contacted in Brazil on the Río Envira (spelled Embira in Peru). The language that they speak appears to be mutually intelligible with Brazilian Yaminawa.

Figure 2.2: Classification of extant Panoan languages (adapted from Fleck 2013)

**I. Mayoruna branch**

**A. Mayo group**

- i. **Matses subgroup:** Matses, Kulina of the Cucuça River
- ii. Korubo
- iii. Matis

**II. Mainline branch**

**A. Kasharari**

**B. Kashibo**

**C. Nawa group** (subgroups ordered from most to least divergent)

- i. **Bolivian subgroup:** Chakobo/Pakawara
- ii. **Marubo subgroup:** Marubo (of the Javari Basin), Katukina

**Fleck's "Central Panoan Assemblage":**

- iii. **Poyanawa subgroup:** Poyanawa, Iskonawa, Nukini, Nawa (Môa River)
- iv. **Chama subgroup:** Shipibo-Konibo, Pano

**v. Headwaters subgroup:**

- a. Kashinawa of the Ibuaçu River:

Dialects: *Brazilian Kashinawa*, *Peruvian Kashinawa*

- b. Yaminawa:

Dialects: *Brazilian Yaminawa* (2 or more dialects), *Peruvian Yaminawa*, *Chaninawa*, *Chitonawa*, *Mastanawa*, *Parkenawa*, *Shanenawa*, *Sharanawa*, *Marinawa*, *Shawannawa* (Arara), *Yawanawa*

- c. Amawaka

verbal morphology considerably different than that of Amahuaca, but there are major differences in some fundamental aspects of the syntax, namely the alignment system and a word order alternation that allows ergative arguments to appear post-verbally without morphological marking of ergativity in Amahuaca (see Clem 2018).

Based on my own fieldwork and observations, it is apparent that there are a number of phonological differences among the Yaminawa dialect complex languages as well. Toward the northern end of the dialect complex, intervocalic /k/ is realized as glottal stop, /r/ is often realized as /l/, /h/ has been preserved, and /w/ and /β/ are still contrastive. At the southern end, there are no phonemic glottals (though phonetic glottal stops exist in free variation only with intervocalic /k/), and /w/ and /β/ have merged to a single phoneme /w/. There is a significant amount of lexical variation between dialects, especially among game animal terms, which are the dialectal differences that speakers are the



most quick to point out. At this point, no comprehensive study of morphological and syntactic variation has been carried out, but I have identified some morphological differences, such as the use of the verbal evidential suffix *-nĩ* in northern Yaminawa dialects (spoken on the Río Embira and Río Yurúa), which is not used in southern Yaminawa dialects (such as those of Río Sepahua and Río Mishahua). While I have interacted with speakers of several different dialects in this continuum, I have only made recordings with speakers from the southern extreme of the complex (excluding Bolivia).<sup>23</sup> Variation among the Headwaters Panoan languages merits future work that includes more grammatical features and takes into account lexical variation within communities.

Within the Yaminawa dialect complex, there has been a considerable amount of ethnographic work, but the languages of these peoples have received much less attention except by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) and some Brazilian scholars. Notable work by the SIL includes Faust and Loos (2002) and Loos (2006) on Yaminawa of the Río Yurúa, Scott (2004) and Loos (1976) on Sharanahua/Mastanahua, Lord (2016) on Yora/Nahua, and Montag (1979) and 1981 on Cashinahua/Huni Kuin. Some major academic works include Camargo (1991) and 1995 on Cashinahua/Huni Kuin, Garcia (2002) and Paula (2004) on Yawanawá, Cândido (2004) on Shanenawa, and Couto (2010) on Saynawa. The most significant ethnographic work on Yaminawa proper is Townsley (1988), a thesis-length description with a focus on cosmology and shamanism. Feather (2010) documents Nahua culture with an emphasis on the effects and context of their recent entry into sustained contact. Calavia Saéz (2006) also provides a thorough treatment of the history and cosmology of Brazilian Yaminawa. Two views on Sharanahua culture are represented in Siskind (1973), a general ethnography, and Déléage (2005) and (2009), which are focused on shamanism specifically.

## 2.3 History

In this section, I use the term ‘Yaminawa’ to refer only to the Yaminawa who lived on the upper Río Sepahua and upper Río Las Piedras prior to contact. This is to be distinguished from the term ‘Yurúa Yaminawa’ which I use to refer to the Yaminawa who lived in the upper Río Yurúa and upper Río Embira area prior to contact. In discussing differences between groups where the precise location is not clear, I distinguish between ‘southern Yaminawa’ (generally south of the Purús river, including the Yaminawa people and language that are the topic of this dissertation) and ‘northern Yaminawa’ (generally north of the Purús river, including the speakers of the Yaminawa language described by Faust and Loos (2002)). I reserve the term ‘Nahua’ to refer to the Yaminawa-dialect-speaking people who lived on the upper Río Mishagua and upper Río Manú prior to contact. Based on my fieldwork, I consider the Nahua language and the southern Yaminawa language to be closely related dialects.

<sup>23</sup>I have, however, listened to very brief samples of speech from speakers of other varieties such as Bolivian Yaminawa and Xinane in Brazil. Impressionistically, Bolivian Yaminawa has a mix of features characteristic of both Nahua and Sharanahua, and seems highly intelligible. Xinane strikes me as far less intelligible and has features that are more reminiscent of Río Yurúa Yaminawa and Brazilian Yaminawa.

This section relates some of what is known about Panoan peoples and the Yaminawa prior to the Rubber Boom, the traumatic history of the late-pre-contact period and initial contact of the Yaminawa, the equally traumatic history of the contact of the Nahua, and where the Yaminawa and Nahua find themselves today.

Panoan peoples living on the lower Ucayali river, including the Shipibo, were first missionized by Jesuit priests in the mid-1600s. At the time of the establishment of missions in this region, it is reported that some Panoan people were living as captives in Kokama communities (Figueroa 1904, cited in Fleck 2013:26-7). Following the expulsion of the Jesuits from South America, Franciscan monks took over a number of these missions, until Peru's independence from Spain in 1821. They produced few records of Panoan languages and cultures. Later, European explorers collected word lists for Panoan languages that had not been previously described, including Yaminawa, Amahuaca, Kakataibo, and some varieties known as Kashinawa (possibly Huni Kuin) (Reich and Stegelmann (1903), Rivet and Tastevin (1927), and Rivet and Tastevin (1929)). Missionary linguists from the Summer Institute of Linguistics began working with the Shipibo in the early 1940s and expanded to work with several other Panoan groups including the Amahuaca in the 1950s and 1960s. SIL missionaries began work in Sharanahua communities in the 1960s, in Yaminawa communities in the mid-1970s, and the Nahua community of Santa Rosa de Serjali in the mid-1980s.

### 2.3.1 Prior to the Rubber Boom period and the 20th century

The earliest reference to 'Yaminawa' in academic literature is found in Reich and Stegelmann (1903). This brief article describes Stegelmann's trip to the Embira river, where he encountered Yaminawa people. The brief word list provided is consistent with forms still used today by northern Yaminawa speakers living on the Yurúa and Embira rivers (such as the form *waka* for 'water', as opposed to southern Yaminawa *èdè*). There are also early reports by Rivet and Tastevin (1927) of Panoan peoples in the Yurúa-Purús area. Aside from a few linguistic forms and the identification of the Embira, Yurúa, and Purús rivers as locations where speakers of Yaminawa dialects lived at the turn of the 20th century, these reports do not provide any detail on Yaminawa (or other Headwaters Panoan) life at the time. Most of what I personally know of Yaminawa life before contact comes from oral history and the depictions of Yaminawa life that appear in traditional narratives.

According to oral history, the Yaminawa lived in the interfluvial zones of the Sepahua, Las Piedras, Mishagua, and Manú rivers. They inhabited large communal homes in communities of around 50-75 individuals and had strong positive relationships among the communities speaking languages in the Yaminawa dialect complex, that included seasonal visiting and feasting that took them at least as far north as the Inuya and Purús rivers.<sup>24</sup> Hunting, wild gathering, fishing (with plant poisons), and the cultivation of

<sup>24</sup>From the oral histories of the oldest speakers, there is no strong evidence that they traveled as far north as the Yurúa, Embira, or Gregório rivers for visiting and feasting, though they claim knowledge of the names of the groups living to the north: Yawanawa, Shanenawa, and Xixinawa. It is possible that some families or individuals traveled as far as those areas, but it seems unlikely that the entire community would have made a seasonal trip that far, as such trips are very difficult for small children and the elderly.

maize are the core subsistence activities evident in Yaminawa folklore. Present day Yaminawas cultivate large quantities of cassava (*yuca* in Spanish), and make *masato* (Sp.), a mildly alcoholic beverage made from cassava, but most folklore refers to cassava and *masato* only in passing.<sup>25</sup> In folklore, maize (*xèkì* in Yaminawa) and plantains (*mánìà* in Yaminawa) are the most frequently mentioned crops,<sup>26</sup> and *mámâ* (*chicha* in Spanish), a fermented drink made of ground maize figures prominently in several key cosmological folktales.<sup>27</sup> There is also evidence from folklore that the Yaminawa made pottery, spun cotton for hammocks and skirts worn by women, and that shamans used hot chilies (*yùchì* in Yaminawa) and tobacco (*rùbè* in Yaminawa) and not *ayahuasca* (Sp.) (*xùrì* in Yaminawa), a hallucinogenic brew that is widespread in Amazonia. Both Yaminawa and Nahua elders who are knowledgeable about shamanism report that the use of *toé* (Sp.) ‘angel trumpet’ (*Brugmansia* sp.) was previously common, but abandoned in favor of *ayahuasca* due to the high toxicity of *toé*. *Toé* does not figure prominently in any of the folktales that I have translated thus far (though they may very well figure in folktales that I have not yet translated or recorded). *Ayahuasca* only figures prominently in one story, *Rúnùwà ñúshìwù* ‘The Anaconda Spirit’ which concerns man’s first encounter with *ayahuasca*, and is otherwise only mentioned in passing in other folktales.

In contrast to the peaceful relationships that Yaminawas and Nahuas describe with other Yaminawa dialect-speaking peoples, they report intermittent violent conflict with other groups, especially groups presumed to be the Yine/Mashco-Piro (Southern Arawak) and Asháninka (Kampan Arawak). It is not entirely clear to me what Yaminawa-Amahuaca relations were like prior to the Rubber Boom or the Amahuaca entering into sustained contact. Conflicts that occurred after Amahuaca contact but before Yaminawa contact dominate Yaminawa memory of interactions with that group (see section 2.3.2).

The Amazon Rubber Boom, which took place from the 1880s to early 1910s, terrorized indigenous people across Amazonia, disrupted their ways of life, and displaced them from their ancestral territories. The effects of the Rubber Boom were especially traumatic for the Yaminawa and Nahua. In the mid-1890s, Carlos Fitzcarrald enslaved local indigenous people, specifically Yines (according to local oral history in Sepahua; at the time, they were known as Piro), to undertake the famously bizarre feat of disassembling his steamboat on the Mishagua river, in order to transport it a few miles over land to the Manú river, then reassemble it. According to local lore, this caused the Piro community to become divided into the Yines, who were enslaved, and the Mashco-Piro who continue

<sup>25</sup>The word for *masato* in Yaminawa is *pétì* or *pítì*, which is possibly an instrumental nominalization of the root *pî* ‘to eat’. Ground malted maize is still used by the Yaminawa today to add sugar content to *masato*, as opposed to grated sweet potato which is used by Kampan Arawak peoples in the region.

<sup>26</sup>Plantains and bananas are native to Southeast Asia, later spread to Africa, and were brought to the Americas in the 15th century by the Portuguese (Robinson and Saúco 2010:p.2). In contemporary Yaminawa culture plantains are consumed in a wide variety of ways, including as *chapo* (Sp.) (*bùtsà* in Yaminawa), a mashed banana beverage, and as *inguri* (Sp.), a boiled side to accompany lunch or dinner.

<sup>27</sup>In *Ínàwà Xàdù* ‘Grandmother Tiger’, a story concerning the origin of stones and crawling and slithering creatures, the evil grandmother cooks an infant in a boiling pot of *chicha*. In *Yúáshì* ‘The Greedy One’, about the downfall of the primordial owner of fire and agriculture, a clever bird steals a handful of grains of maize to share agriculture with humanity.

to live in voluntary isolation today. The Mashco-Piro, who are said to have originally lived along the river, were forced into the interfluvial zone. The southern Yaminawa and Nahua claim they were forced into even deeper parts of the forest as they fled warfare with the Mashco-Piro and other displaced groups who were fleeing the Rubber Boom and desperate for territory and resources. The Yaminawa claim to have gone north to the headwaters of the Purús river, and the Nahua, probably numbering just a couple hundred, remained in the interfluvial zones around the Sepahua, Las Piedras, Mishagua and Manú rivers. Feather (2010) relates a different version, where the Nahua were living on the southern headwaters of the Purús, not as far south as the Mishagua and Manu, and only later moved south during the first third of the 20th century. The two groups remained separated for nearly 90 years until the contact of the Nahua in the 1980s.

### **2.3.2 Separation and the Amahuaca massacres**

As the southern Yaminawa moved north, they mingled with the Sharanahua and Marinawa, groups that are culturally and linguistically very similar to the Yaminawa. Other southern Yaminawa speakers stayed closer to the upper Las Piedras and upper Sepahua rivers. In the mid-1960s, Yaminawa communities on the upper Purús and southward began to enter into more sustained contact with non-indigenous and non-Yaminawa-speaking peoples via missionary activity and remote logging operations. According to the oral histories of Yaminawa who were children or adolescents during this period, early contact consisted mostly of Yaminawas sneaking into logging camps at night and taking machetes, clothing, and food in the cover of darkness. José Ramirez Ríos (d.2017), who was a young adult during this period, participated in some of these raids, and he reported that cologne, shirts, and sugar were items particularly prized by the Yaminawa. He particularly delighted telling about how they would eat sugar by the handful as young men, and one incident where a companion mistook salt for sugar and was sorely disappointed. These raids were thrilling for young men, but also highly dangerous as the Yaminawa were armed only with bows and arrows and the loggers had shotguns. The Yaminawa who were living in mixed communities with Sharanahua speakers came into contact via missionary activity and government health and education outposts.<sup>28</sup> The oldest Yaminawa and Sharanahua living today report that there were intermittent epidemics during this time that reduced the populations of both ethnolinguistic groups and caused them to become increasingly interdependent as populations decreased.

Around the same time, the Yaminawa who continued to live near the Las Piedras and Sepahua rivers were contacted much more abruptly and violently. Father Ricardo Álvarez Lobo of Sepahua (locally known as “Padre Lobo”) is reported by both Yaminawa and Amahuaca people to have urged the Amahuaca to massacre “savage” Yaminawa liv-

<sup>28</sup>According to Siskind’s account, the Sharanahua’s traditional territory was on the Tarauacá river in present-day Brazil, from which they were displaced by violent conflicts with the Peruvian military. In the mid-1920s, the Sharanahua subsequently moved south to the Curanja river in present-day Peru where it is reported that they had conflicts with a group identified as the Yaminahua. They continued south to the Purús river, which appears to have been completely depopulated during the Rubber Boom, where they entered sustained contact with non-indigenous populations in the 1940s (1973:p.41-5).

ing uncontacted on the upper río Sepahua.<sup>29</sup> He offered the Amahuaca guns, shotgun shells, and cash, among other incentives, to carry out the violent attack in order to force the survivors to enter contact and become “civilized”. The Amahuaca of Sepahua had already entered into sustained contact with non-indigenous Peruvians, perhaps some time in the early 1940s.<sup>30</sup> In the years immediately prior to the massacre, the Yaminawa report having a relatively neutral trade relationship with the Amahuaca. Game meat and some forest products, which were becoming scarce around Sepahua as it grew in population, were traded to the Amahuaca in exchange for manufactured goods like metal pots and clothing. There were some cases of Yaminawa girls, as young as 5 or 6 years old, being traded for particularly useful goods such as axe heads and machetes. These women grew up speaking Amahuaca, and most of them integrated into the Amahuaca community through marriage to Amahuaca men.

In the massacre, the Yaminawa, armed only with bows, arrows, and work tools like axes and machetes, were practically defenseless against the shotguns of the Amahuaca. Men, women, the elderly, and children alike were all killed in the attack. Only a few adults managed to escape into the forest, where they headed northward to the upper Purús river where other Yaminawa and Sharanahua were living in comparative peace. A number of female children captured during and shortly after the attack were taken by the Amahuaca as captive household servants. Many of these girls were made to marry Amahuaca men, and as a result, there are many Yaminawa-Amahuaca mixed ethnicity households in Sepahua as well as on the Inuya river. Some of the captive girls were reclaimed by family members when they reached early adolescence. By this point, sometime around the late 1960s, virtually all of the Yaminawa, Sharanahua, and Amahuaca of the upper Purús, Inuya, Sepahua, and Las Piedras rivers were living in sustained contact.

Both the Yaminawa and the Amahuaca were left traumatized by this event. I have witnessed some animosity that remains to this day between certain Yaminawa and Amahuaca families, but in general, the two groups have reconciled, with the Amahuaca recognizing and taking responsibility for their role in the trauma and terror dealt to the Yaminawa, and the Yaminawa forgiving the Amahuaca and recognizing the difficult and desperate circumstances of their choice. Both the Amahuaca and the Yaminawa largely blame Father Ricardo Álvarez Lobo for taking advantage of the Amahuaca’s desperation and using that to pit them against the Yaminawa in order to get weapons that would allow them to better feed and protect their families. Individuals from both communities have said to me that “we didn’t know”,<sup>31</sup> referring to the actions that both sides engaged in the circum-contact period. Yaminawas who were involved in mediating the contact of the Nahuas in the 1980s have pointed out the similar degrees of chaos that characterized both Yaminawa and Nahua contact, and many Yaminawa and Nahua in Sepahua feel that the nearby uncontacted Mashco-Piro (Southern Arawak) should be left alone, lest they also suffer the epidemics, violence, and confusion that accompanied their own contact.

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<sup>29</sup>Father Lobo died in 2013.

<sup>30</sup>Other Amahuaca continued to live uncontacted on the upper Inuya river until the 60s and 70s. There may still be some uncontacted Brazilian Amahuaca today.

<sup>31</sup>In Spanish, “no hemos sabido”.

### 2.3.3 Early contact and relocation of the Río Sepahua and Río Las Piedras Yaminawa

After the trauma of the massacres, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Yaminawa who originally inhabited the Sepahua and Las Piedras rivers engaged in much relocation. Some moved directly to the town of Sepahua, some lived on the upper Purús river with Sharanahua speakers, some moved down the Purús to Puerto Esperanza on the border with Brazil, and others moved over to the Upper Inuya where they lived mixed with Amahuaca speakers who were not involved in the contact-period violence.

Yaminawa who were young adults in the early 1970s (those who are aged 55 to 65 today) sometimes took advantage of new economic opportunities afforded by contact. Most men in this age range spent the better part of the 1970s traveling all over Ucayali region,<sup>32</sup> and even to Brazil working in lumber extraction. In some cases, their young wives followed them, working as cooks and washing clothes; in other cases, Yaminawa women married non-indigenous (mestizo) men and similarly followed them in their travels. One Yaminawa woman, orphaned in one of the massacres, made it as far as Pucallpa, supporting herself as a single woman working as a cook, caring for children, and cleaning homes.

By this point, epidemics of viral disease were not as devastating to the Yaminawa, but their mortality rate remained high due to accidents and lack of access to medical care. Most of the types of employment available to Yaminawa during this time were high-risk and comparatively low-pay. Nearly every Yaminawa family in Sepahua lost a relative due to a work or transportation related accident during this time period. By the early 1980s, Shell Oil had established itself in the Peruvian Amazon, and many Yaminawa men worked as guides, boat pilots, and day laborers for Shell. Resource extraction continues to be a major industry and source of employment for indigenous workers both locally in Sepahua and regionally throughout Peruvian Amazonia. While it is safer today than in the 70s and 80s, it is physically demanding work, with a high risk of accidents, that often takes place in very remote areas where evacuation is seldom rapid and sometimes impossible. 40 years ago, indigenous laborers had little if any financial compensation if injured, and virtually no access to legal recourse when employers were abusive or negligent.

Many extended families were separated as young Yaminawas traveled to new places seeking work. Those young Yaminawas are grandparents and great-grandparents today, and they are universally very nostalgic about family life prior to these migrations. On the other hand, they also talk about their travels and experiences in very positive ways. Unfortunate and painful things happened along the way, but overall, they seem to enjoy telling stories about the types of things they did during these times: practical jokes played on the logging camp foreman, harrowing near-accidents, traveling by airplane, using a flush toilet for the first time, and exotic sights in far-flung parts of the Amazon. Many of the stories Yaminawas tell about this time period are, in essence, stories about coming to understand how to survive and thrive in non-indigenous Peruvian society and the capitalist economy. The term that Yaminawas use for this is *wéyàì*, or in Spanish *acostumbrarse*

<sup>32</sup>Up until 1980, present-day Ucayali region was part of the department of Loreto (today Loreto region).

'get used to, become accustomed to'.<sup>33</sup> Sometimes the negated form *wéyàbà* 'not accustomed' is used to refer to Nahua who have spent little time outside of Serjali and who have not yet adopted certain mestizo habits like eating vegetables, waiting long periods to be called to see the doctor at the hospital, or knowing how to correctly count money. Yaminawas pride themselves on being very well accustomed to life in mestizo society, even though they are simultaneously very critical of mestizo culture. Yaminawas who were involved in the early contact period of the Nahuas often frame their role in those events as one of teaching the Nahua how to navigate non-indigenous society.

### 2.3.4 Contact of the Nahua of Río Mishahua

In 1984, the Nahua, who had been living in voluntary isolation in the interfluvial zone between the Mishahua and Manú rivers. While they had experienced some intermittent conflict with loggers and oil company surveyors before this time, there was a violent conflict in 1984 where two Nahua men were shot at night by loggers in their territory. Some men from this group then went after the loggers, who took them to Sepahua (it is not clear from oral histories if the men were forced, coerced, or went willingly).<sup>34</sup> In Sepahua, they met José Ramírez Ríos (better known as José Choro), the de facto leader of the Yaminawa living in Huaihuashi, a Yaminawa settlement named for the creek that runs alongside it. José had experience working as a guide and translator for Shell Oil and various logging operations. In their first conversations, José and the Nahua arrivals realized that their great-grandparents were close relatives.

In the weeks that followed, other Nahua men also visited Sepahua, and it was not long before a series of epidemics devastated the Nahua community. José Dispupidiba, the current headman of the Nahua village Santa Rosa de Serjali, claims that two out of every three Nahua died. Feather (2010) estimates that around 42 percent of the Nahua died during the epidemics of the 1980s, leaving only 110 survivors (2010:48). That same year, the SIL sent Kim and Caroline Fowler to study the Nahua language and provide basic health assistance to the community. The epidemics were as traumatic for the Nahua as the Amahuaca massacres were for the Yaminawa. Older Nahuas are quick to become very distressed when a loved one gets a fever, no matter how minor, and a sudden, unexplained fever is often perceived to be an omen that someone is going to die. The stories told by the survivors are tales of heartbreaking resilience. One woman lost both her mother and her aunt to fevers, then had to stumble to the edge of the forest alone, to give birth unattended as she shook with fever and chills. All of their shamans died of fever. The Nahua were terrified and hid themselves, refusing medical care from outsiders. Some of the Yaminawa in Sepahua participated in rescue efforts, carrying sick people in hammocks on poles through the forest to the missionaries. Some Nahua would not be convinced to agree to transport, preferring to die in their own community instead of risking that their *wérúyùshì* 'soul' (see section 3.4.2) be lost in an unknown place. To the present day,

<sup>33</sup>This term also refers to the process by which newly married couples gradually learn to live together without conflict.

<sup>34</sup>This story was recounted to Feather (2010) in a way that suggests they went willingly (p.44-45).

many elderly Nahua refuse to be transported for medical care for the same reason. Many children were orphaned, and because the Nahua themselves were too sick to care for them, some of these children were adopted by Yaminawa families.<sup>35</sup>

Sometime after 1995, the three Nahua communities had consolidated to form the single community that exists today at Santa Rosa de Serjali, and the Dominican mission at Sepahua sent some nuns to support the health and education projects (Lev Michael, personal communication). The arrival of these missionaries signaled a significant change in the way that the Nahua were living. Prior to contact, they lived in relatively small groups where resources and work were shared fairly<sup>36</sup> and group decisions were made in a decentralized manner. Nahua today often refer to the SIL missionaries or the Dominican nuns (particularly one “Madre Mercedes”) as their *dueños* (Sp.) meaning “owners”. Many Nahua were assigned Spanish names, and some were assigned leadership positions like “president” and “treasurer” of the community without fully understanding the meanings or responsibilities of those roles. Today, many Nahua lament that they feel they were misled during those early years of contact because many business deals with resource extraction companies were made without the informed consent of the entire Nahua community.

The late 1980s and early 1990s were also a period of intense social contact between the Yaminawa already living in Sepahua and the Nahua. Many young Yaminawa men went to live in Santa Rosa de Serjali during this time, and many younger Nahua of both genders moved to Sepahua, either out of curiosity or in order to escape their grief following the epidemics. Marriages between Yaminawa men and Nahua women were frequent in the 1990s up to the present.<sup>37</sup>

### 2.3.5 Yaminawa and Nahua life in the 21st century

Conditions and infrastructure in Sepahua and Santa Rosa de Serjali have changed greatly in the first decades of the 21st century. Development in Sepahua has brought running water (some days), electricity (for part of the day), cellular phone service (if you’re lucky), and a single analog TV channel. There are now concrete bridges connecting the Yaminawa neighborhood of Centroamérica (previously called Huaihuashi<sup>38</sup>) to the center of town. Previously, one had to cross two makeshift wooden bridges to reach the health post – a dangerous and nearly impossible task during the rainy season when flash flooding is common. Unfortunately, the bridge still gets flooded out at times during the worst of the rainy season. When I began working with the Yaminawa in 2013, only about half of

<sup>35</sup>Many Nahua children who were adopted by Yaminawa families ultimately returned to Santa Rosa de Serjali and identify as Nahua. In fact, the current elected political leader of the Nahua is an adoptee who returned to the community.

<sup>36</sup>For the Yaminawa and Nahua, this means that each person works to the extent that they are able, and each person receives the resources and support that they need.

<sup>37</sup>Marriages between Nahua men and Yaminawa women are less common, due to the Yaminawa perception that Nahua men are less *civilizado* (accustomed to non-indigenous culture) and therefore less able to provide the kinds of modern conveniences that Yaminawa women are accustomed to.

<sup>38</sup>A regional Spanish term for the southern Amazon red squirrel, *Sciurus spadiceus*



the children ever attended school, but today most Yaminawa children in Sepahua now attend school (at least some of the time) and have reasonable access to basic medical care. Most households in Barrio Centroamérica now have a television and a cell phone. DVD players, refrigerators, and three-wheeled motorized rickshaws (*motocar(ro)* in Spanish) are increasingly common. A new water delivery and sewage system, which drains directly into the Urubamba river, were installed by the municipal and provincial government in 2015 and 2016, and inaugurated in 2017. Propane stoves are available and generally affordable, but have yet to catch on among the Yaminawa due to the ease of access to firewood, which is free.

In Santa Rosa de Serjali, there has been less development of infrastructure, but significant investments have been made to the local school and the health post. In 2016, the oil and gas company PlusPetrol began the construction of “modern” homes for each Nahua family, with concrete foundations, wood panel walls, and corrugated zinc roofs. Since 2013, there have been ongoing health and safety concerns due to high mercury levels on the Mishahua river, which have poisoned some families in Serjali. The source has not yet been identified, and the Nahua remain at risk of mercury poisoning until a clean water system is developed. Despite ongoing health crises since the 1980s, the Nahua population has grown considerably, to around 400 individuals in 2015. In 2016 there were two instances of violent conflicts involving uncontacted people, probably Mashco-Piros, and Nahuas. I am concerned that these conflicts will continue as long as the contamination and diminished fish populations continue to affect both of these ethnolinguistic communities.<sup>39</sup>

Both the Yaminawa and Nahua remain somewhat less-permanently settled than other nearby indigenous groups such as the Yine (Southern Arawak) or Matsigenka (Kampan Arawak). It is not uncommon for Yaminawa and Nahua people to move to a different settlement, neighborhood, or residence due to economic opportunity, interpersonal conflict, or to distance oneself from the grief of a deceased loved one. This is often a source of frustration for the local municipal government. For years, Nahua who are visiting Sepahua have tended to camp out near the Dominican mission, which administers part of the community compensation that PlusPetrol pays to the Nahua. In the past, there were two small houses next to the mission where the Nahua would stay. This location is also convenient to the *malecón*, the main waterfront street in Sepahua where most of the small shops are. Sometimes Nahua stay at the mission only for a night or two: to buy food and gasoline, for a pre-natal check-up, or just for a visit. Sometimes they stay for months. The mission, the municipal government, and the mestizo shop owners all find the Nahua’s presence in this location to be a nuisance. The Nahua sometimes do a little bit of panhandling for food or a little money, but they otherwise don’t do anything to bother anyone. In my opinion, the annoyance of the mestizos stems largely from the fact that the Nahuas are unapologetic about being indigenous and poor in a space that is

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<sup>39</sup>Climate change also appears to be a mounting pressure on contacted and uncontacted communities alike, and the prolonged El Niño event of 2014-2016 caused diminished rain fall in the 2015 and 2016 rainy seasons (December-February). According to the Yaminawa, less rain in February leads to fewer fish migrating up as far as the lower Urubamba during the mass fish spawning migration (Spanish: *mijano*) that generally occurs each August.

dominated by a racist and classist culture. In 2016, the houses at the mission were demolished, and PlusPetrol completed an *albergue* (Spanish for hostel) for visiting Nahuas, but it was constructed very far (a 45 minute to 1 hour walk) from the previous location and it costs 3 Peruvian Nuevos Soles (approximately \$ 0.90 USD) one way in a hired motocar. To the chagrin of the downtown shop owners, the mission, and the municipal government, most visiting Nahua continue to congregate under the eaves of the mission building, preferring to be in the center of town and claiming not to be bothered at all by the lack of infrastructure.

## **2.4 A brief general ethnography of contemporary Yaminawa life**

The previous sections described what is known or reported about Yaminawa history, how they came into contact with non-indigenous society, and the geographic distribution they find themselves in today. This section describes the everyday life of Yaminawa and Nahua people in Sepahua, based off of my observations of and interactions with inhabitants of Barrio Centroamérica where I spend most of my time in the field. This section serves to give the reader a sense of the environment that Yaminawa is spoken in. I also hope that it gives a sense of who the Yaminawa are as people. They are not a monolithic community with a single set of beliefs, practices, habits, and personality traits. They are diverse in many regards, but there are common experiences, realities of life, and shared values that connect them as family and as a community.

### **2.4.1 Community structure**

#### **2.4.1.1 Sepahua**

Sepahua is a typical small jungle town situated at the mouth of the Río Sepahua where it joins the Río Urubamba. The town was first established as a mission in the midst of Yine (Southern Arawak), Asháninka (Kampan Arawak), and Amahuaca (Pano) peoples. Later, profitable lumber concessions near the town attracted migrants from the Andean parts of Peru, most notably Cusco. Since the arrival of Shell oil company in the 1980s, other migrants have come from all over Peru to profit from the presence of the oil and gas industry. As a result, Sepahua is a highly multi-ethnic town, with notable communities of six different Amazonian ethnic groups (Yine, Ashaninka, Amahuaca, Matsigenka, Yaminawa, and Nahua), a number of Shipibo, Sharanahua, and Huni Kuin (Kashinahua) migrant residents, indigenous Andeans (particularly from Cusco, Junín, and Puno; some are speakers of Quechua), Spanish-speaking mestizos of mixed ancestry, a small camp of Chinese workers in the logging industry, and a small number of missionaries from Spain (Catholic, associated with the Dominican mission) and the United States (Baptist/Evangelical). It is not unusual to hear four or five different languages being spoken in the local health center or waiting in line at the municipal building, and many Sepahua residents will proudly

and eagerly demonstrate their knowledge of words and phrases in several of these languages to any receptive foreign visitor. In the 2007 census, nearly half of the population reported that an indigenous language was their first language (INEI 2009)

The core settled part of Sepahua has a population of around 3,000 individuals,<sup>40</sup> but there are many people who live outside of the town proper who travel there almost daily. Many secondary-school-aged children travel in outboard-motor powered canoes to attend classes each day. The population of the entire district (as legally defined) has around 6,700 individuals (INEI 2009), but this does not include communities, such as Miaria (population 1,000), just a couple of hours travel south which lie on the other side of the Ucayali-Cusco border. In 2007 over half of the population is under 18 years of age (INEI 2009).

Sepahua is only accessible by river and air. From Lima, one can take a bus to the town of Satipo in Junín region, then a 4-wheel drive vehicle to the town of Atalaya in Ucayali region (the road is particularly rough during the rainy season), then a 7 to 10 hour ride in a *colectivo* (regional Spanish for an aluminum passenger transport boat, basically a river bus) to Sepahua. The return trip to Atalaya is only about 5 hours and is a little bit cheaper because it is downriver. From Pucallpa, the largest city in Ucayali region and the location of the regional hospital, one can arrive in Atalaya by boat (a 22 hour trip going upriver, and around 14 hours returning), or by plane (just one hour, but costing 350 Peruvian Nuevos Soles, around \$106 USD). The stretch of river between Atalaya and Sepahua is fairly safe, but the river between Pucallpa and Atalaya is more dangerous and boats are sometimes attacked by pirates, particularly in the weeks leading up to the Christmas holidays. From Pucallpa, it is also sometimes possible to arrive directly in Sepahua by plane. Sometimes there are government subsidized flights that only cost 120 Peruvian Nuevos Soles (around \$36 USD). Unsubsidized flights cost at least three times as much. Flights to Atalaya are almost daily, but flights to Sepahua typically do not arrive more than twice per week. It is also possible to reach Sepahua via Cusco, via bus to Quillabamba, then around 6 hours on a minibus until the end of the road, where boats take passengers down the dangerous Pongo de Mainique (a narrow stretch of the Urubamba river with cliffs on either side) to Camisea. From Camisea, Sepahua is reached in a half-day trip via *colectivo*.

The town of Sepahua itself has many different *barrios* or ‘neighborhoods’, although some of these are distant enough and disconnected enough to probably be considered separate settlements. The *barrios* of San Juan, Nuevo San Juan, Nuevo Eden, and San Francisco are located centrally, have the best access to municipal services like electricity and water, have the best maintained roads, and are mostly inhabited by mestizos, Andean immigrants to the region, and Yines. Many of the people living in these inner *barrios* make a living from small retail businesses and restaurants, renting rooms, working as teachers or for the municipal government, or providing services like welding and equipment repair. Surrounding this core urbanized area, there are the *barrios* of Nueva Esperanza, 7 de Junio, Nuevo Rosario, San Miguel, Nuevo Belén, and Centroamérica. These *barrios* are inhabited mostly by indigenous ethnic communities mixed to varying degrees with

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<sup>40</sup>According to a document posted in the local health post.

mestizos and Andean people. Most of the people in these neighborhoods subsist on small-scale agriculture, varying types of day labor or temporary labor, the monthly 250 soles (approximately \$75 USD) pension received by people over 65, and the sale of forest or river products like fish, bushmeat, fruit, or lumber. Further communities outside of these are mostly inhabited by Yines, who subsist on fishing and small-scale agriculture.

#### **2.4.1.2 Barrio Centroamérica, Barrio Nuevo Belén, Barrio San Miguel, and Barrio San Francisco**

There are Yaminawa living in nearly every *barrio* of Sepahua, but most are concentrated in Centroamérica, San Miguel, and San Francisco. As of 2017, there are two semi-permanent groups of Nahua living apart from Yaminawa: one makeshift encampment outside of the Dominican mission in Barrio San Francisco, and another in Barrio Nuevo Rosario in a concrete multi-family building constructed for the Nahua by PlusPetrol as a form of community compensation in 2016. The neighborhood of Centroamérica is predominantly Yaminawa, and the *local* (Spanish for the elected neighborhood leadership which coordinates with the municipal government, organizes events, and mediates intra-neighborhood disputes) is controlled by Yaminawas.<sup>41</sup> Centroamérica is situated along the north bank of a creek known as Huaihuashi, which runs into the Urubamba river at the west end (furthest from town) of the *barrio*. To enter Centroamérica from town, one must cross a small concrete bridge (completed by the municipal government in 2011) which can be impassible during flooding in the months of January and February. Younger, less traditional families live near the bridge (closer to town), and the elderly Yaminawa (often with some of their adult children) live closer to the Urubamba river (farther from town). North of the neighborhood are the *chacras* (Peruvian Spanish for swiddens) of the neighborhood's inhabitants and forested areas where resources are harvested. The work presented here comes primarily from fieldwork and experiences that took place in Centroamérica and its *chacras*.

Barrio Nuevo Belén is near Centroamérica, to the north of the Municipal building. It is a newer neighborhood in the sense that several Yaminawa families have moved there in the last three to five years, usually due to interpersonal or inter-family conflicts occurring in other neighborhoods. Some families move back and forth between this neighborhood and either Centroamérica or San Miguel as tensions cool or are rekindled. Most of the Yaminawa families in this neighborhood are comparatively older and do not have small children. Barrio Nuevo Belén is small and does not have a community building or any official, elected leadership.

Barrio San Miguel is a mixed-ethnicity neighborhood, controlled politically by mestizos and Yines, but there has been considerably more Yaminawa and Amahuaca representation. The president of San Miguel in 2017 was a Yaminawa woman, Maritza Maynas. Yaminawas in San Miguel have often intermarried with other ethnic groups, and live a considerably less communal lifestyle than the Yaminawas of Centroamérica, but there is

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<sup>41</sup>The leadership of the *local* changes frequently. Between June 2013 and June 2016, there were at least five different presidents. During this period there was only one president who was not Yaminawa and his tenure was brief.

one loosely-constituted traditionally-styled residence group consisting of an older matriarch and two of the adult daughters of her deceased sister.

Barrio San Francisco is also a mixed-ethnicity neighborhood, controlled politically by mestizos and Yines. The Yaminawa population of this neighborhood is not large, but it is notable in that the families here are mostly of mixed Amahuaca and Yaminawa heritage. These unions were generally the product of the violent conquest of the Yaminawa by the Amahuaca during the contact period. Often these individuals identify more as Amahuaca than Yaminawa, though they appear to have more linguistic knowledge of Yaminawa than of Amahuaca, likely due to the fact that Yaminawa is significantly more vital.

#### **2.4.1.3 Family life and residence groups**

At least half of the Yaminawa households in Centroamérica are composed of three generations, but there are many households with only two, and households of four generations occasionally occur for brief periods during extended visits by adult grandchildren or the construction of new homes. Individual households can consist of as few as 3 or as many as 9 individuals, usually a couple and their children, plus either one or more of their parents or an adult child's children. Some smaller households are composed of a couple and a single child or grandchild that they are raising. Between June 2013 and August 2017, I observed that there were typically between 25 and 30 households (defined as a group of people inhabiting the same physical structure) at a time in Centroamérica.

Traditionally, an ideal marriage is between two cross-cousins or classificatory cross-cousins.<sup>42</sup> But now, only elderly couples who have been together since the 70s or earlier conform to this. Contemporary marriages are either between Yaminawa men and Nahua women (as noted in section 2.3.5) or between Yaminawas and other indigenous or non-indigenous ethnicities. Among young people today, marriages between two Yaminawas are the exception, not the norm.

Groups of two to five individual households generally form loose residence groups that participate in daily labor together, provide mutual childcare, and share resources. A typical residence group consists of a woman and her spouse's household (the dominant household), plus two to four of her children's households. In 2016, Centroamérica experienced a peak of five major residence groups and one minor residence group.<sup>43</sup> While every Yaminawa home has its own covered outdoor kitchen, residence groups are easily identifiable by the fact that members of the group will frequent the largest kitchen (typically complete with a large table, benches, and a couple of hammocks), which invariably belongs to the dominant household. The dominant household typically has the

<sup>42</sup>A cross-cousin is a cousin who is the child of one's parent's opposite-sex sibling, e.g., the offspring of one's mother's brother. Classificatory kinship relations are those based not on blood-relations, but rather on socially or culturally determined abstract relations, e.g. a non-blood relative being assigned a kinship term based on the nature of their marital or social relationship to a given family member.

<sup>43</sup>The largest residence group consisted of five closely associated households plus two loosely associated households. The other four main groups consisted of four households each. The minor residence group consisted of just two recent-arrival households with a total of two adults, necessitating frequent coordination with the neighboring groups and assistance from family members in other *barrios*.

largest amount of cleared agricultural land. I have also seen some households participate in two adjacent residence groups. In 2017, there were five non-Yaminawa households in Centroamérica. These households are widely spread out and do not participate in residence groups, even in cases where they have friendly relationships with their Yaminawa neighbors. These non-Yaminawa households appear to only participate in group labor a few times per year when it has been formally organized, or when they are reciprocating assistance from an individual household. Most Yaminawas prefer to work communally, but I have had Kampan Arawak neighbors, particularly Asháninkas, share their opinion with me that Yaminawas organize work parties too frequently.

Residence groups are robust in the sense that they are the fundamental social unit for the organization of daily life, but they are also very fluid and I have witnessed frequent change and sometimes rapid collapse. One residence group was rapidly formed in 2015 when a matriarch established a new household next to her son and daughter-in-law. The matriarch's brother's household quickly joined, and over the course of 2016, the residence group added three more households, and experienced a meteoric rise in their political standing. In June 2016, another residence group partially collapsed, leaving the *barrio* without a president. A seventh household was added in July 2016, and the eldest son of the residence group's matriarch was elected as the new president. But by April 2017, this residence group had almost entirely collapsed, due to both labor migration and social conflict, leaving just two households regularly coordinating labor, and a third household only reluctantly participating while attempting to form their own independent residence group. Meanwhile, the residence group that underwent near collapse in 2016 regained two households and re-stabilized in mid-2017. Part of the lack of long-term stability in these groups appears to be due to economic changes, particularly the fact that men often leave the community to work in resource extraction industries. Another contributing factor is that the matrilineal nature of the residence group runs counter to the patriarchal structure of non-indigenous culture. A residence group built around a mother and her daughters is politically stronger than one built around a mother and her sons' wives. Changing or conflicting attitudes about the role of women in the family can destabilize this structure, however. The most stable residence group in Centroamérica during 2013-2017 is composed of a matriarch, her mestizo husband of over 40 years, three daughters with mestizo husbands, and her son and Nahua daughter-in-law (who has been part of the residence group since adolescence). When the mestizo husband of the youngest daughter drunkenly shoved her in anger, all of the women in the residence group banded together to reprimand him. In a similar instance in a group that ultimately collapsed, there had been no intervention and one woman in the now-collapsed group even commented publicly that the husband had the biblical right to be angry with (i.e., be abusive toward) his wife.

Extended family from outside residence groups often participate in daily visiting where food gifts are offered, gossip is shared, small group activities like fishing or weeding are planned, and favors (such as the loan of a chainsaw or tape measure) are requested. Extended family from outside the *barrio* visit a few times per week, stopping at each of the kitchens of the dominant households. Yaminawa from other communities who are making longer visits are typically hosted by a dominant household.

I have never heard any term used in either Spanish or Yaminawa to refer to the residence group structure, but residence group members do appear to be highly sensitive to such structures. I have witnessed several cases where positive relationships between individual households were trumped by troubled relationships between the residence groups that those households belonged to. Most differences are set aside for work parties (see section 2.4.4.2), but social parties often bring such tensions to the surface. I have witnessed cases where an individual celebrating a birthday (a type of party organized within the residence group) wished to invite a cousin from a different group, but refrained from doing so due in order to avoid further tension between the groups, should a disagreement happen. On the other hand, I have also seen situations where two individual households in the same residence group had an active, ongoing conflict, but were able to put this aside in (most) social contexts where residence group solidarity was expected. While my house is physically located in the residence group of Delicia Gomez Ramirez, I had the entrance built facing the opposite direction of the main kitchen, and toward the road – a subtle signal that my household of one is, to some extent, outside of the residence group system, and open to anyone, regardless of residence group politics.

## 2.4.2 Subsistence and economic aspects of life

Much of the interaction and organized activity of residence groups centers on subsistence and economic activities. Subsistence agriculture is the primary source of starchy foods and income for most Yaminawa families. Fishing and the husbandry of free-range chickens provides most of the protein in the Yaminawa diet. Purchased foods, ranging from locally gathered fruit to industrially processed foods, now form an important part of the Yaminawa diet. Both Yaminawa men and women are increasingly participating in varying degrees of formal labor to ensure that their families have access to manufactured clothing, housewares, building supplies, and western pharmaceuticals.

### 2.4.2.1 Small-scale farming and animal husbandry

Each Yaminawa residence group has several *chacras* (Peruvian Spanish for agricultural fields) associated with it. Subsistence agriculture is considered the most important economic activity because it is a reliable source of food and income for all families. Cassava, plantains, maize, and rice are the primary crops grown in Sepahua, but beans and peanuts are also important seasonal cash crops. Recently there have been organized efforts by the regional government and NGOs to promote the cultivation of cacao, *chàxù réxùwǐ* in Yaminawa,<sup>44</sup> for processing and export, though in the past the Yaminawa ate only the sweet, fragrant pulp of the fruit, and merely discarded the seeds, which may be used to make chocolate.

As discussed earlier in section 2.3.1, Yaminawa mythology seldom references *yùà* ‘cassava’, and it appears that *xèki*<sup>45</sup> ‘maize’ was, in the pre-contact past, the most important

<sup>44</sup>Literally, ‘deer snout’, in reference to the shape and color of a ripe cacao pod

<sup>45</sup>Also pronounced *shikì*, particularly by the Nahua

crop. Various species of plantains, *máñià*, are frequently mentioned in traditional lore, and are one of the most important crops today, as they can be cultivated year-round in Sepahua. Sweet potatoes, *kàrì*, and taro-like *sachapapa* (Sp.), *pùà*, are cultivated to supplement cassava or for use in sweetening *pétì*, ‘*masato*’, a fermented beverage made with cassava. Other crops are only grown seasonally. Maize is generally only cultivated during the dry season (May-October). Rice is usually planted after burning fields in August and harvested in late November or early December before the peak of the rainy season. Protein rich beans, *púrútù*, and peanuts, *tàbà*, are grown during the dry season, but not by all families, and these are mostly destined for sale. Peanuts were grown by the Yaminawa prior to contact, and some older people still cultivate small patches of them near the house for personal consumption, but younger Yaminawa only cultivate them on sandy beaches on the Urubamba where they are more easily harvested and processed for sale.

Each residence group coordinates in advance the clearing and burning of new fields, which crops they will sow, and the harvest (and processing and sale) of those crops. Maintenance activities such as weeding and the harvesting and replanting of plantains and cassava involves spontaneous collaboration among the residence group. Major agricultural work, such clearing, planting, and harvesting large fields typically involves reciprocal coordination between two or more residence groups, as this work is very intensive and takes place during set time periods during the year. Major clearing takes place around the end of June or beginning of July, followed by the burning of brush in August or September when it is driest, and the planting and harvesting of different crops according to their season. Relatives from other *barrios* of Sepahua sometimes participate in these major projects, which are typically organized as a type of work party (see section 2.4.4.2).

Although each dominant household and many of the dependent households claim individual ownership of particular plots of agricultural land, any work that will significantly impact the environment, such as the clearing of large trees to create a new plot, is subject to the neighbors’ approval. I have observed representatives from each residence group, in addition to representatives from the non-Yaminawa households, get together to walk the land and determine which trees can be culled without damaging the long-term productivity of the collective land (see section 2.4.2.3). When it is discovered that someone has felled trees without the approval of their neighbors, the *barrio* generally attempts informal mediation at first, and if the illicit lumber extraction continues, a formal meeting among all stakeholders is called, a fine is assessed, and/or the lumber is confiscated and redistributed. In situations where the offender is *ajeno* (Spanish for ‘outsider’ or ‘unaffiliated’), that is, not a landowner in the community, no informal mediation is attempted and neighbors form a blockade (there is only one road) and demand immediate cessation of the activity and payment of a fine. Proceeds from fines are used to finance neighborhood-wide activities and support for medical expenses incurred by community members. I have participated in a few blockades, and while the frustration is always genuine, the formation of the blockade usually involves a lot of running around and laughter. When the offender comes around and is stopped, adults and children alike form a mob and feign extreme seriousness. When the offender is allowed to continue on his way, the laughter and joking immediately resume.



Agricultural land, *bàè*, provides a number of benefits in addition to crops. The clearing of a field provides firewood and building materials. Cut brush and disturbed soil turn up multitudes of insects for hungry chickens. Burning frequently results in the convenient roasting of a few unlucky tortoises, which are a favorite food of the Yaminawa. Crops attract game animals like *añuje* (Sp.), (*Dasyprocta* sp.), *majás* (*Cuniculus paca*), and armadillo (*Dasypus novemcinctus*). During the dry season, large flocks of parrots descend on the maize. While the damage to the crops is not appreciated, the extra meat is. Clearing and burning sometimes result in the discovery of baby animals that are usually adopted as pets.

Small kitchen and medicinal gardens grown right next to the home supplement the main foods grown in the *chacra*. Kitchen gardens usually include one or two cultivars of *yùchì* (hot chilies), some fruit trees/shrubs (lime, papaya, cocona, pineapple, and mango), herbs/leaves (*sacha culantro*, *bijao*), sugarcane for the kids, and medicines like lemon-grass (*hierba luisa*) and turmeric (*guisador amarillo*). Some households grew cucumbers and tomatoes for the first time in 2017. Other household plants include cotton, *caapi* (for brewing ayahuasca), and *ishanga*, a stinging nettle used to discipline children via threatening its application.

In contemporary Yaminawa culture, the cultivation of crops and livestock husbandry go hand and hand. Maize is an affordable feed to supplement the diets of free-range chickens and ducks. Kudzu-like creeping vines and other vegetation removed from fields before burning and planting can be used as feed for ravenous *cuy* (guinea pigs). Livestock is a recent adoption among the Yaminawa and I know of no families that raise cattle or swine, and there is only one family that has started raising goats as of 2017.<sup>46</sup> Chicken is the most common animal raised, and while they are frequently sold, they are only eaten at home on special occasions. Ducks are less common, and are mostly sold or eaten on a major holiday like Christmas. Eggs are usually allowed to develop and hatch. While some households raise *cuy* and sell them, I have never witnessed a household eating *cuy* that was raised within the residence group. One younger Nahua woman living in Centroamérica remarked to me that she cannot eat her *cuy*s because they are like pets to her. This sentiment may explain why Yaminawa have little interest in raising mammals for meat.

Dogs (*pàxtà* in Yaminawa) are a favored household pet. They are useful for trapping game animals that are attracted to the crops (as well as elusive chickens), and they alert the household to thieves at night. Cats are a more modern addition, and are not as well-loved or long-lived as dogs. Cats help prevent rodents from destroying stored grains, but they are susceptible to run-ins with venomous snakes and generally suffer from poor health in the tropical climate. I have observed residence groups to have as many as eight adult dogs, but generally only two or three adult cats, if any. Responsibility for individual dogs rests with individual households (such as in the case of a dog bite, or a dog killing a

<sup>46</sup>In 2018, one family briefly had a pig that they acquired via barter, but its residency in Barrio Centroamérica was short-lived, as most of the members of the residence group (and other neighbors) agreed that it was an unsanitary nuisance. Simultaneously, another household was raising a wild-caught white-lipped peccary, which was much beloved by the entire neighborhood.

neighbor's chicken), but the dogs of a residence group form a pack, and I have seen dogs who are not well-fed in one residence group simply move to a different group.

#### 2.4.2.2 Fishing, hunting, and wild-gathering

Fishing is a favorite Yaminawa past time, but it is also the source of most of the animal protein in the contemporary Yaminawa diet. Traditional fishing made use of *huaca* (*Tephrosia* sp., *pùrà* in Yaminawa, a vine that, when beaten to a pulp, releases a compound that stuns fish) and simple hand gathering. Fish spears and woven traps were also employed. These strategies are better suited to the shallow tributaries in the Yaminawa's traditional headwaters territory.

Today, fishing with poisons is not permitted by the government, nor would it be a successful strategy in a river the size of the Urubamba. Fish spears and hand-woven traps are no longer used. Modern traps like manufactured nylon *triques* (gillnets) and hand-woven heavy nylon *tarrafas* (cast nets), deployed from a canoe, are the two most common methods. The Yaminawa also enjoy fishing with hooks on modern nylon line, cast by hand (without a rod) from the shore or a canoe, but this is more of a recreational pursuit, sometimes successful in catching a few smaller fish, but not as efficient as a net method. Not all families have their own net or canoe, so line and hook fishing is the primary strategy used in some households.

Bony *boquichico* (*Prochilodus nigricans*) and small *cunchi* (catfish) are two types of fish that are caught year-round. As the peak of the dry season approaches each year in August, there is a massive upriver migration of fish that brings many other species. The migration often arrives in waves, allowing fishers to catch different species of fish every few days. Taking advantage of the dry weather and abundance of fish, many Yaminawa choose to salt their fish for longer term storage. These are later thoroughly washed, boiled, and eaten in soup, which dilutes the salt. Fish are also commonly eaten fried, grilled, and as *patarashca* (tightly wrapped in *bijao* leaves and steamed in their own juices, sometimes with onion, chiles, and/or herbs added for flavor).

Fishing is an activity that is enjoyed by Yaminawa children, too. Very young children (between three and eight years old) often take colanders and sections of discarded fishing net to the creek and catch a few small fish that an older sister or brother will grill or fry for them. Some older children (typically between age seven and twelve) will do line fishing at the main river. More responsible and experienced teenagers sometimes borrow canoes to fish after school. Sometimes, the whole family will take a fishing trip together. Often these trips take place a few hours up- or down- river of Sepahua, but families also sometimes spend the night on the beach only minutes from the house, just for fun. More rarely, whole extended families get a few boats together and take fishing trips that are a day or two away, typically going up either the Urubamba or Sepahua rivers, and then moving downriver as they fish.

Most hunting and wild-gathering as an active subsistence activity are now only practiced by the most traditional families, but I have witnessed most Yaminawa participating in these activities opportunistically if there is not a great deal of planning or travel involved, particularly when game, edible insects, or medicinal plants are found in or near

their fields. Larger game animals like peccary can often be found within a day or two by foot from Sepahua. Some species of monkey, as well as more solitary animals like armadillos or porcupine, can be found just a short walk into the forest. The largest animals like tapir and peccary are now quite difficult to find near Sepahua. Hunting trips usually coincide with other goals such as upriver fishing trips, or a search for valuable lumber species or for gatherable forest products, particularly wild honey which is used by Yaminawa and mestizos alike for its medicinal properties.

Yaminawas love to eat animal meat, but they also love to raise pets. Baby animals are frequently found and adopted as pets during hunting or gathering trips. The most popular semi-domesticated pets are bird species, particularly parrots and parrotlets. Yaminawa women get very excited when they hear the cries of baby parrotlets and will drop everything to locate the nest. The crested oropendola, (*Psarocolius decumanus*, *iskû* in Yaminawa), is a bird which frequently appears as a pet in Yaminawa traditional narratives, but Yaminawas say that they no longer raise it in homes because of its propensity to destroy fabrics (handwoven hammocks and manufactured clothing alike) and steal household items. Small primate species, particularly tamarins, are popular pets. Larger species like spider monkeys were kept traditionally, but these are no longer preferred because they get into modern possessions including purchased foods. Tortoises, which cannot easily escape kitchens, may be kept and fed for a few weeks before they are eaten, but are generally not treated as pets.

#### **2.4.2.3 Resource extraction and other major economic activities**

Lumber extraction is a major industry in Peruvian Amazonia, and nearly all Yaminawa participate in the extraction of lumber resources to some degree. There are a handful of Yaminawa men who are quite experienced and skilled with chainsaws who work felling trees and/or cutting them into various sized beams and planks. In addition, some younger individuals, both men and women, occasionally participate in labor processing wood for the Chinese-owned and operated San Martín lumber company. Men may take jobs working on boats to transport lumber downriver. Aside from participation in the formal lumber industry, Yaminawa also sell lumber that they harvest from their own land. Certain species, such as *bolaina* (*Guazuma crinita*) grow very quickly and are actively managed by the Yaminawa to be periodically harvested. Residence groups coordinate the culling of trees to ensure that there are always enough adult trees present to quickly regenerate the population to ensure future profitability. In many cases they harvest their own lumber and sell whole logs for processing, but elderly people or residence groups involved in other economically profitable activities may allow loggers to come onto their land to harvest it themselves. Informal, independent lumber extraction in the deep forest is usually carried out concurrently with other goals, such as hunting or the construction of a canoe. In the early contact period, lumber was the only cash-paying economic opportunity available to Yaminawas. Men worked cutting or hauling logs while their wives took jobs as camp cooks and laundresses.

Since the 1980s, petrochemical companies, in particular Shell Oil and PlusPetrol, have also employed many Yaminawa men. The work typically pays between 900 and 1000 Pe-

ruvian Nuevos Soles (275-305 US dollars) monthly, slightly more than minimum wage. There are only rarely opportunities for women without professional degrees. Construction jobs on projects funded by PlusPetrol, the local or regional governments, and private citizens provide another source of cash income, particularly during the dry season. These types of formal labor require weeks or months of commitment, however, and some Yaminawa men say that they prefer to work in their fields with their families. The local and regional government hires women on a rotating basis to pick up trash in the town, or shovel sand and gravel for construction. Short-term employment in river transportation is also popular, particularly day labor loading/unloading boats or three to four day stints as part of a boat's crew.

Around 2015, motocars<sup>47</sup> became much more affordable in Sepahua (around 1500 PEN or \$460 USD for a functioning used motocar, or less if it needs repairs), and many Yaminawa families have purchased them. When they are functional, young men give taxi rides for a few soles per trip and use them to transport agricultural products like plantains. Men also make extra money by working as bouncers at local bars and *discotecas*.

Women engage in different economic activities in order to earn cash. Two Yaminawa women, Jacqueline Ibarra and Adelaida Ribero, own successful river transportation businesses. Women also run small *bodegas* (convenience stores) out of their homes, set up food stalls in town, and sell second-hand clothes. Another notable source of seasonal income for women is participation in language documentation and linguistic research, namely this project. One form of economic activity that is only practiced by women is the practice of ethnomedicine for income.<sup>48</sup> The kitchen, a female-controlled space, forms the nucleus of the home and the residence group, and it is also where most traditional medicine and spiritual practices are performed. All Yaminawa have some degree of knowledge of traditional herbal and spiritual medicine that they practice in the home to cure simple ailments such as back pain or *susto*, a spiritual ailment in Peruvian mestizo and Latin American culture which causes lethargy and lack of appetite in small children following an illness or fall. Some Yaminawa have deeper knowledge of particular subspecialties, and these individuals are sought out when necessary. Within families, no payment is required for the services and advice of specialist healers, but the favor is typically reciprocated with food or labor. Many mestizos in Sepahua also seek the help of these specialists when Western medicine has not been able to help them. Infertility, joint pain, pregnancy advice,<sup>49</sup> impotence and prostate problems, and infidelity are common reasons that people seek out Yaminawa specialists. Yaminawa specialist healers are particularly sought out because they typically do not charge a patient until the problem has

<sup>47</sup>Motocars are modified motorcycles that have a rickshaw like cart with a bench accommodating two to three seated passengers, more if people sit in each others' laps or ride standing, holding onto the back of the cart.

<sup>48</sup>While men dominate the practice of ethnomedicine for income in some other Amazonian cultures, and while Yaminawa men often have a monopoly on practicing ethnomedicine or shamanism for North American or European outsiders, I have only observed Yaminawa women to generate income (in the form of cash or goods) practicing ethnomedicine for other indigenous people or mestizos.

<sup>49</sup>Mestizos most frequently seek to know the sex of the child or to resolve problems like menstrual spotting and severe morning sickness.

been resolved. If the treatment is unsuccessful, no payment is required. Payment generally comes in the form of cash, but healers are universally willing to accept other forms of compensation. There is a widely held belief among the Yaminawa that healers should not be *yúàshì* ‘stingy’ by refusing treatment or over-charging, lest they lose their abilities by angering the plant spirits and/or the Christian God, or invite retribution via witchcraft. Prescribed treatments may be as simple as gathering some nearby herbs or bark for a tea or steam bath that the patient will prepare at home, or they may be as complex as an ayahuasca ritual involving a day of fasting and a whole night of partaking the brew with the healer. Yaminawa specialist healers sometimes devote hours each week to the treatment of mestizo patients, despite the fact that this activity generates very little income. María Ramírez Ríos, recognized by most of the Yaminawa of Barrio Centroamérica as the most skilled healer in the community, says that she practices healing mostly out of a sense of responsibility to help others.

#### **2.4.2.4 Formal education**

Any Yaminawa over age of 60 and any Nahua over age 35 did not have any opportunity to pursue a typical primary school education because of their age at the time of contact. Despite this, several older Yaminawa learned functional literacy skills outside of the classroom. Yaminawa adults age 40 to 60 generally have functional literacy skills in Spanish, but a preference for oral delivery of information. The act of reading a document, particularly a technical or legalistic one, may require significant cognitive effort that impedes understanding. I have often seen occasions where a document was read aloud by one person, then explained orally by a second person. Even those older Yaminawa who have very good reading skills often are uncomfortable writing. Most Yaminawa under age 30 are comfortable with both reading and writing. Since 2016, more Yaminawa have intermittent internet access, and the use of social media and WhatsApp (a popular messaging service) have made literacy all but ubiquitous among teenagers, even those who have scarcely attended school.

Rates of primary education completion have improved over time, but secondary school completion remains uncommon. In the last two decades, Yaminawa parents report that they have become more insistent that their children attend formal schooling. Recent opportunities such as the government-funded Beca 18 post-secondary education scholarship and the development of intercultural-bilingual education programs have generated more interest among Yaminawa youths to complete their secondary studies and attend a university or trade college. However, social and economic factors still pressure teenagers, particularly older boys, to leave their studies in order to work and support their families. At the time of this writing, there are three Yaminawa youths who are undertaking university students: a young man studying international relations and English in Lima, a young woman studying bilingual-intercultural education in Atalaya, and a young man studying medicine in Atalaya. These are the first three students to attend university studies since the late 1990s when a young man attended a university in Quillabamba, but did not complete his degree. A few Yaminawa between the ages of 25 and 40 have taken a vocational class at the local technical institute, Carlos Laborde, usually something mechanics-related

for men and cosmetology-related for women. In recent years, several young Yaminawa who dropped out of school have attended free night classes in Sepahua to complete their secondary education.

## 2.4.3 Material culture

### 2.4.3.1 The Yaminawa home

According to Yaminawa elders, traditional homes were longhouses with an entrance on each end. According to some, there was one entrance for women and one for men; according to others, there was one entrance for visitors and one for the community members. The modern Yaminawa home may be as small as 3 meters by 4 meters, or as large as 5 or 6 meters square. Small homes tend to house young nuclear families with just one or two very young children. Larger homes may house three or even four generations of a family. The number of rooms inside of a home depends on the number and ages of its inhabitants. Households with more cash on hand will sometimes construct interior walls with wood, while households with less cash resources may simply use semi-opaque mosquito bed nets as divisions for privacy. Privacy, usually for the purpose of intimacy, is said to have not been a concern in traditional long houses as there was not any electric lighting at night. Whereas traditional homes were built on the ground, modern homes are built up off the ground, either with a concrete foundation, or, more commonly, a wood or *pona* (*Iriarteia* sp.) palm bark floor raised off the ground on hardwood posts. Walls are typically wood, either 4" by ½" *tablilla* boards or plywood sheets, but plastic tarps and wild cane are also used. Corrugated zinc sheet metal is the most common roofing material, but thatch is still employed in some households for kitchens, porches, and encampments in the fields.<sup>50</sup> The kitchen is always separate from the sleeping quarters, and has a dirt floor. Most homes also have a covered, outdoor patio where people rest during the afternoon (buildings with sheet metal roofs get incredibly hot during this time of day). While most patios have a thatch or plastic sheeting roof, some households gather under a large mango or bitter orange tree instead.

Furniture tends to be minimal. Most individual households have at least a hammock or two, a rough-hewn table, and a wooden bench or two. Only the oldest Yaminawa still sleep in hammocks; others sleep either on blankets or mats on the floor or a raised wooden bed frame, or, in the case of a small number of families, on mattresses. The kitchens of residence group matriarchs have much more furniture than individual kitchens: shelves/cabinets, extra tables, and multiple benches are common in most main kitchens. Every woman has a large *masatero* pot (often 60-80L capacity) for boiling yuca for *masato*, as well as a number of smaller 10 to 20L pots for daily cooking.<sup>51</sup> Graters,

<sup>50</sup>Buildings or rooms roofed with corrugated zinc sheets tend to get very hot during the afternoon, but are less-likely to leak during rainstorms. Thatch stays cool, but it is increasingly hard to find around Sepahua as the population grows, and it is susceptible to developing leaks and attracts pests like rodents and sometimes snakes.

<sup>51</sup>Pots smaller than 10L are considered comically tiny, and my 3L rice pot is a constant source of teasing from women living in my hosting residence group.

hand mills, large pestles, handle-less knives, large spoons, plastic cups, and assortments of plates, bowls, mugs, and silverware round out the equipment available in a typical kitchen. Refrigerators and propane stoves are increasingly common in the individual kitchens of women under 40. Most households still cook with wood, borrowing embers from a neighbor if their fire goes out, or using matches and a little plastic to start a new fire.

During the period of this study, there were typically eight hours of electricity available per day in Centroamérica, 9am to noon and 6pm to 11pm. The *local* (community building) or a residence group may borrow or rent a generator for parties that run late into the night. People mostly don't watch television in the morning hours, unless they have been left with the responsibility of caring for very young children while others work in the fields. Almost every household has a television, and many have DVD players as well. Yaminawas get their local news via the radio, particularly the 6am and 1pm reports. Yaminawas enjoy listening to music on the radio as well, particularly since Centroamérica resident Adolfo Ramírez began deejaying in the morning slot. In the afternoons, radios with USB ports and cell phones are used to play music. Beginning in 2015, a new water system was installed and water runs to a number of taps located along the road, but there is typically only very low water pressure by the late afternoon, and some days no water flows at all. Women now wash clothes in large plastic basins at these taps instead of in the creek. Powdered laundry detergent is used as an all-purpose soap. Because of the low pressure in the afternoon and evening, many people still bathe in the creek. In 2016, an NGO built new latrines for 18 households in Centroamérica. The *local* has flush toilets and a septic tank, but these are almost never used, as many Yaminawas find it distasteful to use a toilet that is inside a building full of people, especially for the purpose of defecation.

#### 2.4.3.2 Tools

Traditionally, Yaminawas made canoes, bows, various types of arrows, fishing traps, baskets, ceramic pots, drop spindles, mortars and pestles, fans, ladders, and stone axes (for which they get their name, "axe people"). Some of these technologies, like the production of ceramic pots and stone axes, has ceased entirely in favor of manufactured aluminum pots and steel machetes. Others, like boat and ladder construction have changed dramatically with the introduction of iron nails and pitch. Bows and arrows and spears are still produced in the traditional way to sell to tourists. Baskets, fans, and drop spindles continue to be produced and used in the traditional way in the home. Mortars and pestles continue to be used alongside modern hand mills.

Every household has an assortment of machetes, buckets, *costales* (large sacks made of plastic tarp material), wooden poles, and *ganchos* (forked wooden digging sticks) for working in the fields. Individual households have individual preferences for their subsistence activities, and the types of tools that may be found in each household vary. Households which are very enthusiastic about fishing typically have a boat, a small (13HP or less) long tail outboard motor, known as a *peque peque* in Amazonic Spanish, and a number of different types of nets, line, and hooks. Households that spend a lot of time hunting and wild-gathering typically have a shotgun, shells, a ladder, and a large barbecue. Chain-

saws, tape measures, and hand tools like saws and hammers are also common. Motocars are increasingly relied on to transport firewood and produce, and even to pull logs a short distance.

#### 2.4.3.3 Clothing, adornment, and art

Traditionally, women wore woven cotton skirts, *xúriti* in Yaminawa, and men wore a belt or cotton string to secure their penises against the lower abdomen. Cotton bands, decorated with painted designs and beads, were worn by both men and women on the upper arms and lower legs. Arm bands often held fragrant herbs and/or colorful bird feathers in place. Men and women alike wore strings of beads worn across the chest over each shoulder. Woven cotton, bark, feathers, porcupine spines, and other objects were fashioned into hats and crowns. Achiote (*Bixa orellana*) and genipap (*Genipa americana*) were used to paint the body. Both men and women pierced earlobes, the lower lip, and the nasal septum. Strings of beads or other adornments were worn in these piercings.

Today, all Yaminawa wear manufactured T-shirts, shorts (or skirts for some women), plastic thong sandals, PVC rubber rain boots, digital watches, and jewelry made from glass seed beads. Traditional adornment is only worn on special occasions when the community wishes to demonstrate their indigenous identity, in these cases women wear bras under their beads and men wear shorts instead of traditional belts. On such occasions, people will paint their faces with achiote or modern cosmetics. Black permanent marker has largely replaced genipap in Sepahua, as it is more quickly washed away (genipap can stain the skin for 10 days or more). Achiote is preferred for red paint, but when it is not available in large quantities, lipstick or red permanent marker is sometimes used.

Elderly women prize white glass seed beads, and collect many long strings of them to wear on special occasions. Young and middle-aged women often know how to weave beads into bracelets and other adornments, and prefer colorful beads to white ones. This bead weaving is not a traditional art form, and the most popular designs are names or Yine motifs. Tattoos are also popular. Many Yaminawa couples get each others initials tattooed on the upper arm (for women) or the chest (for men). Other popular designs (mostly for men) include scorpions, snakes, mermaids, crosses, and surnames. Girls' ears are typically pierced in infancy, and ear piercing has become popular again among adolescent and young adult males. Lip and septum piercings are considered old-fashioned and Yaminawas of all ages delight in seeing young, foreign backpackers who have these types of piercings.

Ceramic pots were made with designs painted in different colors of clay, but this art form is no longer practiced. Musical instruments in traditional culture included a simple mouth bow and flutes. These were produced up until the late 1980s or early 1990s, but are no longer used. Some very elderly people still remember these arts, but they say they do not have the energy to collect the materials necessary to practice them today.



## 2.4.4 Community beliefs and practices

Yaminawa material culture, subsistence practices, and family life have changed substantially post-contact. The fundamental beliefs and practices that underpin Yaminawa moral, spiritual, and psychological life have remained robustly intact. There have been some beliefs and practices from other cultures that have been adopted, but these often exist alongside native beliefs instead of having replaced them. Catholicism and Evangelical Christianity are widely practiced by the Yaminawa, but even the most devout followers of these new beliefs still practice traditional spiritual medicine and have incorporated Jesus Christ and the Christian God as characters in their traditional verbal art. Modern medicine, traditional herbal and spiritual medicine, and Evangelical Christian faith healing co-exist with little conflict or sense of contradiction. Evangelical Christian Yaminawas typically express more concern about what they consider “pagan” practices such as the veneration of saints in Catholic Christianity than about traditional, indigenous forms of divination and shamanic spiritual healing.

### 2.4.4.1 General cosmology

In traditional Yaminawa cosmology, there was no creation event; the forest, rivers, animals, and people always existed. The ancient world, however, was very distinct from the world today (or even the precontact world as remembered by survivors). In the time of the *shédípàwù*, the ancient ancestors, time and space were less fixed and the lines between human and animal were blurred. There are many Yaminawa traditional stories that explain how the world came to be as it is today and teach guiding principles for moral and prosocial behavior.

The world is divided into three parts: the earth, underneath the water, and the sky. Parallel to these is a spirit realm where powerful *ñúwě* (witchdoctors) may travel via the consumption of tobacco or ayahuasca. The earth is inhabited by humans, animals, and spirits. Most myths concern life on the earth, in its human settlements or in its forest. Underneath the rivers is another type of world inhabited by fish, mermaid-like creatures, giant anacondas, and a host of water spirits of natures both known and unknown. In contemporary times, the Yaminawa have become comfortable with travel along major rivers, but many older Nahua still express apprehension traveling on larger rivers because of the possibility of attacks from beings that live far underneath the water. Yaminawas and Nahuas only bathe and wash clothes in small creeks, and do not frequent larger rivers for these activities, nor do they swim for recreation purposes. Yaminawas seldom enter the water of a large river like the Urubamba, except when it is necessary to untangle a fishing line or net. The sky is inhabited by the *wérúyùshì* (‘souls’) of the dead, who travel down river and are then carried to the sky, possibly by an *ishpì* (king vulture, *Sarcorampus papa*), where they live forever. While living, humans toil in their fields, risk their lives and health hunting and fishing, and suffer from the effects of illness and old age. In the afterlife, they say humans live eternally as healthy young adults, their fields are always ready for harvest and the river and forest teeming with fish and game.

In the *shédípàwù* (ancient ancestor) times, space and time were not as fixed as they

are today, and there are several traditional narratives that demonstrate this difference. In stories relating to the *írì*, an ancient, immortal race that lives in the hills of the deep forest, time inside their village passes at a rate much slower than in the world at large. Other tales concern the shifting or distortion of space; in the story of *Chái Kùshì Wéwàdì* (“The one who traveled far and quickly returned”), normal humans might travel for days, but hardly advance in the forest, while only one man was able to make quick progress. In both the ancient times and today, places are often not as they seem, particularly deep in the forest. In the *shédípàwù* times, humans applied herbal medicines to their eyes in order to see *ìskù* (crested oropendola, *Psarocolius decumanus*) nests as human houses or to see underwater cities where water spirits and mermaids live. This type of perspectivism, where animals perceive other animals as humans, just as humans perceive each other as human, is widespread in Amazonian folklore (Viveiros de Castro 2012).

According to Yaminawa folklore, humans did not originally have fire or agricultural gardens, and their bodies were different (they did not defecate or have an indentation under their calf muscles). There were no biting or stinging insects, and animals and humans alike had plastic bodies that could shift between different forms. *Shédípàwù ñúwè* (ancient witchdoctors) were able to travel to the sky and into the parallel spirit world. Contemporary *ñúwè* and other spiritual healers are still capable of traveling into the spirit world today.

#### 2.4.4.2 Parties and other social occasions

The Yaminawa love to have large celebrations and social gatherings. Elderly Yaminawa report having had work parties as well as celebrations relating to initiation rites and particular festivals throughout the year. Work parties remain regular occurrences, but initiation rites and traditional festivals have been supplanted by birthdays and various local, national, and Catholic holidays. There are also spontaneous social gatherings that arise with little or no planning, but these typically only involve the members of a single residence group, plus any visitors who happen to come by. Yaminawa parties involve the consumption of alcohol, and are a culturally-appropriate venue for airing grievances against neighbors and family members. Under the influence of alcohol, individuals can confront each other more openly than would be acceptable sober, and then the following day the argument and insults are excused as having been the result of alcohol consumption, not either individual’s behavior, and interpersonal relations proceed as normal. Many times the individuals involved in a drinking party dispute are not excessively inebriated; more often, they appear uninhibited by the social context rather than by the effects of alcohol.

Peruvians in general enjoy commemorating many sorts of occasions that go relatively unmarked in white, middle class communities in the United States. Any sort of anniversary is a popular occasion to end the work day early and spend time with family and friends. Widely observed occasions like the anniversary of the founding of Sepahua (May 31), the anniversary of Peruvian Independence from Spain (July 28), and the anniversaries of the local schools are major occasions in Sepahua, and the municipal government, with financial sponsorship from successful local businesses, organizes events. There are typically parades with street food and beer for sale, some speeches, and perhaps a musical

performance. There is significant alcohol consumption at these events, typically in the form of beer drinking followed by locally-distilled *trago*, or sugar cane liquor. The festivities for a school anniversary will only last a single day and evening, but the partying associated with Independence Day may last up to five days. Independence Day celebrations tend to be sizable and elaborate all over Peru, but in Sepahua this celebration seems to have special significance as it takes place at the beginning of the season for harvesting dry season crops, cutting brush, and burning fields in preparation for planting. Each *barrio* of Sepahua, as well as the surrounding small communities on the Urubamba river, have large celebrations to commemorate the anniversaries of their founding. How these dates are determined is not clear to anyone, the dates seem to change year to year (but generally take place in the same month), and the celebrations may actually take place up to a couple of weeks before or after the recognized date of the anniversary. These occasions usually attract party-goers from all over the district and surrounding areas, and it is common that several hundred people will show up. The municipal government or a local politician will usually donate two calves, which the *barrio* is responsible for slaughtering, processing, and cooking. A small amount of grilled meat and a piece of boiled cassava is distributed to each party-goer for free. Most people spend a fair amount of money on street food, carbonated soft drinks, and beer. Only individuals approved by the *local* are allowed to sell food, and only the *local* sells beer as a way of raising money for maintenance of the community building and the general fund. A good anniversary party may last up to three days.

Western holidays, particularly Catholic Christian holidays are also popular, but involve less alcohol consumption. New Year's Eve is celebrated much as it is in the United States, with the added excitement of the burning of old clothing. *Carnaval* involves a week of municipal and church organized activities, but generally involves only moderate alcohol consumption. Christmas and Easter involve dressing up and attending church services. Christmas also entails a two-week long string of small parties directed toward children where free hot chocolate, *panetón* (a form of fruitcake), and candies are distributed. Mother's Day is a very popular holiday among Yaminawa women, who will often prepare *masato* and buy beer for the occasion. Women born before contact, who do not know their birth dates, sometimes treat this holiday as a sort of stand-in for a birthday celebration.

Birthdays are celebrated sporadically, even for young children, but when they are celebrated, it involves the entire extended family. Family members from all over Sepahua will arrive at a dominant household of a residence group, usually bringing a gift in the form of food, alcoholic beverage, or gasoline to run a generator after the municipal electricity shuts off at 11pm. Unless one asks the hosts directly, parties celebrating the birthdays of adults are almost indistinguishable from children's birthday parties, except that children's birthdays often involve candy and singing at least two versions of "*Feliz Cumpleaños*" ("Happy Birthday") at the very beginning of the party. Even older children are usually asleep by 9pm, and the adults continue partying until the generator runs out of gas or the sun rises. Even the most elderly Yaminawa will attend these parties, drink and dance a little, and stay until they fall asleep sitting up and a younger relative escorts

them home. There is usually a sizeable dinner: ample servings of pot-roasted bush meat or chicken with onion and carrot, rice, boiled cassava, a simple salad of shredded cabbage with lime juice and perhaps a tomato slice.

In addition to social parties, there are three major types of communal work party. A *cortemañana* or *mañanera* is a half day or less of minor clearing or planting of a small area, involving just two or three residence groups, with breakfast and Kool-Aid style *refresco* provided as refreshments. A *minga* involves three to five residence groups and requires a full day (6 a.m. to 2 p.m.) of work clearing thick vegetation or planting or harvesting a large field. A *minga* is the quintessential Yaminawa work party, with a light breakfast and a hearty lunch provided, plus *refresco* and *masato dulce*<sup>52</sup> provided as refreshments throughout the day. Men, women, children, and the elderly all participate in a *minga*. Able-bodied adults do the bulk of the agricultural labor, while the elderly assist by piling brush or helping cook. Older children participate on and off in the actual work, and they take turns helping elderly women care for smaller children. Children often have the responsibility of carrying 5-liter buckets of *masato* or other beverages from the makeshift camp kitchen to the workers, then returning with the empty bucket to fill it again. Young boys take this as an opportunity to race each other while avoiding spillage, and young girls imitate the scolding speech of the adult women who are responsible for cooking. After the work and lunch is over, beer and *trago* mixed with soda pop often make an appearance, and people continue to drink and socialize until late in the afternoon. About four times per year, the *local* organizes a formal neighborhood work event called a *faena*, usually with the goal of clearing brush and removing trash along the roadside and creek to reduce the number of snakes and bugs, but also to clear the soccer field for the anniversary celebration. A *faena* specifically involves everyone meeting at one end of the *barrio* and working down the road to the opposite end until the work is complete. Although no one in particular is responsible for providing refreshments, a few households will usually volunteer to provide beverages.

*Faenas* are the most formally organized type of work party, and usually one or two *barrio*-wide meetings are held to set the date of the *faena* and its goals. Non-participation is fined, usually around 30 Peruvian Nuevos Soles (a little more than \$9 USD). *Mingas* involve the explicit invitation of other households, and residence groups coordinate with each other to schedule these events as to avoid scheduling two on the same date. *Cortemañanas* are highly informal, invitation is typically just by word-of-mouth, and anyone who wants a plate of free food may join in. During the clearing and planting season, there may be multiple *cortemañana* work parties taking place at the same time, though seldom two in the same residence group, and sometimes people with social obligations to multiple households will participate for a couple of hours in one (typically one which is in their residence group), then finish the morning at a second (typically one which is hosted by a different residence group). Much of everyday conversation revolves around work parties, either planning them or recounting events that happened during them.

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<sup>52</sup>freshly made, lightly fermented manioc beer

## 2.5 Yaminawa communicative practices

### 2.5.1 Language attitudes

Language attitudes among the Yaminawa are both varied and dynamic. In general, the Yaminawa have positive attitudes toward the use and learning of all languages (i.e., Spanish, Yaminawa, English, and other indigenous languages). Elders' accounts of life before sustained contact indicate that intermarriage between different Yaminawa dialect groups was common, and many elders proudly enumerate the different Yaminawa dialects that they claim mastery of. As discussed in section 2.2, there are many different dialects of Yaminawa, which appear to diverge most significantly in the lexicon, prosody, and verbal morphology. In the 2016 Yaminawa alphabet normalization workshops, speakers indicated that lexical differences, followed by phonological differences are the most salient indicators of one's community affiliation. When the issue of dialect differences is foregrounded, such as during the 2016 workshops, Yaminawa elders expressed very strong opinions about what is and isn't correct Yaminawa speech. In some cases these generalizations were contradictory to their actual speech. For example, one Yaminawa elder was very insistent that the true Yaminawa word for 'shotgun' is pronounced [ʔí.kí.tì] with a velar stop onset in the second syllable, and not [ʔí.ʔí.tì] with an intervocalic glottal stop (as in the speech of Sharanahua, northern Yaminawa, and Inuya dialect speakers). Yet in his own explanation of this difference (as well as in his speech in general), he almost only used the form with the glottal stop. This is also true of attitudes toward lexical differences. Although lexical differences (such as *yùà* 'cassava' in Sharanahua and Yaminawa vs. *atsa* in Nahua and Amahuaca, or *kàshà* 'armadillo' in Yaminawa and Sharanahua vs. *wàrì kúdi* in Nahua vs. *yáwìsh* in northern Yaminawa and Amahuaca) are more salient and therefore more easily self-monitored than phonological differences, speakers' reported use of a form is an indicator of ethnic identity, and often does not reflect the form that they use most commonly. This is particularly true of individuals who have spent significant time living among other Panoan groups (such as women who were abducted by Amahuacas in the early contact period) or who are married to speakers of a different dialect (such as Yaminawa men who have Nahua wives or Yaminawa women who have Sharanahua or Amahuaca husbands).

When it comes to languages which are not highly mutually intelligible with Yaminawa, language attitudes are much more influenced by individual experiences, personal history, and personal language ideologies. The two linguistic contact situations that are most discussed by Yaminawas are those involving Amahuaca and Spanish. Even before the massacres of the early 1960s and the initiation of sustained contact, Yaminawas had occasionally traded young girls for trade goods with the Amahuaca. In general, these girls were not abused by the Amahuaca, though they certainly were not free. A result of this is that some Yaminawa girls, now elderly women, grew up in environments that were dominated by Amahuaca, and many of them only learned Amahuaca (and later Spanish). Other women who grew up as Amahuaca captives speak both Amahuaca and Yaminawa. Their daughters typically have knowledge of both Yaminawa and Amahuaca as well, but

their sons often only have knowledge of Amahuaca. Yaminawa women who grew up as captives of the Amahuaca generally have positive evaluations of both languages and report that they are highly similar and highly mutually intelligible.<sup>53</sup> However, older Yaminawa who were not captured themselves, but who are close relatives of individuals who were killed or captured in the massacres, tend to have highly negative evaluations of Amahuaca people and the Amahuaca language.<sup>54</sup>

Similarly, Yaminawas, particularly older Yaminawas, have negative evaluations of mestizos, or non-indigenous Peruvians, yet very positive evaluations of the Spanish language. Most Yaminawas under 40 are not fully fluent in Yaminawa, primarily speak Spanish, and do not have the same negative views of mestizos as their parents or grandparents. The Nahua take a different stance toward Spanish. Nahua territorial integrity and financial support from the Dominican mission, Peruvian Ministry of Culture, and oil company PlusPetrol is predicated in large part on the Nahua being indigenous people who are living in initial contact. Nahua under the age of 40 almost all speak both Nahua and Spanish (or at least have a functional level of communicative ability in Spanish). Nahuas take great delight in speaking their language in front of people who don't understand it and consider it a powerful asset in negotiations. This is particularly apparent as a non-indigenous language learner: Yaminawas, even those with limited proficiency in Spanish, have a strong preference to speak to me in Spanish unless I insist on using Yaminawa; Nahuas, even those fluent in Spanish, insist on using Nahua, even when I'm failing to understand, until I admit defeat and ask for a translation.

Language shift from Yaminawa to Spanish is already advanced in the Yaminawa communities of Sepahua. In *Barrio Centroamérica*, where the language is the most vital, there are only two households where children still learn the language from their mother, although the children are Spanish-dominant in both cases.<sup>55</sup> Nahua women in *Barrio Centroamérica*, taken as wives of Yaminawa men, played an important role in language maintenance prior to my arrival in the community, and they have been some of the most dedicated and enthusiastic participants in the revitalization of the language. Until recently, many Yaminawa parents were concerned that if their children did not learn Spanish in the home as small children, that they would struggle academically. Since the officialization of the Yaminawa alphabet by the Ministry of Education in 2016, Yaminawa parents have started to consider proficiency in Yaminawa language a potentially valuable asset that may help children get university scholarships to study intercultural-bilingual education.

<sup>53</sup>These two languages have many lexical similarities, and their phonologies only differ in a few ways, but they are very divergent in their morphology and syntax. Some Yaminawa women who escaped captivity have negative evaluations of Amahuaca people, yet positive evaluations of the language, possibly due to the salience of the features shared with Yaminawa.

<sup>54</sup>The negative evaluation of Amahuaca people in general does not entail negative evaluations of Amahuaca individuals. In fact, even the individuals that express the most resentment toward Amahuaca people in general have positive relationships with most of the Amahuaca individuals living in Sepahua.

<sup>55</sup>These two households represent two very different situations: one is a household where the father is in his 80s and the mother (a Nahua woman, age 45) does not speak Spanish well; the second is a household where the father (ethnically Yaminawa, age 27) does not speak the language but the mother (ethnically Nahua, age 24) is making an intentional effort to revitalize the language.

## 2.5.2 Traditional genres

Yaminawas make distinctions between traditional stories, *shédípàwù*,<sup>56</sup> and several different types of songs, *wánàikì*, including, but not limited to men's *sáráikì* 'morning longing' songs, men's *kákì kákì* songs, women's and men's *ñámà ñámà* 'love and estrangement' songs, ayahuasca chants, and party songs.<sup>57</sup>

Within *shédípàwù* traditional tales, there are a few apparent genres, though none of these appear to correspond to specific genre names in Yaminawa. Some stories are purely cosmological in nature and serve to explain how the world came to be as it is. These stories are considered by Yaminawa elders to be the most important stories and include tales about the origin of the moon, the origin of agriculture and fire, the origin of linguistic diversity, and the origin of stones. There are many animal fables, such as the story of Deer and Tortoise (which is very similar to the European tale 'The Tortoise and the Hare'). Another common type of tale involves romantic relationships between animal spirits and humans: a young man or woman laments being single, the animal takes human form, they get together, and the relationship always fails due to differences in human and animal behavior.<sup>58</sup> Other stories relate events that could have happened in contemporary times: tales of neglectful mothers, cheating spouses, and unfortunate accidents.

Men's *sáráikì* 'morning longing' songs were traditionally performed by young men and are no longer sung today, but some older men remember and will perform *kákì kákì* songs if asked. Women's and men's *ñámà ñámà* 'love and estrangement' songs are only performed spontaneously by women, but my impression is that these songs were still performed by men even after contact, up until relatively recently. These songs typically express longing for family members who are far away or deceased, especially romantic partners. Ayahuasca chants continue to be performed by both men and women. Only a skilled shaman can compose an effective ayahuasca chant, and most of these chants are passed down through generations by memory. Party songs, which are often quite sexually explicit, typically involve both a male and female part, are conventionalized, not improvised, and are only performed spontaneously in contemporary times when elders wish to embarrass adolescents and young adults.

Another highly conventionalized form of speech is funerary wailing, *wídì*, which often begins before an individual has actually died. This type of speech is characterized by semi-sung, wailed repetitions of the deceased or dying individual's kin relationship to the wailer and declarations that the individual is dead or dying, and that the wailer is crying and *shínàì* 'remembering' or 'sad'.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>56</sup>Note that this term is polysemous: it refers both to the ancient ancestors and the stories that concern the life and times of these ancestors.

<sup>57</sup>I have not at this time studied Yaminawa songs systematically, and the descriptions presented here are based on speakers' own reports of the content and meaning of these song genres.

<sup>58</sup>In at least two of these tales, the non-human partner is not an animal. In one case a pair of sisters marry a cliff, and in another a young man marries a clay pot.

<sup>59</sup>See Chapters 3 and 5 for more on the concept of *shínàì* and on *shínàì* speech respectively. I have not recorded any wailing, as I was always also a mourner in these contexts, and did not feel comfortable doing so.

Aside from these specialized genres, I consider all other forms of spontaneously occurring talk that I have encountered thus far to constitute conversation. Different contexts for interaction have different characteristics, and it is certainly possible to classify particular interactions as constituting different types of talk, like scolding or advice, but these types are embedded in larger interactions that I classify as conversation. Talk that involves interaction between different residence groups involves more structured interaction: public talk in community meetings tends to be of a very loud volume and have long turns that are allocated by the organizer of the meeting; visiting talk involves the host offering some kind of food or drink, discussion of relatives and troubles, and invitations or the asking of favors at the end of the interaction; drinking party talk allows participants to make criticisms of others that would not normally be considered socially acceptable. The interactional data in this dissertation is drawn almost entirely from interactions that occurred within residence groups, or where the participants were otherwise close relatives who frequently engage in informal interaction.



## Chapter 3

# Yaminawa ethnopsychology and cultural domains relating to affect

### 3.1 Introduction

This dissertation is concerned primarily with the specific linguistic behaviors that Yaminawa speakers use to describe or express their own mental states/processes and social relationships, and how listeners monitor the mental states/processes and social relationships of their interlocutor via this linguistic behavior. This chapter describes key Yaminawa ethnopsychological concepts, the social and ethnomedicinal practices that relate to them, and an investigation into the composition and landscape of Yaminawa cultural domains relating to affect, cognition, and internal states. In presenting the ethnopsychological context, this chapter also serves to describe the lexical resources used to *describe* (but not necessarily *express*) affects in Yaminawa, including recurrent metaphors, and the specific semantics of those lexemes.

The descriptive resources employed in Yaminawa to talk about affect or emotion are varied (see section 3.5). Some of these resources are directly descriptive of emotion or other psychological state categories (such as those in Table 3.1), others describe actions or activities from which emotive or affective implications can be drawn, such as *kúpí* ‘avenge’ with *sídàì* ‘be angry’ or *búdùì* ‘dance’ with *ídìbàì* ‘be happy’ (and others from Table ??). Metaphors as descriptive resources appear to be few in Yaminawa compared to other languages (see section 3.5.4). In this chapter, I argue that one of the key axes for categorizing emotion terms in Yaminawa is along pro-social versus anti-social lines (see section 3.5.3). Pro-social affects like *shǐnǎì* ‘sadness’ and *dúì* ‘love’ are categorized as being similar and are positively evaluated by speakers. Anti-social affects like *sídàì* ‘anger’ and *wáshǐ* ‘romantic jealousy’ are also categorized as being similar to each other, but are evaluated negatively. Categories like *bésèì* ‘fear’ and *séyàì* ‘be disgusting’ form a third, less tightly-associated group of affects that are not viewed as either particularly positive or negative. As chapters 5-7 demonstrate, descriptive resources are employed only sparingly in interaction, and affective stance is largely constructed through the use of expressive resources like affective morphology, voice quality, pitch, and interactional features relat-

ing to the timing of turns and characteristics of the backchannels used. Nevertheless, an understanding of Yaminawa ethnopsychological concepts and how Yaminawas categorize emotion terms is key cultural context that underpins the linguistic and social behaviors described in the following chapters.

Section 3.2 provides an overview of some widely-used theoretical orientations toward the cross-cultural study of emotion and clarifies my own orientation. The data presented in this chapter resulted from several different types of methodologies, including elicited texts, interviews, participant observation, and pile sort tasks. Section 3.3 describes each of these methodologies, what type of data each targeted, and what type of data each actually resulted in. Section 3.4 describes key concepts in Yaminawa ethnopsychology: the different components of a human being (including *yùrà* ‘body’ and *wèrùyùshì* ‘soul’), the seat of emotion (*úùtì* ‘heart’), the nature of emotion/affect, and native and modern concepts relating to emotional and psychological health. Section 3.5 provides an overview of lexical resources used in Yaminawa to describe different kinds of internal or physiological states (ranging from verbs of perception to verbs describing symptoms of illness), focusing on the lexical resources used to express concepts that correspond to the category of ‘emotions’ in English terms. I also describe lexemes that relate to the performance of particular emotions or affects (such as ways of crying or ways of smiling). In Section 3.5.3 I present results from the pile sort tasks to shed light on how Yaminawas categorize ‘emotion’ categories: which categories are similar, which are different, and which are viewed as positive (*shàrà* ‘good’) versus negative (*chàkà* ‘bad’). I conclude in section 3.5.4 with a brief overview of emotion metaphors in Yaminawa, and suggesting some directions for future work on figurative language in Yaminawa.

## 3.2 Theoretical background and orientation

My analysis of Yaminawa ethnopsychology relies on a number of assumptions about emotion, culture, and language. Some of these assumptions appear to be supported by empirical data from a number of fields, while others remain the subject of active scholarly debate.

The key assumption that this study relies on is that affective expression is a learned behavior that is transmitted culturally and socially, not a spontaneous (nor necessarily sincere) reaction (see Goffman 1978, Ochs and Schieffelin 1989, Urban 1988). As Geertz observed, human affective displays are more elaborate and more variable than the affective responses of lower animals, revealing their non-innateness (1973:p.75). Caffi and Janney also point out that: “(1) we can all express feelings that we have, (2) we can all have feelings that we do not express, and (3) we can all express feelings that we do not have” (1994:p.326). One of the claims that I make in this chapter is that the Yaminawa make different choices about which “feelings” are expressed (or not) than individuals from other cultural backgrounds (such as English-speaking grad students from the United States), including other Amazonian indigenous peoples living in the same region (such as Yines or Matsigenkas). I assume that culture plays the primary role in determining which affects are routinely expressed, as well as how they are expressed, across the corpus as

a whole.<sup>60</sup> Clearly, social context and individual expressive preferences play important roles at the level of discrete interactions, and I take them into account and describe them in detail for each of the interactions analyzed in this dissertation, but these effects of these factors are less apparent at the level of the corpus (as well as the level of Yaminawa speech practice taken as a whole) than the influence of culture.

Some scholars, most notably Lutz (1988), take the view that emotion is largely or entirely the product of culture. Paul Ekman's work demonstrates that there exists at least some universality in the performance and recognition of facial expressions of certain "basic" emotions (see Ekman 1992 for a summary). Because this dissertation is concerned with affective expression, not emotional experience, I do not make any claims about whether or not Yaminawas experience identical or radically different emotions than US Americans, but I do think it is worthwhile to take the time to consider some of the implications of each point of view. If, as Lutz (1988) claims, "emotional experience is not precultural, but preeminently cultural" (p.5), then there are at least two significant barriers to accessing another individual's emotional experience: first to become acculturated or socialized into the emotions of a particular culture, then to access another individual's subjective experience of those emotions. In my view, this second barrier is not insignificant: I take it to be impossible for any individual to 'know' what another individual subjectively experiences. Even in the most intimate relationships, the closest we can get to such knowledge is empathy based on what we know about the individual, their culture, and the particular situation that is the stimulus for a particular instance of emotional experience. If one takes emotional experience to be invariant cross-culturally, then only the latter is a barrier to understanding. My personal orientation is intermediate to these two positions. I do not assume that the Yaminawa emotional experience is identical to my own, but I also do not assume that it is completely alien and unknowable to me. As I discuss in section 3.4.3, the Yaminawa do not assume that my emotional experience is completely alien and unknowable either, despite the fact that they have far less access to my culture than I have to theirs, and despite the fact that they are only occasionally afforded opportunities to observe me interacting in my native language (English) with other US Americans. My personal view, itself informed more by emotion than reason, is that most humans have a profound capacity for empathy and are, in most cases, highly motivated by a desire to understand others and to be understood themselves in social interactions. In the context of my in-situ fieldwork, this has meant that my 'subjects' have been studying me (as a single exemplar of someone from my culture) and my patterns of affective expression at the same time that I have been studying their culture and patterns of affective expression. In reflecting on the ways that white US Americans differ from Yaminawas, I have noticed two ways in particular that culture impacts my own emotional experience. First, culture contributes to a great deal of variation in the contexts for the experience of particular emotions. For example, Evangelical Christians

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<sup>60</sup>This brings up another assumption: that my corpus of audio-recorded Yaminawa conversation and my observations of Yaminawa interaction are representative of actual Yaminawa affective expressive speech practice. Any form of observation by a researcher, particularly one who is recording, obviously impacts the behavior of the participants. In sections 1.5 and 3.3 I clarify distinct aspects of my corpus collection and the methodologies I used to mitigate the impacts of my observation and recording on the data.

in East Texas experience something typically referred to as ‘sadness’ when someone dies, but culture contributes a secondary level of something like ‘happiness’ due to the belief that the deceased has “gone home” to God. Having mourned on many occasions with Yaminawas, it is my intuition that they also experience something that might be called ‘sadness’ in English (*shínàì* in Yaminawa), but this is not accompanied by the ‘happiness’ experienced by some Evangelicals in the Southern US. Yaminawas do not characterize *shínàì* as ‘bad’ (*chàkà* in Yaminawa); rather they consider it to be positive, as I discuss in section 3.5, in a way that was initially very alien to me as an American. Secondly, culture contributes a layer of meta-emotions, or feelings about our feelings, that overlays emotional experience. For example in white US culture, one might experience ‘shame’ about experiencing ‘happiness’ over another’s misfortune.

I consider ‘emotion’ and ‘affect’ to compose a broad (and nebulous) semantic space that may be carved up by different cultures into distinct (and potentially overlapping) categories and subcategories (see Majid 2012). I try to avoid relying on English categorizations of that space, including my own cultural and linguistic notions of its boundaries, in favor of presenting the relationships that affect terms have among themselves in Yaminawa language and culture. As Lutz (1988) points out, ‘psychology’ itself is a Western cultural concept. She furthermore advocates that researchers interested in emotion take a broad view of ethnopsychology as “concerned with the way people conceptualize, monitor, and discuss their own and others’ mental processes, behavior, and social relationships” (p.83). In this dissertation, and particularly in the research that appears in this chapter, I have approached Yaminawa ethnopsychology from that broad view and the orientation of considering social and internal concepts that fall outside the scope of the English-language category ‘emotion’.

The goal of avoiding reliance on English-language categories, both in terms of their identities and boundaries, raises an important question: How does one go about translating, or even describing, emotion categories from other languages into English without relying on English-language categories? The short answer is that one simply cannot (as observed by Lutz 1985, Winegar 1995, Enfield and Wierzbicka 2002, *inter alia*). At least some degree of cultural and linguistic bias is likely to be present in any such attempt. As Enfield and Wierzbicka (2002) argue, this obstacle is not a reason to abandon all attempts to describe emotion categories (as well as categories or concepts in other cultural domains) in a way that is as non-biased as possible. In order to avoid such bias, Enfield and Wierzbicka (2002) recommend using the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) framework, which strives to use only semantic primitives that appear to be universally attested in the world’s languages (see Goddard and Wierzbicka 1994, Goddard and Wierzbicka 2003, and Wierzbicka 1996). While I have found this approach useful as a way of making my own English-language bias more apparent to myself, I ultimately do not adopt it as a framework for describing or defining emotion categories in Yaminawa. Canonical NSM distinguishes the semantic primitives ‘think’ and ‘feel’, which are combined in a single lexeme in Yaminawa, *shínàì*, whose meaning also includes non-primitive, English-centric concepts ‘be sad’, ‘pity’, or ‘be nostalgic’. While the concept of *shínàì* can be decomposed into three or more distinct “cultural scripts” (*à la* Wierzbicka and Goddard), it is very hard

to use NSM principles to describe English terms using Yaminawa as the analysis language due to the semantic range of the term *shínàì*.<sup>61</sup> This dissertation is primarily concerned with affective stancetaking, which makes the full range of contexts of use in interaction important information for understanding both the semantic meaning of a given token as well as its indexical meaning(s). In describing Yaminawa cultural concepts, I take the approach of “thick description” advocated by Geertz (1973), which takes individual tokens or instances of use as starting points and works outward from these points to describe the broader context and significance of those tokens or instances. To enhance readability, I also provide shorthand glosses in English as an etic grid of convenience, lest the reader be overwhelmed by an abundance of (likely unfamiliar) Yaminawa terms. These shorthand glosses are intended as an aid to the reader, not as fully accurate translations or descriptions of the Yaminawa terms. Section 3.5 provides detailed descriptions for the reader’s reference.

### 3.3 Methodological approaches to Yaminawa ethnopsychology

In order to understand the social meanings of affective stances in Yaminawa and the cultural significance of the use of affective stancetaking, it was necessary that I study Yaminawa ethnopsychology in tandem with learning the language. My motivations for this task were multiple. From an analytical perspective, it is crucial that my description and analysis of Yaminawa affective speech be substantiated with concrete observations and empirical generalizations about Yaminawa life, culture, and ethnopsychology. From a language documentation and description perspective, focused study of a particular range of cultural domains (in this case those relating to affect) enriches the overall quality of the corpus by broadening the thematic range of documented naturalistic speech and by providing detailed descriptions of the semantics and use of particular lexical items. Finally, from a personal perspective, it was necessary to my social and emotional wellbeing in the field that I develop an accurate understanding of the meanings, both semantic and social, of the descriptive resources described in this chapter in order to interact in a socially and culturally appropriate way with the Yaminawa. I needed to be able to accurately and appropriately express my feelings, and to accurately understand what others were expressing to me and appropriately respond in those interactions.

My primary goals in studying Yaminawa ethnopsychology and cultural domains relating to affect were the following:

1. Document the widest possible range of lexical items (including lexicalized expressions) relating to the English-language categories of emotion, affect, and internal states (cognitive, psychological, or otherwise);

<sup>61</sup>Far from being an outlier or edge case, *shínàì* ‘think, feel, remember, be sad, pity’ is a key concept in Yaminawa culture. In addition to its status as a recurrent theme in Yaminawa ethnopsychology and attitudes toward affect, one of the major, culturally and linguistically significant affective ways of speaking described in this dissertation is that which is associated with *shínàì* (chapter 5).

2. Determine the specific semantic meanings of each of these items and connect them to etic descriptions in English;
3. Determine the range of contexts for which each emotion term is perceived to be an expected affective reaction in Yaminawa culture,
4. Determine the appropriateness of different affective reactions for different contexts in Yaminawa culture and social life; and
5. Describe the overarching cultural beliefs and values that guide the expression of affective stance in Yaminawa language.

To achieve these goals, I used a variety of methodological approaches drawn from different research traditions, particularly those of documentary linguistics, linguistic anthropology, and cognitive anthropology. In addition to the general methodologies of documentary linguistics and participant observation (see section 1.5), I used a distinct set of interview, elicitation, and pile sort methods to specifically target data on Yaminawa ethnopsychology and cultural domains corresponding broadly to internal states and the observable behaviors or symptoms that are commonly associated with those states.

### **3.3.1 Interpersonal and ethical considerations**

Research into ‘emotion’ and ‘psychology’ is unlike research into other types of cultural domains (e.g., spatial relations, color, or ethnotaxonomies of plant and animal species), because it involves the risk of bringing up potentially painful feelings or memories in the course of describing or discussing particular emotion terms or scenarios designed to elicit emotion terms or narratives (whether personal or fictional). Before I describe the interview, elicitation, and pile sort methods that I used to arrive at an understanding of Yaminawa ethnopsychology and the descriptive resources used in the language to talk about ‘emotion’ and related categories, it is important that I present some of the interpersonal and ethical concerns that researchers should consider before they begin their research.

First, I recommend that researchers take as much time as possible to do participant observation before they design interviews, elicitation prompts, or other tasks. The Yaminawa are very eager to include outsiders in activities ranging from birthday parties to funerals. Having participated in many types of social occasions, as well as having participated in subsequent talk about those same occasions (as well as about others for which I was not present), I was able to feel confident that my decision to ask about those occasions, both specific events and in the abstract, was culturally and socially appropriate. This may not be the case for all cultures (for example, talk about birth or death may be taboo). In these cases, a researcher might deem it appropriate to take extra care in their methodological design, or even to avoid any such topics altogether.

In the context of in-situ field research in small communities, participant observation is also an opportunity for participants and the researcher(s) to get to know each other on a personal level. From the perspective of the researcher, this allows us to be judicious in

our selection of participants to work on each task. For example, in the interview and elicitation tasks described in 3.3.3 and 3.3.4 below, I used hypothetical scenarios that were likely to elicit affective speech (both descriptive and expressive). While most scenarios were very innocuous (“You have found a coin”, “A dog killed one of your chickens”, etc.), other scenarios, such as a death in the family or the spread of an illness through the community (both recommended by Sauter 2009, see 3.3.3), had the potential to bring up past trauma. In the Yaminawa and Nahua context, traumatic events are frequently and publicly recounted and rehashed by people who experienced them, and speakers volunteered such narratives for recording without my having to ask about them. I recommend that fieldworkers take great care with how they approach topics that have the potential to be emotionally taxing or otherwise difficult for research participants. Respectful and active listening is the best methodology for arriving at an understanding of what those difficult topics are for a given individual, community, or context.

A final recommendation is that researchers get familiar with their own emotional boundaries before starting research.<sup>62</sup> If you are going to ask about other people’s feelings and life experiences, you need to be prepared to share your own. More importantly, if you are going to ask about other people’s feelings and experiences, you need to be prepared to listen to them respectfully, no matter how emotionally difficult that may be.

### **3.3.2 Ethnopsychological interviews**

My first interview method was to carry out ethnopsychological interviews in Spanish, directly asking questions about domains that correspond to the English-language concepts of ‘emotion’ and ‘psychology’. The purpose of these interviews was to develop my general knowledge of Yaminawa ethnopsychology (including cosmological and ethnomedicinal context) in a more rapid and targeted way than would have been possible using participant observation alone.

The participants selected to do interviews were all over the age of 55. There was no formal interview script; all interviews were open-ended and the specific questions (and the way I asked them) were all dependent on the level of Spanish-language understanding of each participant. Another important factor in how I chose to ask about these topics was the general disposition of the participant. Some participants, particularly the most elderly, are not particularly interested in doing tasks like interviews because they found them boring. Interviews with these speakers consisted of questions spread out over several weeks and were often incomplete. Elderly speakers were sometimes more interested in discussing this information outside the context of linguistic work, which they felt should be reserved for traditional verbal art and oral history; in these cases the interviews were not recorded and compensation was provided in the form of food and gifts. There was significant variation in the content and degree of detail of each interview, but I typically used the following questions as points of departure:

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<sup>62</sup>In my view, this recommendation holds for all fieldwork, not just fieldwork concerning emotion categories and ethnopsychology.

1. What are ‘emotions’ (*emociones* or *sentimientos*)? Where do they come from (i.e., the *yùrà* ‘body’, the *wérùñúshì* ‘soul’, the *bápúnátì* ‘brains’, the *úùtì* ‘heart’, etc.)?
2. What are some examples of ‘emotions’ or ‘feelings’? For speakers who were unsure of how to answer, I modified this question by suggesting *ídìbàì* ‘happy’, *sídàì* ‘angry’, and *bésèì* ‘afraid’ as examples and asked for additional terms that they considered to be related.<sup>63</sup>
3. Are certain ‘emotions’ or ‘feelings’ associated with illness (*ísì* in Yaminawa)? Which? What causes these dysfunctions? How can they be treated or cured?
4. How does a ‘good person’ (*yùrà shàrà* in Yaminawa) behave? A ‘bad person’ (*yùrà chákà*)?
5. I also asked questions to confirm, deny, or otherwise follow up on some of the cosmological and ethnopsychological generalizations made in Townsley (1988) and Feather (2010).

Key types of data that resulted from these interviews consisted of descriptions of cosmological, ethnomedicinal, and ethnopsychological knowledge (presented in section 3.4), and an expanded list of ‘emotion’ terms, as well as terms that concern human behaviors and physiological states associated with those concepts. The expanded vocabulary of terms was used to design and improve the text elicitation task presented in 3.3.5, the emotion description task in 3.3.6, and, subsequently, the pile sort task described in 3.3.7.

### 3.3.3 The emotion scenario interview

My second interview method was to create a set of 114<sup>64</sup> scenarios that would likely induce some sort of ‘emotional’ response (according to my understanding of the English-language category). The scenarios were designed to range from intensely to mildly emotion-inducing (compare the death of a spouse to the mild fortune of finding a coin), and from long-term (a child spends 2-3 years living in Lima) to short term (a snake strikes at you). I worked with Delicia Gómez Ramírez to translate each scenario into Yaminawa, then interviewed speakers by presenting the scenario and asking the following questions: (1) What would you think?; (2) What would you say?; and (3) What would you do?

This task was a heavily modified version of the scenario naming task outlined in Sauter (2009) as part of the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics’ Emotion in Language field manuals. The full elicitation protocol recommended by Sauter (2009) was difficult to implement for Yaminawa for several reasons. First was that Yaminawa speakers found it difficult to translate many of the scenarios into sentences that made sense in the relative

<sup>63</sup>Answers ranged from terms with meanings that English speakers might identify as ‘emotions’ to terms that describe to do with physical sensations, and to terms that describe types of speech or behaviors that may appear during the experience of particular emotions (like *bééì* ‘hit, fight’ with *sídàì* ‘be angry’.)

<sup>64</sup>In some cases, additional variations on a scenario were constructed and discussed spontaneously in the course of elicitation.



absence of rich context inherent to elicitation sessions. ‘Compassion’ is a culturally relevant affective experience in Yaminawa (falling under the broad category *shínàì* ‘think, feel, remember, be sad’), but the suggested scenario, “you see someone who is in a lot of pain and you feel like you want to help them” was too abstract, so instead I used scenarios like “your cousin/relative is very ill and has no one to care for them” and “you see an old man walking in the heat of the sun and want to give him something.” Highly abstract scenarios only elicited questions from participants about the precise nature and circumstances of the scenario or about the identities and back-stories of any characters in the scenario. Secondly, some types of scenarios, such as the ones suggested for ‘awe’ (“you see a very beautiful flower/sunset”) were not successful in eliciting emotion talk. This is, however, very informative data, as it provides evidence in favor of the hypothesis that positively-evaluated affective states in Yaminawa are necessarily grounded in sociality.<sup>65</sup> Finally, responses to the scenarios, both those suggested by Sauter and those of my own design, were highly variable. For example, reported emotional responses to “someone has stolen two pots and a machete from you” ranged from pity for the thief (he must be very poor to not have a machete), to doubts that the items were stolen (perhaps borrowed/misplaced), to *sídài* ‘anger’ toward the thief. Due to the length of time required to go through the full set of scenarios used in my version of the task, I was only able to complete it with four speakers.

The data produced by this task was not naturalistic, but it was a good source of Yaminawa-language terms that are related to the etic category ‘emotion’, and included data that involved descriptions of physiological states and social behaviors that are associated with particular contexts. This helped clarify the particular meanings of individual emotion terms, as presented in section 3.5.

### 3.3.4 Text elicitation based on the emotion scenarios

I also used the set of 114 emotion scenarios to elicit short texts. In this task, I provided a speaker with one of the emotion scenarios from the set described in the previous section, then invited him or her to tell me a similar personal narrative or to make up a narrative about a fictional individual. In some cases this prompted a narrative that was more emotionally intense than the original prompt (such as telling a story about a lost and found 100 PEN note instead of a serendipitously found 1 PEN coin). In other cases speakers did not wish to provide a narrative or merely repeated the prompt with different wording. Due to the large number of scenarios and the time required to record a short text for each, it was not feasible to record a text for every scenario. Instead, I attempted to get as broad of coverage of possible by collapsing very similar scenarios (e.g., using “Someone has died” instead of naming a specific relation), and by omitting scenarios that got weak responses from all four speakers in the emotion scenario interview task (such as “you are looking at a beautiful sunset”), or which otherwise did not lend themselves well to a narrative (e.g., “you are lying in the hammock with your spouse after working”).

<sup>65</sup>Natural events can nevertheless cause neutrally-evaluated or mildly negatively-evaluated affective states such as *bésèì* ‘fear’ or *shínàchàkài* ‘worry/concern’.

The objective of this method was to produce more naturalistic data corresponding to the emotion scenario interview task. While this task did produce some high quality texts (i.e., fluid, expressive speech that included a description of the situation, the reaction, and the resolution), it was not consistently successful in the context of my field site. The texts that were successfully produced made excellent examples of fluid, naturalistic speech for developing my skills at transcribing and annotating contemporary, personal narratives at an early stage of my research on affective speech, and some of those personal narratives provided very illustrative pieces of data to support the claims that I make in the following chapters.

Beyond the set of 114 scenarios, I also sometimes asked speakers to relate an affect-laden event, such as an accident or a trip to town, that I already had some knowledge of. This was a much more effective method of producing texts that demonstrated fluid, expressive affective speech.

### 3.3.5 Text elicitation based on emotion terms

I also elicited short texts by providing an emotion term, typically in Yaminawa, but sometimes in Spanish, as a prompt. To further populate my lexicon of affect-related terms in Yaminawa, I drew on previous lexical work by Scott (2004) on Sharanahua, and checked these forms and their meanings with Yaminawa and Nahua speakers in elicitation prior to the text elicitation. Often these texts were not personal in nature, rather descriptive of the meaning of each term, particularly where a Yaminawa term was given as the stimulus. Most of these texts were very short (under one minute) and did not make use of naturalistic expressive speech. For some terms, particularly *sídài* ‘be angry’, some participants claimed that they had never experienced the target emotion. In these cases a few speakers described what a person who is experiencing that emotion is like in terms of their behavior (see the emotion description task in section 3.3.6 below).

This task did not produce particularly valuable linguistic data, but it was useful for making inferences about which emotion categories and behaviors are considered acceptable and which are considered unacceptable in Yaminawa culture.

### 3.3.6 Emotion description task

To better understand the specific meaning of each emotion term, I asked speakers to describe, in Yaminawa, what a person experiencing that affect is like.<sup>66</sup> Responses ranged from single word descriptions (typically just *shàrà* ‘good’ or *cháká* ‘bad’ in these cases), to lengthy descriptions of the things people might do (e.g., *búdúu* ‘dance’ and *wítsài* ‘laugh’ for people who are *ídibài* ‘happy’).

These descriptions were useful for filling in gaps in associations between particular emotion performance predicates and emotion terms (see 3.5). This task was designed specifically as an improvement on the text elicitation method that used emotion terms

<sup>66</sup>I asked in the most general terms that I knew: “Yùrà [emotion term in imperfective aspect] awekeskaramē?” Literally: person/body emotion.term how-seem = INTERR.

as stimuli, to more directly target the types of descriptions that speakers seemed most comfortable volunteering. This data was very valuable for understanding cultural evaluations of emotion performance, and contributed greatly to the design on the pile sort tasks and the claims that I make in section 3.5 about the role of sociality as a key axis for categorizing emotion terms.

### 3.3.7 Pile sort tasks

I also designed a pile sort task to determine the constituency of Yaminawa cultural domains relating to affects, bodily states/illnesses, speech and social activities, and perception and cognition. This task consisted of a training activity that asked respondents to sort flora and fauna terms, color terms, and verbs relating to work around the house and in the fields, followed by the experiment itself, which presented respondents with emotion terms, sensory verbs, bodily states, and some speech activity verbs. Of the eight consultants with whom I attempted this task, two declined to participate early on in the task, and three had significant difficulty following the instructions of the task (they repeatedly sorted cards into groups that formed sentences or based on phonological similarity). Of the three who were able to follow the instructions, one, the youngest speaker, did not feel sufficiently familiar with the terms presented in the second task to be comfortable sorting all of them. Most Yaminawa speakers have limited literacy in Spanish, and development of Yaminawa-language literacy is too recent for most speakers to be confident.<sup>67</sup> To remedy this, I read the cards aloud to speakers at regular intervals in the task and upon request, and modified the traditional pile-sort protocol to include reading a single card, then asking the respondents to name other words that were similar in meaning, whether those words were included in the card set on the table or not. Initial instructions for the task were given in both Spanish and Yaminawa. The task itself was performed as monolingually in Yaminawa as possible. I tried to keep communication during the task as minimal and uniform as possible. Typically this communication consisted of me reading the cards, prompting the participant with a phrase like “does this one have any relatives?” (in Yaminawa: *dá káíwùýámě?*), or facilitating the task with “what about another one?” (in Yaminawa *wétsárímě?*) when participants got stuck on a particular item. An example of a completed general pile sort with terms from many different cultural domains is provided in figure 3.1.

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<sup>67</sup>This lack of confidence, not the lack of literacy skills appears to have been the most significant obstacle for respondents, as the respondent who completed the task with the most ease is one of the least literate, but she is very confident in her ability to do linguistic work due to brief prior experience working with SIL linguists.

Figure 3.1: Image of a completed general pile sort



For the participants that were able to fully complete the training task ( $n=3$ ), none had any piles that included even half of the terms that I judged to correspond roughly to the English-language category of ‘emotions’. In the presence of cards that had terms relating to affective performance (e.g., *búdùì* ‘dance’ or *éàìkì* ‘sob’) or speech types (e.g., *wídùì* ‘cry singing’, or *ñúwàì* ‘accuse’), participants often grouped the behaviors and speech types characteristic of a particular affective state with the term that corresponded to it. For example, *tsáì chípèì* ‘yell at someone’ and *bééì* ‘hit’ (among other terms) were grouped with *sídàì* by one participant; *búdùì* ‘dance’ and *íkùì* ‘hug’ were grouped with *ídìbàì* ‘be happy’ by two participants.

Ultimately the task was pared down to just a set of 15 simple verb roots<sup>68</sup> which I read aloud and asked speakers to compare pair-wise to form groups or “families” (*káíwù(wù)* in Yaminawa) of words. Figure 3.2 provides an image of a completed sort (the same result that is represented in figure 3.4 in section 3.5.3). Then, respondents were asked to re-sort these same terms along a continuum from *shàrà* ‘good’ to *chákà* ‘bad’, the two terms that were most common in elicited descriptions of affect terms. An example of a completed sort is given in 3.3.

<sup>68</sup>One, *wékàxdà* ‘be annoyed’ is actually a stem formed from the noun *wékàx* ‘noise, bother’.



[illegible]

The image shows a wooden board with several small white cards placed on it. The cards contain handwritten text in a non-Latin script, likely representing a linguistic or grammatical exercise. The cards are arranged in a grid-like pattern across the board.

Card 1	Card 2	Card 3	Card 4	Card 5	Card 6	Card 7	Card 8
Shara	badui	Idibai	rāwī	Idibai	Sidai	Widai	Sidai
	Idibai	radui	Seyai	ratei	Widai		
	Wipi	Shinai		besi			
	raei						

Five speakers were able to successfully complete both of these tasks, the results of which are presented in section 3.5.

### 3.4 Yaminawa ethnopsychology

This section describes my understanding of some key Yaminawa ethnopsychological concepts that are of interest and import to this dissertation. The first question that I explore is whether the distinction between ‘reason’ and ‘emotion’, or ‘thought’ vs. ‘feeling’, is meaningful or significant in Yaminawa culture (I claim that it is not). Next, I describe the Yaminawa understanding of the *yùrà* ‘body’ in relation to the non-physical aspects of the body (in Yaminawa culture there are at least two: the *wèrùyùshì* ‘soul’ and the *ñúshì* ‘spirit, ghost’, which may be multiple). I also consider whether there is a meaningful distinction between ‘emotion’ or ‘affect’ (more broadly) and other internal states (such as cognitive states or physiological states), using evidence from Yaminawa ethnomedicine to support the claim that that there is not. Finally, I make some observations about ‘emotion’ as a potentially volatile force, comparing the Yaminawa and Nahua’s embrace of the public performance of *shínài* ‘sadness’ to observations that other researchers have made about the avoidance of such public displays by nearby Kampan Arawak peoples. Throughout this section, I use English-language, “Euroamerican” (see Lutz 1988) views on ‘emotion’ and ‘psychology’ as a basis for comparison with Yaminawa.<sup>69</sup> Some of the concepts that I am interested in, such as ‘emotion’, do not correspond to lexical categories or cultural domains in Yaminawa; I use Yaminawa native terms where possible, but otherwise use English terms in single quotes as an etic grid of convenience (see section 3.2).

#### 3.4.1 ‘Reason’ vs. ‘emotion’, ‘thought’ vs. ‘feeling’

‘Thought’ (or ‘reason’) and ‘emotion’ (or ‘feeling’) have been contrasted in western philosophy since the time of Socrates and Plato (see Plato’s *Phaedo*, in which themes of “reason” dominating “passion” and the division of the mind and the body are particularly evident). While this dichotomy has enjoyed considerable stability in western philosophy for over two thousand years,<sup>70</sup> there is little evidence that there is a robust, culturally-meaningful distinction between these two concepts in Yaminawa culture. One piece of evidence for this comes from the lexicon: the English-language concepts of ‘think’ and ‘feel’ are expressed with the same term, *shínài*, in Yaminawa. In conversation, *shínài* is most frequently used in the sense of ‘remember’, specifically to ‘remember’ or ‘think

<sup>69</sup>I choose this particular language and culture because it is the one with which I am the most familiar, and because I expect that many of the readers of this English-language academic work will also be familiar with this culture.

<sup>70</sup>Note that in casual English-language conversation, the terms ‘think’ and ‘feel’ are often used in ways that are almost indistinguishable, particularly in the expression of opinions: ‘I think that X is right/wrong’, ‘I feel that X is right/wrong’. However, the opposition of ‘reason’ and ‘emotion’ is readily apparent in all kinds of every day language and interaction, e.g., the notion of “crimes of passion” or debates on whether women are “too emotional” to be soldiers or policy makers.

about' distant or deceased kin or friends in a bittersweet and nostalgic way. In broader use, it can also be used to mean 'think (about)', or 'feel' (but only in the most semantically general contexts such as asking *mĩ àwèskài shĩnàimè?* [you how think-IPFV-INTERR] 'How do you feel?'). In interviews on ethnopsychological topics, some of my Yaminawa language consultants expressed that to *shĩnài* 'think about' making an agricultural field is not exactly the same sort of *shĩnài* as that which concerns a loved one, but they were unable to express how they differ without resorting to Spanish lexical resources (*pensar* 'think', *sentirse* 'feel', *acordar* 'remember', and *estar de pena* 'be (nostalgically) sad'). One bilingual speaker insisted that the Spanish terms *pensar* and *sentirse* were actually complete synonyms with no difference in meaning.

'Reason' and 'emotion' are only linguistically distinguished in Yaminawa in so far as the verbs *shĩnài* 'remember, think' and *tápìà* 'know (a fact), understand, learn' contrast. In my view, the relevant contrast between *shĩnài* and *tápìà* has more to do with the fact that *tápì* most generally refers to a state, and *shĩnài* to an activity. In contrast to *shĩnài*, *tápì* does not have any connotations of social interaction/bonds or a particular affective key. In Yaminawa, there are no distinct terms for 'reason', 'emotion', '(ir)rational', or '(un)feeling'. Reason and emotion, which are considered to be at odds in Western culture, do not appear to be in opposition in traditional Yaminawa ethnopsychology and philosophy.

Lutz (1988) notes a second set of oppositions that underpin "Euroamerican" views on emotion: that of estrangement versus emotion. She identifies emotion as being negatively perceived in relation to thought in Euroamerican culture, but positively perceived in relation to estrangement (p.56). 'Estrangement' is very negatively perceived in Yaminawa culture. I have frequently observed elders complain that younger relatives (or their non-Yaminawa spouses) are *shĩnàbìsbà* 'inconsiderate' (literally 'habitually don't feel/think about others'). Even when Yaminawas don't know a person and/or have no relation to them, they make visible efforts to be *shĩnài* 'feel' for them. On one occasion, a Yaminawa man came to visit his cousin to inform her of the drowning death of the adult son of his sister. Neither the man nor his cousin knew the deceased, and they (along with other Yaminawa present) discussed how they "*shĩnàkérádà*" 'would be sad' and "*shĩnàpái*" 'want to be sad', but couldn't because "*nũ ùbìsbà*" 'we have never met (lit. seen) him'. The uncle of the deceased, who informed the others of the news, seemed particularly troubled by his own lack of *shĩnài*, and repeatedly made justifications for it in both Yaminawa and Spanish. Yaminawas also feel that it is very important to perform emotional displays, particularly displays of *shĩnài*, and I have had my own Western, comparatively estranged behavior corrected on multiple occasions, often by being prompted by an older Yaminawa to openly express *shĩnài* for my partner and family or for my deceased father.

### 3.4.2 The body and mind

In western philosophy, much ink has been spilled on the topic of the dualism of the body and the mind. Townsley (1988) argues that in Yaminawa thought there are three components, one physical *yìrà* 'body', and two non-physical aspects called the *diawaka*

and the *wèrùyùshì*.<sup>71</sup> He considers both to be components of what is called the ‘mind’ in western thought.

According to Townsley, the *diawaka* and *wèrùyùshì* relate to one another as follows:

Both the *diawaka* and the *wëroyoshi* are present in germinal form in or around the body at birth, grow with it throughout life and finally leave it at death. In almost every other respect, however, they are opposed and contrasted. The *diawaka* is the “shadow”- the word means shadow and expresses metaphorically the idea that the *diawaka* is closely and continuously attached to the body. It is considered to play an integral role in consciousness. “The *diawaka*”, said a Yaminahua explaining the idea, “gives ideas - tells me what to do. When I think, when I decide to do something - all that is the *diawaka*.” In a simple way, most aspects of everyday consciousness, the thoughts and actions that make up everyday life, are considered to be the province of the *diawaka*. It is the seat of intentional thinking and reflection. It is closely tied to the particular person and the personality. Clear thought, speech and action are all considered to be manifestations of the *diawaka*.

All this is in absolute contrast to the *wëroyoshi*, an entity which is, perhaps, much closer to our concept of soul. It is a person’s vital essence - it is the thing that animates and gives life. “Without the *wëroyoshi*”, the same Yaminahua explained graphically, “this body is just meat.” It is the *wëroyoshi* that causes death by finally abandoning the body and travelling to the land of the dead (*bai iri*). I say “finally” because unlike the *diawaka* the connection of the *wëroyoshi* to the body in life is tenuous. It is said to wander and be subject to a host of influences of which the person consciously (the *diawaka*) is unaware. Dreams and hallucinations are proof positive of these wanderings of the *wëroyoshi*, wanderings in which it comes into contact with other spirits. It is these contacts which are believed to be the root cause of all illness and much serious misfortune. The *wëroyoshi*’s association with dream and hallucination, whose visions are taken to be those of the errant spirit itself, are clear evidence of its nature as something more than an abstract vital essence. Like the *diawaka* the *wëroyoshi* has a role in consciousness; it is the seat of perception. The *wëroyoshi* (literally - “eye-spirit”), Yaminahua say, “is what sees”. (pp.107-8)

He goes on to explain that the *diawaka* controls the *wèrùyùshì* when awake, but when the *diawaka* sleeps, the *wèrùyùshì* may wander. Townsley identifies conscious thought and memory, *shínàkì*, as “preeminently the activity of the *diawaka*”; dreams and “unbidden” memories or images are attributed to the *wèrùyùshì* or the effects of spirits on it (p.116).

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<sup>71</sup>For Yaminawa, Sharanahua, and Nahua terms from Townsley, Siskind, and Feather, I standardize the orthography in my prose to match the official Yaminawa alphabet, but I do not indicate tone unless the terms are attested in my own research. I make no changes to the orthographic conventions of these authors in direct quotations.



He does not discuss which, if any, of these entities experience emotions, feelings, sentiments, or other affective internal states. Considering that Townsley also identifies *shĩnài* as relating to ‘sadness’ (p.116), one can conclude that this, too, is experienced by the *diawaka*.

Feather (2010)’s perspective on mind-body dualism in his study of the Nahua directly contradicts Townsley’s in a number of ways.<sup>72</sup> On the topic of mind-body dualism, he reports the following:

For the Nahua, like other indigenous Amazonians, there is no separation between a mind that thinks and a body that acts. Spiritual and material substances cannot be separated; one necessarily implies the other. It is the body that remembers, knows and acts. (p.231)

Feather (2010) does not reference the *diawaka* mentioned by Townsley (1988), but does note the distinction between a “body spirit” (*yùshì*) and the “eye spirit” (*wèrùyùshì*). Unlike Townsley, who reports that the body without the *wèrùyùshì* is merely meat, Feather makes the claim that the Nahua *do* “distinguish [the body] from flesh (*dabi*)” (*dàbì* literally means ‘meat’)(2010:p.96). Siskind (1973) only briefly mentions the “*yoshi*” ‘spirit’, which all humans and animals have, in her ethnography of the Sharanahua on the upper Purus river in the late 1960s.

On emotion specifically, about which Townsley has little to say, Feather states that the heart “is the locus of *shĩnài* (thought/memory/love) and emotional perception”; for the Nahua, emotion is embodied to the degree that “[p]hysiology and emotional states are both signs and triggers of each other” (2010:p.206).

My own impressions of the relationship between the ‘mind’ and body in Yaminawa are similar to those of Feather (2010). Yaminawa cosmology distinguishes the body, *yùrà*, from the soul, *wèrùyùshì*, which is the spirit that has one’s consciousness and which travels downriver and into the sky to live forever after the death of one’s body.<sup>73</sup> Yaminawas and Nahuas in Sepahua also frequently speak of deceased individuals’ *yùshì* ‘spirit, ghost’, which is a disembodied spirit (one of potentially several or many such fragments) that roams places that the individual frequented in life. Older speakers who have had significant interactions with Yaminawa and Sharanahua living in the Purus report familiarity with the term *diawaka*, but this term is not used by either the Yaminawa or Nahua of Sepahua, and even older Yaminawa (over age 55) either report not knowing its precise meaning beyond that of some spiritual entity, or they report that it is identical in meaning to *yùshì*. The heart, *ũtĩ*, is the seat of the *wèrùyùshì* ‘soul’ within the body for the

<sup>72</sup>Townsley, Feather, and I have all worked with Yaminawa and Nahua in Sepahua, albeit in different eras, and indeed, we have even worked with many of the same individuals. Feather’s fieldwork mostly took place in the Nahua community of Santa Rosa de Serjali, while Townsley’s work took place in Serjali, Sepahua, as well as on the Alto Purus. While location and the passage of time likely account for some of these differences between Townsley and Feather (and my own work), there is significant variation in Yaminawas’ own accounts of these esoteric details of ethnopsychology and philosophy. Feather remarks on this very fact in the abstract to his thesis: “their cosmologies are less a fixed set of facts and more a shamanic technique of knowing the unknown” (p.3).

<sup>73</sup>Townsley (1988) reports that the *wèrùyùshì* travels downriver, up into the sky, then down the other side to dwell beneath the earth.

oldest Yaminawa speakers in Sepahua. Internal states and processes like *shínàì* 'thought, memory, sadness', *dùì* 'love', *sídàì* 'anger', and *bésèì* 'fear' are said to originate in the heart. In texts, the phrase *úùì méré* 'in the heart' is synonymous with *shínàmàkì* 'at/with (his/her) thoughts/feelings'. In contemporary Yaminawa culture, western psychological ideas have been adopted, and some people now describe the brain, *mápúnàtì*, as the seat of consciousness.<sup>74</sup> Yaminawa descriptions of categories corresponding to 'emotion' in English typically make extensive use of descriptions of bodily sensations and physiological reactions, e.g., *táritárikì* 'shuddering' in descriptions of *bésèì* 'fear' or *yùrà xádà* 'hot body' in descriptions of *sídàì* 'anger'.

In exploring the extent to which mind-body dualism is a relevant concept in Yaminawa ethnopsychology and philosophy, it is enlightening to draw contrasts between animals, non-human spirits, and people. Animals have *yùrà* 'bodies' and *yùshì* 'spirits', but not all animals have *wèrùyùshì* 'souls'. Some Yaminawa insist that dogs and some other family pets (small primates and parrotlets in particular) must have *wèrùyùshì* because they show evidence of dreaming. Yaminawa are split with regards to whether or not they believe that the *wèrùyùshì* of pets go to the afterlife upon death; my impression is that this split corresponds mainly to the degree to which individual Yaminawa subscribe to the Evangelical Christian dogma that only human beings have souls. The *yùshì* of dogs has the interesting property of being transferable to another dog on death. On at least two separate occasions, different Yaminawa have remarked to me that one of their dogs had a *yùshì* that was similar or identical to the *yùshì* of a previous dog that was no longer living, meaning the new dog had many non-physical attributes that were similar to the deceased dog. In one of these cases, the new dog would have already been an adult at the time of the old dog's death, but only started frequenting the home after the death, so this transfer or continuance of *yùshì* is clearly not a form of reincarnation. In 2017 there was a particularly unusual and disturbing event where Laika, a dog known for being *púwè* 'physically aggressive', died and was eaten by Danger, a younger dog that had previously been considered *kùwè* 'cowardly'. Around three weeks after it was discovered that Danger ate Laika's corpse, Danger bit three people in a span of five days. Because Danger was vaccinated for rabies, this sudden change in behavior was attributed to the consumption of Laika's *yùrà* and the influence of her aggressive *yùshì*. The Yaminawa that I interviewed were divided as to whether these effects were likely to be temporary or permanent.

Certain internal states or predispositions can be attributed to animals, particularly pets. These are most frequently desires such as *wùdù* 'being hungry' or *ùxàpái* 'wanting to sleep', but also some categories which are predominantly affective, such as *sídàì* 'angry', *bésèì* 'frightened', and *ídibài* 'being happy'.<sup>75</sup> Animals are believed to be more sensitive to the presence of spiritual beings, and dogs are said to sometimes bark in the night at the presence of *yùshì*. The sound of house cats fighting or caterwauling at night is

<sup>74</sup>There are also some expressions, like *bápú shàràyà* 'be intelligent' (lit. have a good head), that suggest the head may be seen as the seat of intelligence, but it is not clear if this is a neologism.

<sup>75</sup>These three states relating to affect are three of the most common for both pets and wild animals. There was one situation where Delicia Gomez comically described a large, fat caterpillar that, having withdrawn its tentacles after being poked with a leaf, was *ráwì* 'ashamed, shy'.

considered a bad omen. Songbirds are especially sensitive to the spirit realm and also have knowledge of the near future (*úndài*, ‘to recognize, to suspect, to know the future’); they may visit homes and alert the inhabitants to the possibility of a visitor, a death, an accident, or rain.

In contrast to *wèrùyùshì* ‘souls’, *yùshì* are not considered very emotionally or socially complex. They typically exhibit a limited range of emotions and are often fixated on a single objective, such as haunting a location, abducting children, or getting revenge. Some *yùshì* just wander the Earth, causing spiritual and psychological illnesses or causing (near-)accidents. The Nahua make an additional distinction between *yùshì*, who are harmful in more serious ways (causing physical, spiritual, or psychological disease or disorder), and *wàkà* who are more of a nuisance than a threat. *Wàkà* are spirit entities that live on the edge of the forest near human settlements and cause trouble like tipping pots over into the cooking fire or causing people to trip.<sup>76</sup>

Related to *yùshì* are *ñúshìwù*, which are spirit archetypes usually associated with a particular animal species. They have a few key traits of the animal species that they are associated with, but are capable of speech, taking human form, and experiencing a nearly full range of human internal states. I have collected dozens of *ñúshìwù* texts, but in the (approximately) 20 transcribed and annotated texts that predominantly feature a *ñúshìwù* spirit as a primary character, I have only encountered one, *kàpà ñúshìwù* ‘the squirrel spirit’, where the verb *shínài* ‘think, remember, be sad’ is used with a *ñúshìwù* grammatical subject (in this case in the sense of ‘think’). *Ñúshìwù* are said to still exist in the deep forest, but they are not a part of the regular cast of agents in daily life. In the mythological time, these spirits did interact with humans, and there is an entire genre of traditional stories that use romantic unions between an animal *ñúshìwù* and a human as a means of teaching how relationships should **not** be conducted. Animal-human *ñúshìwù* always have an animal behavioral trait that causes the failure of the relationship. For example, *kàshà ñúshìwù*, the armadillo spirit, only eats sweet corn and she leaves her husband after he allowed a field of corn to fully mature; *áwà ñúshìwù*, the tapir spirit, is shamelessly filthy and provides inadequate care for his stepchildren which incites the brother of his wife’s deceased husband to kill him.

Most animals then, lack a *wèrùyùshì* ‘soul’, but can still have internal states of the type commonly described as ‘mental’ states in English, and non-human *yùshì* lack both *yùrà* ‘bodies’ and *wèrùyùshì* and have an even more limited range of internal states. People have *yùrà*, *yùshì*, and *wèrùyùshì*, and are distinguished from animals and non-human *yùshì* in their ability to engage in or experience *shínài* as well as the full range of other internal states. I have only heard *shínài* ‘thinking, remembering, being sad’ attributed to humans and dogs, both entities that possess *wèrùyùshì* ‘souls’. For dogs, I have only witnessed two instances where this attribution was made, specifically two occasions on which weaned puppies were taken from a mother and given away to new owners, and the mother was described as *shínài* ‘sad, remembering’ when she went house to house searching for her offspring.

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<sup>76</sup>Feather (2010), however, reports that the “*faka*” are another term for *yùshì* (p96), and that the *wakan* are “vengeful” spirits of the dead (p.226).

In the West there is a dualism between the concepts of the ‘mind’ which is non-physical and the ‘body’ which is physical, with certain internal states (‘emotions’ and ‘thoughts’) attributed to the mind, and others (like illness or hunger) attributed to the body. In Yaminawa culture, the *yùrà* ‘body’, *yùshì* ‘spirit’, and *wèrùyùshì* ‘soul’ are viewed as distinct, but they appear to share both the burden and the bounty of internal states. While Townsley has described the *wèrùyùshì* to be the seat of perception and the *diawaka* to be the seat of consciousness (1988:107-8), my own work is not consistent with this as animals, which do not have *wèrùyùshì* are able to perceive things through sight (*û*), smell (*xétêi*), hearing (*díkài*), and are also ascribed states of knowledge (*tápì*).<sup>77</sup> In my own research, I have not found any clear evidence of a single locus for all categories that correspond to ‘emotion’ in English terminology, rather, their loci appear to be either distributed or shared across the *yùrà* ‘body’, *yùshì* ‘spirit’, and *wèrùyùshì* ‘soul’. The *wèrùyùshì* ‘soul’ stands out in that only entities with a *wèrùyùshì* experience *shínài* ‘thought, memory, sadness’.

### 3.4.3 Attitudes toward ‘emotion’ in Yaminawa culture

Yaminawa attitudes toward ‘emotion’ differ from both Euroamerican attitudes and the attitudes of nearby Kampan Arawak ethnolinguistic communities. In this section, I consider some of these differences, particularly differences in whether ‘emotions’ are considered private or public, and the degree to which ‘emotions’ are considered uncontrollable or chaotic. At the end of this section, I also describe some Yaminawa ethnomedicinal approaches to ailments that would be categorized as ‘psychological’ or ‘emotional’ in Western societies.

One of the prevailing Euroamerican views on emotion, as identified by Lutz (1988), is that it is private, subjective, and individual (pp.61-65). According to Lutz, in the Euroamerican model, emotions are subjective in two senses: they introduce bias and interfere with perception, and they “constitute the perspective of the individual on events” (1988:pp.70-71). In this model, emotions “constitute individual opinion” and “[it] is not possible to ascertain conclusively what someone else is feeling solely on the basis of observation” (p.71).

The Yaminawa consider emotions, or rather, types of internal states that correspond to the English-language domain ‘emotion’, to be mostly public and easily identifiable. In casual conversation, it is not uncommon for speakers to ascribe emotional states to other individuals or for them to speculate about how they would feel in a similar situation.<sup>78</sup> In contrast, some nearby Amazonian ethnolinguistic groups, such as the Nanti (Kampan Arawak), are hesitant to ascribe internal states to others (Lev Michael, personal commu-

<sup>77</sup>There also exists the distinct possibility that in the nearly 30 years that have passed since Townsley (1988) that these concepts have been changed or refined by the Yaminawa, perhaps in part due to drastically increased Christianization which puts much emphasis on the ‘soul’ and which, in its evangelical formulation, firmly insists that only human beings have souls.

<sup>78</sup>This is particularly salient to me from my personal interactions with the Yaminawa, who frequently insist that my partner and my mother must be *shīnābetsabis* ‘sad, pensive people’ while I am in the field, comparing this to the ways they feel when I am in the United States or else to the ways they feel when their own partners or children are away for extended periods.

nication). In Yaminawa culture, emotions are performed in full view of one's family and community, and the concealment of emotions is the exception, not the norm. For the Yaminawa, when one person expresses an emotional state or relates an intensely emotional event from his or her life, the social expectation is for the interlocutor(s) to respond by recounting a related emotional event from their own lives. For example, at funerals or other occasions where death is the topic of conversation, it is common to hear participants take turns listing the kin relations that they have lost. This type of speech is particularly common among the elderly, and the number and type of kin relations that one has lost appear to impart some degree of age-related status on the survivor. Often, when getting to know a Nahua or Yaminawa for the first time, the topic of discussion revolves around who's kin are living or deceased, and speakers take turns expressing grief and pity.<sup>79</sup> From my observations of Yaminawa daily life, it is my impression that for most affective categories, affective expression is social, not individual, and all participants present take part. Expressions of *síddài* 'anger' are a notable exception, as co-participants do not appear socially obligated to reciprocate or co-perform *síddài* in interactions (see chapter 6 on *síddài* stance, including its interactional features). Shepard (1999) also reports this frequency and social importance of this expressive behavior among the Nahua. The ability to acutely understand the emotions of others is a key skill in Yaminawa social life, and older Yaminawa often lament that their children, grandchildren, and the non-Yaminawa spouses of their children lack this skill.<sup>80</sup> At the foundation of this is a belief that specific affective and mental states/processes are, in fact, knowable by others.

On the uncontrollable nature of emotions, Lutz observes that in Euroamerican culture the "chaotic energy of emotions makes them dangerous to anyone in their vicinity and weakens the person experiencing them" (1988:p.61), and while "we are generally required to attempt to control their expression, emotions are conceptualized as resisting our attempts to do so" (p.63). She goes on to note the various ways in which the emotions can cause their experiencer to become vulnerable, such as to be "blinded" by love or by rage (p.64). Many of these same attitudes toward 'emotion', particularly the emphasis on the attempt to practice personal restraint regarding one's emotions, have been noted in some Amazonian societies as well. The Yaminawa and Nahua, however, appear to prefer emotional "self-indulgence to self-control" (Feather 2010:184). Shepard (1999) comments that the Matsigenka, a Kampan Arawak group that inhabits territories adjacent to the Nahua, find Nahua emotional expressivity to be excessive. He summarizes the difference between these two peoples as one of an concern for ethos vs pathos. He states,

<sup>79</sup>I have found that when I only express pity and do not speak of my own losses, an older speaker who knows about my family will often make a point to indirectly correct this by informing the other participants that my father has died, expressing pity for me, and then giving me the floor to discuss my other deceased relatives. In my native cultural practices, it is exceedingly rude to change the topic of discussion from another person's bereavement to one's own grief, but for the Yaminawa it is exceedingly rude to not express one's personal grief as evidence of empathy and compassion for another's loss.

<sup>80</sup>Yaminawa are especially critical of *mestizo*, Yine, and Asháninka spouses in this regard, and Delicia Gomez, described this deficiency as attributable to the fact that non-Yaminawa/Nahua people, and younger Yaminawa who have become *acostumbrado* to mestizo social norms, are often *shínàbisbà*, that is, they 'don't habitually think/feel.'

[...]the Matsigenka can be viewed as a people concerned with *ethos*, so that negative emotions are restrained and released according to strict social norms. The Yora/Yaminahua on the other hand, are a people of *pathos*, for whom the public release of pain and sorrow provides personal comfort while contributing to the solidarity of the social group. Not to express such emotions would be a sign of individual and social pathology. (p.97)

The Yaminawa certainly believe that an individual's expressive behaviors may be controlled,<sup>81</sup> but in ethnopsychological interviews, they generally found the idea of concealing positively evaluated states, such as *ídibài* 'happiness' or *shínài* 'sad remembrance' to be unusual.<sup>82</sup> Attempts to control or ignore feelings of *shínài* 'sad remembrance' are viewed as particularly pathological, and Yaminawa even go so far as to anticipate how they will express their *shínài* in the future by practicing songs for someone who will travel or who is seriously ill. As each of my field seasons drew to a close, the Yaminawa would sing for me the *ńámă ńámă* songs that they would sing after my departure when they remembered me, as well as the things they would say to each other about missing me. Positively evaluated affects such as *shínài* are controlled by the Yaminawa in the sense that they are rehearsed and intentionally intensified, though certainly these feelings are sometimes concealed, as they are by all human beings. Yaminawas differ from English-speaking white US Americans or Matsigenkas in the categories of 'emotions' that are habitually performed publicly, and the contexts where these performances are socially normative. Crucially, Yaminawas appear to differ in the wide range of contexts for which it is socially normative to perform 'sadness', *shínài* in Yaminawa, and the emotive intensity of these performances.<sup>83</sup>

Interviews with older Yaminawa reveal a deep and complex set of beliefs about concepts relating to the English-language categories of 'psychology' and 'mental health'. 'Psychological disorders' (in the English-language etic grid) are considered to be illnesses, just like physical disease. In traditional Yaminawa medicine, both 'psychological' disorders and internal physical ailments or diseases are considered to be symptoms of deeper spiritual imbalances or curses. Negatively evaluated personality traits, which Westerners might identify as 'emotional', 'social', or 'psychological', such as 'depression', 'anxiety', 'alcoholism' or 'anger-management issues', can be treated, managed, and improved by employing combinations of dieting, shamanic healing, and, in contemporary culture, Christian prayer, just as for other types of internal ailments including modern diseases like *glucosa* 'diabetes' and *colesterol* 'high serum levels of LDL cholesterol'. Physical ailments or injuries such as skin infections or broken bones are considered to generally be the result of mere accidents in Yaminawa culture, but there are some cases in which these

<sup>81</sup>There is a metaphor, *ũĩĩ nāmă* 'under the heart', which refers to concealment of a negatively evaluated state, particularly *sídài* 'anger', or at least an attempt to conceal it.

<sup>82</sup>See section 3.5.3 for more on how the affects are categorized within Yaminawa ethnopsychology.

<sup>83</sup>In my view, English-speaking white Americans differ most notably from Yaminawas and Matsigenkas in that they frequently perform anger in very public contexts, such as yelling at airline gate agents when their flight is overbooked, or 'flipping the bird' (displaying their middle finger) and shouting insults at other drivers during traffic.

sorts of health problems are attributed to witchcraft or other spiritual causes, especially when they fail to heal on a normal timescale. Some ailments in Yaminawa culture, or Amazonian culture more broadly, blur the lines between what Westerners can easily recognize as ‘physical’ versus ‘mental’. For example, if someone falls or accidentally twists part of their body in the wrong way, it can cause part of the body to become *tékèà* ‘injured’ (lit. ‘broken, snapped’, but this is almost always hyperbole; this condition is referred to as *liciado* in Ucayalino Spanish). In addition to pain, inflammation, and tense muscles around the injured part (which I expect most Westerners to be familiar with), this ailment also causes fever, lethargy, and lack of appetite, which are symptoms that appear to be specific to Amazonian culture.

One of the most important markers of health for the Yaminawa is to have strong familial and social connections within one’s community. My Yaminawa neighbors frequently express concern about the amount of time that I spend alone in my house writing, worried that I am ill or that my isolation will cause me to become ill. Some Yaminawa attribute the alcoholism of one community member to the fact that he perpetually moves from one *barrio* to another (though others have also remarked that he is perpetually pressured to move due to the *wékàx* ‘trouble’ that he incites when he is drunk). When a teenager developed anemia and skin sores in 2017, this was attributed to her cell phone use, which was considered excessive, instead of engaging in social activities with her cousins.

When the cause of illness is not evident, traditional medicine uses both observation of the patient and spiritual practices like the consumption of tobacco or ayahuasca to diagnose the disorder or illness. The cause of illness may not be evident because the sufferer is an infant or small child who is unable to adequately express their symptoms linguistically, or because the ailment specifically concerns the *yùshì* ‘spirit’. The most serious kind of non-physical illness for the Yaminawa is the loss of one’s *yùshì*. Traumatic events such as the death of a close family member or friend, a near-accident, or trip to a distant and unfamiliar location can all cause soul loss. The *yùshì* does not appear to go the same place for all episodes of soul loss, but rather it can be stuck in the time or place of the trauma, sequestered by a spirit or *brujo*, or simply end up in the unknown. Soul loss (*yùshì wédùà*) can cause many different kinds of dysfunction. In adults, this is sometimes a change in behavior or disposition, as is particularly common in young adults who travel to Pucallpa or other cities for extended periods and then return home different than they were before they left. The symptoms of soul loss are most acute and identifiable in children, who will often lose their appetite, become lethargic, and have trouble sleeping well at night. They may be completely inconsolable and cry constantly, or they may under-react to stimulus and neither cry nor laugh. Not all episodes of soul loss are equally severe. Minor cases are reported by Yaminawa elders to be caused by merely being startled or by collision with a whirlwind, and are easily resolved by any grandparent who knows how to blow tobacco smoke (a widespread shamanic technique in Amazonia). Near death accidents and skilled witchcraft cause more complicated cases that require multiple treatments from an experienced shaman. Depending on the particular circumstances, it may be necessary to get treatment from a specialist shaman or healer, and I have heard of many instances where Yaminawa elders, who are themselves quite skilled in their own

specialties, have gone to see other shamans or healers for treatment, or have referred their relatives when they are unable to resolve an ailment at home.

### **3.5 Descriptive affective resources in Yaminawa**

Yaminawa makes use of many different types of descriptive resources to communicate about affective states. This section presents some of the most common types of resources that are used in Yaminawa to describe affect, either directly or indirectly. Section 3.5.1 provides an inventory of lexemes used to describe internal states, including those which describe categories that are ‘affective’ according to the definitions used in this dissertation (see section 1.4). Section 3.5.3 presents the results of the pile sort tasks with regard to how different ‘affective’ internal states are considered to be (dis)similar by Yaminawa speakers, and I propose that prosociality versus antisociality is a culturally-significant axis along which Yaminawa categorize affects. Section 3.5.2 presents an inventory of lexemes used to describe ‘bodily’ states (an etic category of convenience), and behaviors that are associated with ‘affective’ expression (such as verbs describing ways of addressing another individual). Section 3.5.4 provides a brief description of the metaphorical resources for describing affect in Yaminawa (there appear to be relatively few metaphors in this domain).

#### **3.5.1 Lexical resources for describing internal states**

In this section, I provide an inventory of lexical items in Yaminawa that have meanings that would fall under the broad English-language category of ‘internal states’. Within the category, I include lexical items that relate to the English-language concepts of ‘cognition’ (e.g., ‘knowing’, ‘thinking’), ‘perception’ (e.g., ‘seeing’, ‘smelling’), ‘emotion’ or ‘affect’ (e.g., ‘being angry’, ‘being sad’), and ‘personality traits’ (e.g., ‘lazy’, ‘greedy’). ‘Desires’ (e.g., ‘want’, ‘wish’) are a type of internal state that is frequently identified in linguistic literature (e.g., Heim 1992, Villalta 2000), but these are not considered in this section, because they are expressed as bound morphology in Yaminawa (the desiderative and optative suffixes, see appendix section C.6.4.3). In addition to states, some of the verbs presented in this section are activities in terms of their lexical aspect.

While there is no evidence that ‘internal states’, ‘affect’, ‘personality traits’, ‘cognition’, or ‘perception’ are relevant cultural domains in Yaminawa, I have organized the descriptive lexical items presented in this chapter along the lines of that etic grid in order to make the inventories more useful to researchers interested in particular categories, such as verbs of cognition or attitude verbs. Section 3.5.1.1 presents lexical resources that primarily describe affective states or activities. Section 3.5.1.2 presents lexical resources and nominalizations that describe stable personality traits. Section 3.5.1.3 presents lexical items that describe cognitive states or activities and verbs of perception.



### 3.5.1.1 Lexical resources describing ‘affect’

Table 3.1 provides an inventory of lexemes in Yaminawa which have meanings that primarily describe the English-language categories of ‘emotions’ or ‘affective states’. These states are expressed exclusively as verbs in Yaminawa. There are some nouns that describe personality traits that have affective components, such as *púwè* ‘brave, violent’ and *kùwè* ‘cowardly’ (see section 3.5.1.2).<sup>84</sup> Verbs expressing affective states display a variety of event structures: intransitive verbs with experiencer subjects (e.g., *ídibài* ‘be happy’), transitive verbs with experiencer subjects (e.g., *bádùì* ‘miss someone’), and transitive verbs with experiencer objects and causer subjects (e.g., *séyài* ‘to disgust’).

Table 3.1: Lexical resources describing affective states

form	lex.cat.	meaning	notes
<i>bàdùì</i>	v.tr	‘miss (someone)’, ‘lack (something)’	Theme is grammatical object
<i>bàtsitádi</i>	v.itr	‘calm down’	From root <i>bàtsì</i> ‘cold’
<i>bésèì</i>	v.itr	‘be afraid’, ‘cower’	Formed from root <i>bésé</i> ‘dangerous, frightening’
<i>dùì</i>	v.tr	‘love’	Grammatical object is the object of love/desire
<i>dùìkàspái</i>	v.tr	‘hate’, also ‘envy’	Formed from verb <i>dùì</i> ‘love’ and negative desiderative <i>-kaspai</i> ; related to <i>dùìbìsbà</i> , lit. love-NOMZ.HABIT-NEG, ‘enemy, rival’. Grammatical object is object of hate.
<i>ídibài</i> <sup>85</sup>	v.itr	‘be happy’	Cause or object of happiness can be expressed with a dative oblique argument
<i>íshàràì</i>	v.itr	‘be well’, ‘be content’	Can be a state or a process
<i>rádùì</i>	v.itr	‘be reluctant to trust’, ‘be (socially) shy’	Compare to psych/cog verb <i>únàì</i> ‘recognize’, which can also be used in the sense of ‘suspect’ (someone or a state of affairs)
<i>ráèì</i>	v.itr	‘calm down’ (from fear, anger, intense grief)	Related to complex form <i>ráéwài</i> (with transitive suffix <i>-wa</i> ) ‘cause (someone) to calm down’

*Continued on next page*

<sup>84</sup>See appendix section C.5 for more on word classes.

<sup>85</sup>Also pronounced *édibài*

Table 3.1: Lexical resources describing affective states – continued from previous page

form	lex.cat.	meaning	notes
<i>rátèi</i>	v.tr	‘frighten, surprise, shock’	Has intransitive counterpart <i>rátèi</i> . Can also be used in contexts where the surprise/shock is caused by a positively-evaluated state of affairs. <sup>86</sup> The grammatical subject of the transitive form (i.e., the A argument) is the cause of the state, and the object is the experiencer. Related to <i>rátètàdì</i> ‘shock, surprise’ (v.tr.).
<i>ráwĩ</i>	v.itr	‘be ashamed’	Reason for shame expressed in dative case
<i>séyàì</i>	v.tr?	‘disgust’	Grammatical subject is the theme (that which disgusts) and the grammatical object is the experiencer (the entity which is disgusted). Also used intransitively to mean ‘shudder’ or ‘shiver’, particularly in the metaphor <i>úùtì séyà</i> ‘the heart shuddered’ (upon hearing bad news, such as of an accident, or upon seeing/hearing/sensing a <i>malaguero</i> ‘bad omen’).
<i>sídàì</i>	v.itr	‘be angry’, ‘be aggressive’	Cause or object of anger may be expressed as a dative argument
<i>shínàì</i>	v.tr	‘remember, think/feel, be sad about/for’	Often modified with derivational morphology, as in <i>shínàsháràì</i> ‘be hopeful, think good things’, <i>shínàchákàì</i> ‘worry, think bad things’, <i>shínàbètsàì</i> ‘be very sad’ or ‘miss someone’
<i>úbìsì</i>	v.itr?	‘be afraid of (someone)’, ‘be despondent’	Transitivity of form inconsistent across speakers. The ‘fear’ sense of this form is typically expressed as a fear of violent action from a person. This form is used very infrequently in natural speech, the complex form <i>úbìskúù</i> ‘be in mourning, pity’, be remorseful’ is much more frequent.

Continued on next page

<sup>86</sup>A naturally occurring instance of this positively-evaluated use is found in the traditional text *Rúáwù Dàwàwù* ‘The Bad People’. In the story, a village is massacred by the Bad People, leaving young children as survivors. Unbeknown to the children, an old man also survived, living as a captive of the Bad People. Years go by, and the children manage to survive by emulating the subsistence activities that they observed their parents participating in. The old man discovers the surviving children on a hunting trip, but cannot jeopardize their survival by staying. He can only intermittently return, lest they be discovered by the Bad People. More years pass, and on his final return he is *rátèi* ‘astounded’ when he sees how the small group of surviving children has grown to a large village with multiple generations. The story ends with the children, now adults, exacting revenge on the Bad People and saving their grandfather from captivity.

Table 3.1: Lexical resources describing affective states – continued from previous page

form	lex.cat.	meaning	notes
<i>úbìskũ</i> <sup>87</sup>	v.itr	‘be in mourning’, ‘pity’, ‘be remorseful’	Cause or object of mourning, pity, or remorse may be expressed as an adjunct noun phrase in dative case, but is most commonly expressed as a switch-reference clause (i.e., events, not individuals)
<i>úbítsiskái</i> <sup>87</sup>	v.itr	‘suffer’	Likely a complex form, but morphological components unidentified
<i>wáshĩ</i> <sup>88</sup>	v.tr	‘be romantically jealous’	The object of jealousy (grammatical object) may be overt or implicit. May also be used to indicate a habitual tendency in the absence of an object.
<i>wékàxdài</i>	v.itr	‘be annoyed’, ‘be bored’	Verbalization of noun <i>wékàx</i> ‘annoyance’, ‘bother’, or ‘trouble’. ‘To annoy’ is formed using the transitive verbalizer <i>-wa</i> .
<i>wíchípài</i>	v.tr	‘have a (romantic) crush on’	Formed from the verb <i>wíchí</i> ‘glimpse, catch sight of’ and the desiderative suffix <i>-pai</i> . Grammatical object is object of desire.
<i>wípài</i>	v.tr	‘want’	Formed from the transitive verb <i>wî</i> ‘take, get’ <sup>88</sup> and the desiderative suffix <i>-pai</i> . Used to express desire for both non-human objects and human would-be romantic partners. <sup>89</sup>

In the traditional narrative corpus, which was not designed to elicit particular affects, the most frequent affect predicates are *ídibài* ‘be happy’ (50 occurrences), *sídài* ‘be angry’ (26 occurrences), *rátèi* ‘be surprised, frightened’ (22 occurrences), *úbìskũ* ‘be in mourning, pity, be remorseful’ (14 occurrences), *shínàì* ‘think, remember, be sad’ (63 total occurrences, 13 of which are clearly affective, not cognitive), and *bésèi* ‘be afraid’ (10 occurrences). Some of these affect predicates appear to be very infrequent in natural speech: *wáshĩ* ‘be romantically jealous’, *bátsitàdì* ‘calm down’, *íshàràì* ‘be well, content’, *úbìsì* ‘be afraid of someone’, *rádùì* ‘be suspicious’, and *ràèi* ‘calm down’ do not occur in the traditional narrative corpus.

### 3.5.1.2 Lexical resources describing ‘personality traits’

Some intransitive verbs expressing affective internal states are suffixed with the nominalizer *-bis* (habitual), to express stable personality traits, as in Table 3.2.

<sup>87</sup>Sometimes pronounced *úbétsiskái*.

<sup>88</sup>This verb root has been extended in the post-contact capitalist context to include the meanings ‘buy’ and ‘steal’.

<sup>89</sup>In contexts relating to intimate partnerships, the verb root *wî* translates to ‘take/get’ in the sense of ‘take as a husband/wife’ or ‘get together’.

Table 3.2: Nominalized affective states

internal state	gloss	habitual nomz.	meaning
<i>sídàì</i>	‘be angry’	<i>sídàbìs</i>	an individual (or species) with a propensity for aggressive reactivity
<i>úbìsì</i>	‘be sad’	<i>úbìsbìs</i>	a person who is in an extended state of mourning or experiencing prolonged depression
<i>bésèì</i>	‘be afraid’	<i>bésèbìs</i>	an individual (or species) which is timid or easily startled
<i>shínàbésàì</i>	‘to be nostalgically pensive’	<i>shínàbésábìs</i>	a person who is constantly worrying or thinking about their grief
<i>rǎwǐ</i>	‘be ashamed, shy’	<i>rǎwǐbìs</i>	an individual (or species?) which is timid, but not easily startled

Other personality traits, mostly nominal, which are associated with particular positive or negative evaluative affects but not necessarily emotive affects include: *yúáshì* ‘greedy, unfair’, *xàdì* ‘lazy’, *púwě* ‘brave, aggressive, violent’, *kùwě* ‘cowardly’, *wípì* ‘calm, kind’ (verbal), and *tátíbà* ‘unintelligent’.

### 3.5.1.3 Lexical resources describing ‘cognition’ and ‘perception’

Table 3.3 provides an inventory of Yaminawa verb roots that describe perception via the senses, as well as verbs describing ‘cognitive’ states and processes.

Table 3.3: Verbs of cognition and perception

form	transitivity	gloss
<i>béêì</i>	TR	‘to touch, to taste’ (also means ‘hit’)
<i>dàbái</i>	ITR	‘to dream’
<i>díkài</i>	TR	‘to hear, to listen, to understand’
<i>shínàì</i>	TR	‘to think, remember’
<i>tánàwàì</i>	TR	‘to count out, measure, calculate’
<i>tápi<sup>90</sup></i>	TR	‘to learn, to know’
<i>úì</i>	TR	‘to see, to look at, to watch’
<i>únàì</i>	TR	‘to recognize, to identify, to guess/divine’
<i>wédúì</i>	TR	‘to lose, to forget’
<i>wíchì</i>	TR	‘to see, to catch sight of, to find’
<i>xétèì</i>	TR	‘to sniff, to smell’ (also means ‘kiss’)

<sup>90</sup>This form is presented here in imperfective aspect, meaning ‘to learn’. In perfective aspect, *tápià* means ‘to know’.

The forms in table 3.4 may also be used in expressions evaluating the intelligence or other stable cognitive traits of an individual.

Table 3.4: Forms describing stable cognitive traits

form	part of speech	gloss
<i>únàbìs</i>	nominalization	‘clever’ (usually in a tricky way)
<i>únàbìsbà</i>	nominalization	‘unintelligent, of low sentience’ <sup>91</sup>
<i>shínàbìsbà</i>	nominalization	‘thoughtless, forgetful’
<i>tápìbìs</i>	nominalization	‘skilled, know a lot’
<i>bápú shàràyà</i>	non-verbal predicate	‘be intelligent’ (lit. ‘have a good head’). <sup>92</sup>
<i>tátìbà</i>	noun	‘(someone) unintelligent’ <sup>93</sup>

Some of the roots in table 3.3 are used in complex forms that express social meanings, such as *díkáyúspài* (vt.) ‘be disobedient’ (lit. ‘habitually does not want to listen’) and *wíchípài* (nominalization) ‘romantic crush’ (lit. ‘(one who) wants to catch sight of (him/her)’).

### 3.5.2 Lexical resources for describing bodily states and affective behaviors

In narratives and conversation, it is often the case that Yaminawa speakers do not use an affect term to describe an affective state, rather they describe the physical sensations (such as *tárítárikì* ‘tremble’) or visible behaviors (such as *wìdîl* ‘cry singing’) that accompany that state. This section provides an inventory of bodily state/process terms and social and speech behavior terms in Yaminawa. Some of these terms are associated with particular affects (such as *àtìwâi* ‘threaten’ with *sídàì* ‘be angry’), and others do not appear to have any such association (such as *átìshì* ‘sneeze’). I determined which terms have associated affects and what those affects are, based on their use in both traditional and contemporary narratives (including emotion narratives), and based on the emotion description task, emotion scenario interview, the general ethnopsychological interview, and my observations as a Yaminawa language learner and participant observer.

#### 3.5.2.1 Lexical resources for describing bodily states

Table 3.5 gives a list of some physical states and bodily processes in Yaminawa with any apparent associated affect terms. This list is not intended as a comprehensive listing of all bodily state predicates in Yaminawa; rather, it provides only an account of the most frequently encountered terms, their meanings, and any associated affects.

<sup>91</sup>I have only recorded this term being used in reference to non-human entities, often to distinguish typical game animals from spirits in the form of animals.

<sup>92</sup>If there is any evidence of a distinction between the locus of cognition and the locus of feeling in Yaminawa, it would be this phrase.

<sup>93</sup>I have only recorded this term being used with reference to human entities; compare to *únàbìsbà*.

Table 3.5: Bodily states and associated affects

form	meaning	associated affect(s)
<i>ǎnǎi/ǎnǎ pákèi</i>	‘vomit’	<i>séyàì</i> ‘disgust’
<i>ǎnākatsaiki</i>	‘be nauseated’	<i>séyàì</i> ‘disgust’
<i>átìshì</i>	‘sneeze’	n/a
<i>àtsànǎi</i>	‘get (physically) tired’	n/a
<i>chúái</i>	‘shiver, tremble’	n/a, compare <i>tárítáríki</i>
<i>chúshtà</i>	‘dirty’	<i>séyàì</i> ‘disgust’
<i>dái</i>	‘die’	<i>shínǎi</i> ‘sad’, <i>úbìskúì</i> ‘mourning, depressed’
<i>dùbū</i>	‘be thirsty’	n/a
<i>ìbì wēi</i>	‘menstruate’ (lit. ‘blood comes’)	n/a
<i>ísínúki</i>	‘be sick’	<i>wékàxdài</i> ‘be annoyed’
<i>mátsǎnǎi</i>	‘feel cold’	n/a
<i>nǎmǐ chídákì</i>	‘get goosebumps, have a twitch’	n/a
<i>nǐskǎi</i>	‘feel hot, sweat’	n/a, see <i>xàdà</i> ‘hot (to the touch)’
<i>káyàì</i>	‘heal (oneself)’	n/a
<i>kérèx</i>	‘hard, strong’	<i>sídài</i> ‘angry’
<i>pǎěà</i>	‘be drunk’	<i>sídài</i> ‘angry’
<i>pìsì</i>	‘stink’	<i>séyàì</i> ‘disgust’
<i>sákíki</i>	‘have goosebumps’	n/a
<i>shákí rǎnǎi</i>	‘have stomach acid’	n/a
<i>shǎwǎi</i>	‘yawn’	n/a
<i>tárítáríki</i>	‘tremble’	<i>bésèi</i> ‘afraid’
<i>téétèiki</i>	‘throb (eyelid or heart)’	<i>rátèi</i> ‘afraid/shocked’
<i>tsékúì</i>	‘have hiccups’	n/a
<i>úkúì</i>	‘cough’	n/a
<i>wérúrúbài</i>	‘be (physically) agitated’	OPPOSITE: <i>ràèi</i> ‘be calm’
<i>wérú/bápú sáwì</i>	‘be dizzy’ (lit. eye/head rolls/spins)	n/a
<i>wùdū</i>	‘be hungry’	<i>wékàxdài</i> ‘be annoyed’
<i>wúshkàiki</i>	‘have a headache’	<i>wékàxdài</i> ‘be annoyed’
<i>xàdà</i>	‘hot (to the touch)’	<i>sídài</i> ‘be angry’
<i>xākàiki</i>	‘breathe’	n/a
<i>yúdái</i>	‘have a fever’	n/a

Many lexemes used to describe physical states or bodily processes describe symptoms of illness, exposure, or unmet physical needs (e.g., hunger, thirst, physical exhaus-

tion). Most of the associated affects are ones which are negatively evaluated or considered pathological in Yaminawa culture and ethnomedicine: *sídàì* ‘angry’, *séyàì* ‘disgust’, *wékàxdàì* ‘annoyed’, and *rátèì/bésèì* ‘shock/fear’. The two positively-evaluated associated affects, *shínàì* ‘sad’ and *ràèì* ‘calm’, are exceptions with clear motivations. *Shínàì* ‘sad’ is in response to the death of another, and *ràèì* ‘calm’ is associated only as the result of a change of state from agitation.

### 3.5.2.2 Lexical resources describing social activities and speech types

Table 3.6 provides a list of social and speech activity terms in Yaminawa with their approximate meanings and associated affect terms (if any apparent).

Table 3.6: Social and speech activity predicates

form	meaning	associated affect
<i>áskàwàì</i>	‘reprimand’	<i>wékàxdà</i> ‘be annoyed’
<i>àtìwàì</i>	‘threaten’	<i>sídàì</i> ‘be angry’
<i>béèì</i>	‘hit, punch’	<i>sídàì</i> ‘be angry’
<i>búdùì</i>	‘dance’	<i>ídìbàì</i> ‘be happy’
<i>cháàdì</i>	‘tell about’	n/a
<i>chánì</i>	‘lie’	n/a
<i>dèbàì</i>	‘defend, excuse’	n/a
<i>díshpàì</i>	‘quiet down’	<i>ráwì</i> ‘be embarrassed, ashamed’
<i>dútsì</i>	‘complain about quality/quantity of gift’	<i>wékàxdà</i> ‘be annoyed’
<i>énèñákàdì</i>	‘separate, divorce’ (reciprocal form)	<i>wékàxdà</i> ‘be annoyed’
<i>íbáìbákì</i>	‘hug and play with small children’	<i>ídìbàì</i> ‘be happy’
<i>íkùì</i>	‘embrace’, also ‘believe’	<i>ídìbàì</i> ‘be happy’
<i>kákàpàì</i>	‘brag’	n/a
<i>kàbàì</i>	‘accuse’	<i>sídàì</i> ‘be angry’
<i>káxèì</i>	‘joke’	<i>ídìbàì</i> ‘be happy’
<i>kéwì</i>	‘call for defense’	n/a
<i>kéwìsì</i>	‘try not to laugh/smile’ <sup>94</sup>	<i>ídìbàì</i> ‘be happy’
<i>kúpì</i>	‘return, avenge’	<i>sídàì</i> ‘be angry’
<i>níchì</i>	‘accompany and drop (someone) off’	n/a
<i>ñúkàì</i>	‘ask, ask for’	n/a
<i>ñúsì</i>	‘teach, advise, reach agreement’	n/a
<i>ñúwàì</i>	‘accuse’	<i>sídàì</i> ‘be angry’

*Continued on next page*

<sup>94</sup>Gendered usage: particularly of adolescent boys or young men who wish to appear stoic.

Table 3.6: Social and speech activity predicates – continued from previous page

form	meaning	associated affect
<i>pǎràì</i>	‘deceive, pretend’	n/a
<i>péésikibà</i>	‘be silent’	<i>wékàxdà</i> ‘be annoyed’, <i>rǎwì</i> ‘be ashamed’
<i>rǎwèi</i>	‘be friends, accompany’	<i>ídìbài</i> ‘be happy’
<i>rúàì</i>	‘invoke, call, bother’	<i>wékàxdà</i> ‘be annoyed’
<i>sáráíkà</i>	‘sing (a man’s travel song)’	<i>shǐnǎi</i> ‘be sad, nostalgic’
<i>tsǎi chípèi</i>	‘argue, yelling’	<i>wékàxdà</i> ‘be annoyed’
<i>tsǎikì</i>	‘talk to, converse’	<i>ídìbài</i> ‘be happy’
<i>útsǎi</i>	‘to laugh at (someone)’ <sup>95</sup>	<i>ídìbài</i> ‘be happy’
<i>wádái/wǎnǎikì</i>	‘sing’	<i>shǐnǎi</i> ‘be sad, nostalgic’
<i>wéchishbài</i>	‘interrupt to argue’	<i>wékàxdà</i> ‘be annoyed’
<i>wépàràì</i>	‘deceive by distraction’	n/a
<i>wérúbà</i>	‘hyperactive, promiscuous’	n/a
<i>wéwǎi</i>	‘curse with socery’	<i>sídài</i> ‘be angry’
<i>wéxtèákì</i>	‘speak too loudly’	<i>wékàxdà</i> ‘be annoyed’
<i>wéyái</i>	‘get used to’	n/a
<i>wídī</i>	‘cry while speaking’	<i>shǐnǎi</i> ‘be sad, nostalgic’
<i>wítsǎi</i>	‘to laugh, smile’	<i>ídìbài</i> ‘be happy’
<i>wúmǎi</i>	‘deceive, deny guilt’	n/a
<i>xèchìpái</i>	‘have tendency to laugh’; <sup>96</sup> from root <i>xèchì</i> (also <i>shìchì</i> ) ‘smile/laugh’ which is seldom used without the desiderative <i>-pai</i> .	<i>ídìbài</i> ‘be happy’
<i>xétēi</i>	‘kiss, smell’	<i>dūi</i> ‘love’
<i>xúǎkì</i>	‘ <i>soplar</i> (heal with shamanic blowing technique)’	n/a
<i>xúxùì</i>	‘play (of children)’	<i>ídìbài</i> ‘be happy’
<i>yúàshì</i>	‘be greedy’	n/a
<i>yúbètsù</i>	‘thief’	n/a
<i>yúūi</i>	‘tell about’	n/a
<i>yúúshàràì</i>	‘tell good news’	<i>ídìbài</i> ‘be happy’
<i>yúúttíwài</i>	‘criticize, gossip’	<i>wékàxdà</i> ‘be annoyed’

<sup>95</sup>Compare to *wítsǎi*, *kéwìsì*, and *xèchìpái*. Often used in contexts where the person being laughed at has made a mistake or otherwise did not intend to bring about the laughter of others, but it may also be used in contexts where the object did intend to bring about laughter, by behaving humorously, dressing up in a costume, etc.

<sup>96</sup>Gendered usage: particularly of adolescent girls or young women, in a sense similar to ‘be coquettish’ in English. For an older woman to behave in this way is viewed by other Yaminawa women as atypical and humorous, but not necessarily inappropriate.



Among the verbs of affective performance, we see a full range of associations to descriptive affect terms, both positively and negatively evaluated ones.

### 3.5.3 Categorization of selected affect terms

In the affect term pile sort task, respondents were asked to spatially organize fifteen affect terms into “families” (Yaminawa *káiwùwù*, Spanish *familias* or *paisanos*) based on similarity of meaning. The fifteen terms and their rough English equivalents are the following:

*bádùì* ‘miss (someone), lack (something)’

*bésèì* ‘be afraid of, be cowardly’

*dúì* ‘like, love’

*ídìbàì* ‘be happy, joyful, excited’

*rádùì* ‘be suspicious of, be shy around’

*ràèì* ‘calm down’

*rátèì* ‘be shocked, surprised, frightened’

*rǎwǐ* ‘be ashamed, be shy’

*séyàì* ‘disgust, be disgusting’

*sídàì* ‘be angry’

*shǐnàì* ‘be sad, worry, be nostalgic’

*úbìsì* ‘be fearful (of someone)’

*wǎshǐ* ‘be romantically jealous’

*wékàxdà* ‘be annoyed’

*wípì* ‘be calm, generous, kind’

These terms were selected based on semantics (they have the kinds of affective meanings that are the focus of this dissertation) and structural simplicity: all are verb roots in citation form (with the imperfective suffix *-i*) except for *wékàxdà*, ‘be annoyed’, which is a verbalization of the noun *wékàx* ‘annoyance, bother’ in perfective aspect (suffix *-a*).<sup>97</sup> While some of the more structurally complex forms presented in previous sections were included in early versions of the pile sort, these were ultimately removed from the task in order to simplify it in a principled way.

The following figures (3.4 through 3.8) provide the raw results of the affect term pile sort task for the five respondents who were able to complete it. These figures are graphic representations of the piles as they were arranged by participants. Note that in pile sort

<sup>97</sup>Yaminawas language consultants found the intransitive verbalized form semantically unusual in imperfective aspect, but were more accepting of the transitive verbalized form *wékàxwàì* ‘annoy’ in the imperfective.

1, presented in figure 3.4, the participant wished to include the term *wítsàì* ‘laugh’ in the inventory of terms, and in pile sort 5, presented in figure 3.8, the participant wished to include the term *shàrà* ‘good’. In pile sort 5, the participant rejected the term *dùì* and did not sort it.

The pile sorts represent both higher-level judgments about similarity (ranging from classifying emotions into two broad groups to as many as seven groups), as well as finer-grained judgments within groups about which individual terms are the most semantically similar. All five participants were inclined to move the cards around to put the words they judged to be the most similar closest to each other within the piles, and I allowed and encouraged participants to perform the task in the way that seemed most natural to them. The task was carried out iteratively, and respondents were asked about each term individually and were asked to identify which terms were most similar within higher-order groupings and were instructed to move terms to another group or combine groups if they deemed appropriate. The size of groups varied from just a single item to nine items.

Figure 3.4: Affect term pile sort 1

<i>rádùì</i> suspect		<i>wǎshǐ</i> jealous	
<i>úbìsì</i> fear (person)	<i>rǎwǐ</i> ashamed		
<i>rátèì</i> surprised	<i>bésèì</i> afraid	<i>sídàì</i> angry	
<i>séyàì</i> disgust	<i>wékàxdà</i> annoyed		
			<i>wítsàì</i> laugh
			<i>ídìbàì</i> happy
			<i>ràèì</i> <i>wípì</i> calm content
			<i>dùì</i> love
			<i>bádùì</i> miss
			<i>shínǎì</i> sad

Figure 3.5: Affect term pile sort 2

*rádùì*  
 suspect  
*bádùì*  
 miss  
*dùì*   *shǐnǎi* *rǎwǐ*   *wǎshǐ*  
 love   sad   ashamed   jealous  
  
*ídìbài*  
 happy  
*ráèi*   *wípì*  
 calm   content  
  
*úbìsì*  
 fear (person)  
*rátèi*  
 surprised  
*wékàxdà*   *bésèi*   *séyài*  
 annoyed   afraid   disgust  
*sídài*  
 angry

Figure 3.6: Affect term pile sort 3

*wǎshǐ*  
 jealous  
*sídài*  
 angry  
*wékàxdà*  
 annoyed  
*rádùì*   *úbìsì*  
 suspect   fear (person)  
*rǎwǐ*   *bésèi*   *rátèi*  
 ashamed   afraid   surprised  
*séyài*  
 disgust  
  
*dùì*  
 love  
*bádùì*   *shǐnǎi*  
 miss   sad  
*ráèi*   *ídìbài*  
 calm   happy  
  
*wípì*  
 content

Figure 3.7: Affect term pile sort 4

<i>wǎshǐ</i> jealous	<i>séyài</i> disgust
<i>wékàxdà</i> annoyed	<i>bésèi</i> afraid
<i>sídài</i> angry	<i>rátèi</i> surprised
	<i>úbìsì</i> fear (person)
<i>wípì</i> content	
<i>ràèi</i> calm	<i>rǎwǐ</i> ashamed
<i>ídìbài</i> happy	<i>rádùì</i> suspect
<i>dúi</i> love	<i>shǐnǎi</i> sad
	<i>bádùì</i> miss

Figure 3.8: Affect term pile sort 5

<i>wǎshǐ</i> jealous				
<i>wékàxdà</i> annoyed	<i>shàrà</i> good			<i>rátèi</i> surprised
<i>sídài</i> angry	<i>wípì</i> content	<i>úbìsì</i> fear (person)	<i>bésèi</i> afraid	<i>bádùì</i> miss
	<i>ràèi</i> calm	<i>séyài</i> disgust	<i>rádùì</i> suspect	
<i>rǎwǐ</i> ashamed				
<i>ídìbài</i> happy	<i>shǐnǎi</i> sad			

Following the completion of the pile sort task, I asked participants to complete the evaluation ranking task. In interviews, the qualifiers *shàrà* ‘good’ and *chákà* ‘bad’ were frequently used to evaluate ‘affect’ terms, including many of the fifteen terms used for the pile sort task. In the evaluation ranking task, I put down two cards with the terms *shàrà* ‘good’ and *chákà* ‘bad’ on opposite ends of the table (or other work surface such as a bench), and asked participants to sort the fifteen affect terms from the most *shàrà* ‘good’, to the most *chákà* ‘bad’. Unfortunately, due to circumstances beyond my control and beyond the control of the Yaminawa consultants who work with me, only three of the five speakers who completed the pile sort task were able to complete the evaluation task. The results of this task are presented in figures 3.9 through 3.11.

Figure 3.9: Evaluation sort 1

<i>shàrà</i> good	<i>dúi</i> love	<i>rátèi</i> surprise	<i>rǎwǐ</i> ashamed	<i>wékàxdà</i> annoyed	<i>chákà</i> bad
	<i>shǐnǎi</i> sad	<i>bádùi</i> miss	<i>rádùi</i> suspect	<i>sídài</i> angry	
	<i>wípì ráèi</i> content calm	<i>séyài</i> disgust		<i>wǎshǐ</i> jealous	
	<i>ídìbài</i> happy	<i>úbìsì</i> fear (person)			
		<i>bésèi</i> afraid			

Figure 3.10: Evaluation sort 2

<i>shàrà</i> good	<i>wípì</i> content	<i>rádùi</i> suspect	<i>rǎwǐ</i> ashamed	<i>bésèi</i> afraid	<i>wǎshǐ</i> jealous	<i>chákà</i> bad
	<i>ráèi</i> calm		<i>bádùi</i> miss	<i>rátèi</i> surprised	<i>sídài</i> angry	
	<i>ídìbài</i> happy		<i>shǐnǎi</i> sad	<i>séyài</i> disgust	<i>wékàxdà</i> annoyed	
	<i>dúi</i> love		<i>úbìsì</i> fear (person)			

The same speaker that produced affect pile sorts 1 and 2 produced evaluation sorts 1 and 3, respectively. Evaluation sort 3 was produced by the speaker that produced affect pile sort 4. Despite the great degree of variation in the way that participants completed the sorting tasks, some groupings were apparent across groups.

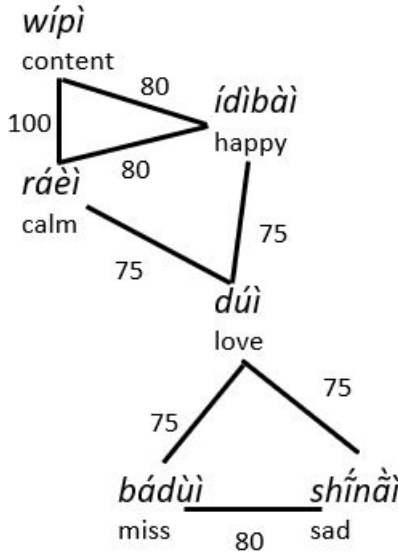
Figure 3.11: Evaluation sort 3

<i>shàrà</i> good	<i>ídìbài</i> happy	<i>bádùì</i> miss	<i>rǎwǐ</i> ashamed	<i>rátèì</i> surprised	<i>rádùì</i> suspect	<i>wǎshǐ</i> jealous	<i>wékàxdà</i> annoyed	<i>sídài</i> angry	<i>chákà</i> bad
		<i>dúi</i> love		<i>séyài</i> disgust	<i>úbìsì</i> fear (person)				
		<i>shǐnǎi</i> sad			<i>bésèi</i> afraid				
		<i>ràèi</i> calm							
		<i>wípì</i> content							

By mapping only those associations which appeared in three or more of the five affect term pile sorts, three significant clusters emerge from the raw pile sort results. These are presented in figures 3.12 through 3.14 and are captioned with sets of English terms that roughly correspond to each cluster. To graphically represent associations that were present in at least three of the five affect term pile sorts, I put terms that were grouped together closest to each other in each figure. Between each pair of terms that were grouped together, I indicate the frequency of this grouping with a percentage value: 100 for 5 out of 5 groupings, 80 for 4 out of 5, and 60 for 3 out of 5. In the case of the term *dúi* ‘love’, which was rejected by one participant, the value 75 indicates that 3 out of 4 speakers grouped it with associated items.

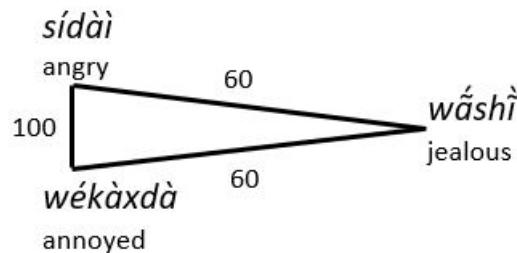
In figure 3.12, we see that *wípì* ‘be calm, generous, kind, content’ is strongly correlated with *ràèi* ‘calm down’. In descriptions of the meanings of these terms, Yaminawa identified *wípì* as a habitual behavior and often made reference to the calm (Spanish *tranquilo*), slightly smiling face of someone who is *wípì*. The resultant state of *ràèi* ‘calm down’ is calmness, but use of this term entails a prior state of *sídài* ‘anger’ or *wékàxdà* ‘annoyance’ that has passed. Both *wípì* ‘content’ and *ràèi* ‘calm down’ are equally correlated with *ídìbài* ‘be happy’. *Dúi* ‘love’ is equally correlated with *ídìbài* ‘be happy’, *ràèi* ‘calm down’, *bádùì* ‘miss (someone)’ and *shǐnǎi* ‘be sad, nostalgic’. *Bádùì* and *shǐnǎi* do not strongly correlate directly with *ídìbài* ‘be happy’ or *wípì/ràèi* ‘be calm’ in the pile sort task, but the six terms in Figure 3.12 do cluster together as a cohesive group in the evaluation task where respondents were asked to sort the fifteen terms from *shàrà* ‘good’ to *chákà* ‘bad’. These terms are consistently ranked as the most positively-viewed for all speakers who participated in the task.

Figure 3.12: Cluster: happy/love/calm/sad



In figure 3.13, we see that *sídài* ‘be angry’ and *wékàxdà* ‘be annoyed’ are strongly correlated for all respondents, with *wǎshǐ* ‘be romantically jealous’, less robustly, but equally correlated to *sídài* and *wékàxdà*. These three terms also clustered together in the evaluation task, where they were consistently judged as the three most negative affects by all respondents. In the pile sort task, there were only weak associations (i.e., no single item was associated by more than two participants) between this cluster and some of the terms in the fear/shame/disgust/mistrust cluster presented in figure 3.14, in particular, the *sídài-wékàxdà* subcluster correlates with the ‘fear’ subcluster (consisting of *bésèì* ‘be afraid’, *úbìsì* ‘be afraid of (someone)’, and *rátèì* ‘be surprised, frightened’) for 3 out of 5 of the respondents. Note, however, that for the respondents who had this larger cluster (see figures 3.4 through 3.6), *sídài* and *wékàxdà* were at one edge of the group, not at the core of the grouping.

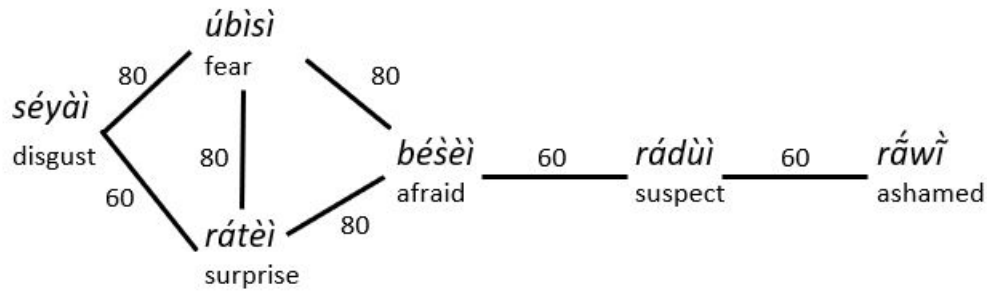
Figure 3.13: Cluster: anger/annoyance/jealousy



In figure 3.14 we see a core group of three ‘fear’-related terms: *úbìsì* ‘be afraid of some-

one', *bésèi* 'be afraid, cowardly', and *rátèi* 'be surprised, frightened'. *Úbìsì* is strongly associated with *séyàì* 'disgust, be disgusting', but *séyàì* is not closely associated with any of the other terms investigated. *Bésèi* 'be afraid, cowardly' is associated by some speakers with *rádùì* 'be suspicious of' and this term is in turn loosely associated with *rǎwǐ* 'be ashamed, embarrassed, shy'. The three 'fear' terms constituting the core of this cluster (*úbìsì* 'fear (a person)', *bésèi* 'be afraid', and *rátèi* 'be surprised') were each associated with *wékàxdà* 'be annoyed', part of the 'anger/annoyance' cluster by three speakers. In the evaluation task, these terms were always evaluated as less positive than the happy/love/calm/sad cluster, and less negatively than the anger/annoyance/jealousy cluster, but there were no robust trends across the three speakers for how these terms were internally ranked. Although two of the three speakers that completed the evaluation task had associated 'fear'-cluster terms with *wékàxdà* 'be annoyed', both speakers judged *wékàxdà* 'be annoyed' to be more *chákà* 'bad' than any of the 'fear' terms.

Figure 3.14: Cluster: fear/shame/disgust/mistrust



Based on interview data and the results of the evaluation task, the most culturally relevant dichotomy for categorizing emotions in Yaminawa appears to lie between mental states and behaviors which are viewed as prosocial and mental states and behaviors that are viewed as antisocial. In both the affect term pile sort task and the evaluation task, Yaminawa speakers did not categorize affect terms along the lines of the psychological concept of “valence”: the attractiveness (positive valence) or averseness (negative valence) of the affect (see Frijda 1986:pp.207-16). Valence is commonly invoked by researchers in the field of psychology in work that seeks to categorize or classify emotions or affects (Russell 1980; Russell and Barrett 1999; Schlosberg 1952).<sup>98</sup> Russell (1983) uses the results of an iterated pile sort task in five different languages to make a case for the universality of a circumplex model of the categorization of emotions, where one axis is valence and the other is arousal (i.e., the intensity of the emotion, with ‘sleepy’ or ‘tired’ being among the least aroused in English, and ‘alarmed’, ‘aroused’, and ‘excited’ being among the most aroused). While the pile sort methodology that I used in Yaminawa

<sup>98</sup>When I informally asked friends in the US to rank a handful of emotion terms (sad, angry, happy, afraid, surprised), almost all of them ranked the terms along the lines of valence. In contrast to Yaminawa speakers, US English speakers identified ‘sad’ as a ‘bad’ emotion, and for many it was even considered to be more ‘bad’ than ‘anger’.



was not the same as the methodology used in Russell (1983), the categorization of *shínàì* ‘sad’ and *bádùì* ‘missing someone’ as being most similar to *dùì* ‘love’ and other emotions that were categorized as *shàrà* ‘good’ in the evaluation sort task raises doubts about the universality of valence as an axis of categorization. Similarly, *bésèì* ‘fear’ was not evaluated as particularly negative by Yaminawa speakers, nor was it considered particularly positive – all three participants who completed the evaluation pile sort placed it somewhere in the middle of their piles. Yaminawa speakers were generally consistent in the ways they sorted affect terms, both in the pile sort and the evaluation sort tasks. While the end points of the valency axis in English (and other languages, such as those tested by Russell 1983) appear to be determined by degree of attractiveness or how ‘pleasant’ a given affect is, in Yaminawa this axis appears to relate more to whether the affect is grounded in prosociality, feelings and behaviors that promote stable social connections, or antisociality, feelings and behaviors that obstruct or disrupt stable social connections. This generalization is also supported by the data collected in interviews and the emotion description task, as well as in my observations of everyday life among the Yaminawa.

*Shínàì* is frequently identified by speakers as a positively perceived mental state, and the importance of this mental state in Yaminawa culture is one of the key pieces of evidence that degree of prosociality is a relevant axis for the categorization of affects. *Shínàì*, which has a significant component of meaning that could be translated in English as ‘sadness’, is positively viewed because it foregrounds the relationship between the person who is *shínàì* and the person that they are *shínàì* about. *Wìdî* ‘crying with words, crying in song’ is an outward behavior prototypically associated with the mental predicate *shínàì* in descriptions of affective behavior (see section 3.5.2.2 for more on lexical resources describing social and speech behaviors). During a community meeting in 2016, news arrived that the great-grandchild of one of the elderly women was on the brink of death, and she immediately began to *wìdî* about the child and her own state of *shínàì*. Other older women came and sat near her, some occasionally joining in with their own *wìdî* either about their own deceased small children or grandchildren or about the *shínàì* of the woman in mourning. One of my language teachers, María Ramírez, age 70, explained to me through tears (in Spanish) that she was crying for her cousin (the mourner) because she has also cried for her; that they cry for each other now because they have cried for each other many times before. She then contrasted her own behavior with the behavior of another older woman who left during the group *wìdî* because she was preoccupied with news that her own grandchild was in poor health.<sup>99</sup> Other positively perceived prosocial affects include *ídìbàì* ‘to be happy’, and *wípì*, which is variously translated as ‘be calm/peaceful’ or ‘be generous/kind’. Around one-third of the instances of *ídìbàì* ‘happy’ in the traditional text corpus (and more still in the emotion narrative corpus) are clearly socially-oriented (by virtue of occurring upon meeting people, returning to one’s family, etc.) and are often accompanied by a dative case marked human theme that is the object

<sup>99</sup>Fortunately, the great-grandchild of the elderly woman who was *wìdî* survived. The grandchild of the woman who left instead of joining the others in *wìdî* unfortunately did not live. There was a noted lack of Yaminawa mourners at the child’s wake (due to both a severe thunderstorm and the social rift between the grandmother and her kin), and there was much conversation during the following week which framed non-attendance at the wake and funeral in a negative light.

or cause of the happiness. *Wípì* ‘kind, generous, calm, peaceful’ is infrequently used in non-emotion texts, but in ethnopsychological interviews, Yaminawa speakers identify the prosocial components of ‘kindness’ and ‘generosity’ to be core to the meaning of this term.

The most negatively viewed mental predicate is unquestionably *yúàshì* ‘to not share enough, to not contribute enough, to take more than one needs’.<sup>100</sup> *Yúàshì* is the very prototype of anti-social behavior for the Yaminawa. The traditional narrative *Yúàshìwù* ‘The Greedy Person’ is considered by many Yaminawa to be one of the most important cosmological stories in their language and culture. In the ancient times, animals and humans lived together as one community and spoke the same language. Only *Yúàshìwù* ‘the greedy person’ had cultivated plants and fire. The animals and humans went to him asking, nicely, for stems of yuca and seeds of maize to learn to cultivate their own food. *Yúàshìwù* toasted the grains of maize and scraped the buds from the stems of yuca before he gave them to the people and animals, so that they would not grow. He guarded his fields by filling them with venomous snakes that hung from the plants, and he carefully counted all of his grains. In order to acquire fire and agriculture, the humans and animals had to work together. *Tíkũ*, the *unchala* or Grey Necked Wood Rail (*Aramides cajaneus*), stole the first grain of maize by distracting *Yúàshìwù* and hiding it tucked inside his fore-skin (a place only his intimate partner would see). *Chíu káyù*, the rose-fronted parakeet (*Pyrrhura roseifrons*), stole the first ember of fire (burning his long beak to its present-day stubby black form),<sup>101</sup> and when *Yúàshìwù* sent rain to put out the first fire, *xété*, the black headed vulture (*Coragyps atratus*), spread his wings over the kindling flame to protect it, staining his pure white plumage black with the smoke to yield his present-day coloration. *Xéképãwã*, the iguana (*Iguana iguana*) stole the first chili peppers, since he runs very fast. Finally, the humans and animals had enough of *Yúàshìwù*’s selfish ways, and they banded together to kill him. *Xíkí xùkù idàyà*, the giant armadillo (*Priodontes maximus*),<sup>102</sup> dug a deep hole underneath *Yúàshìwù*’s hearth as a trap, and when *Yúàshìwù* fell inside, all of the birds shot him with arrows, ending his tyranny and freeing the humans and animals to live independently, from the fruits of their own labor. The types of cooperation and mutual aid that appear in this story are also evident in daily life among the Yaminawa. Non-Yaminawa inhabitants of *Barrio Centroamérica*, particularly Asháninkas (Kampan Arawak), sometimes complain that Yaminawas organize too many work parties and insist on doing too much work collectively, as opposed to individually, which is, generally speaking, the preference in Kampan Arawak culture. The term *yúàshì* ‘greedy, selfish’ itself does not appear to have any meanings that are affective in nature, though someone who is *yúàshì* may certainly incite affects like *wékàx* ‘annoyance’ or *sídài* ‘anger’ in others. The opposite of *yúàshì* ‘greedy, selfish’, is reported by some Yaminawa speakers (José Manuel Ramírez and Delicia Gómez) to be *wípì* ‘kind, generous, content’. The term

<sup>100</sup>It is possible that the epithet *dàwà* ‘mestizo’ is a worse insult than *yúàshì* ‘selfish, greedy’, if only because it entails *yúàshì* as part of Yaminawa stereotypes about the behavior and mental states of mestizos.

<sup>101</sup>The name *chíu káyù* literally means ‘fire-finish.off’ or ‘burnt up’.

<sup>102</sup>Yaminawa speakers distinguish between *xíkí xùkù idàyà* and *pákúmãwã*, which both correspond to the giant armadillo *Priodontes maximus*. *Xíkí xùkù idàyà* (lit. ‘corn cobb tailed’) is reportedly slightly smaller and has a fatter tail with a corn husk-like texture. It’s not clear if these are distinct (sub)species or if *xíkí xùkù idàyà* is a juvenile form.

*wípì* does have an affective component, that of ‘calmness’ or ‘content’, and this term was consistently evaluated as *shàrà* ‘good’ in the evaluation task, and was most commonly associated with *ràèi* ‘calmed down (esp. from anger or worry)’ and *ídìbàì* ‘happy’.

*Sídàì* ‘to be angry, wrathful, or rage-filled’ is also viewed negatively and as an anti-social mental state. In the elicitation of affect-focused personal narratives, multiple language teachers were reluctant to tell me about a time that they were *sídàì*. Some claimed that they had never been *sídàì*, but more said that they had only been *sídàì* in the past, that they didn’t *sídàì* anymore, and that they couldn’t think of a story about a time that they were *sídàì*, demonstrating just how negatively-perceived this affect is considered to be in Yaminawa culture.<sup>103</sup> Speakers were more willing to relate instances of other individuals (real or hypothetical) who are *sídàì*, and they almost always framed these narratives in a negative light, often using the word *chákà* ‘bad, ugly’ to describe the individual or the event.

This promotion of affectionate, prosocial behavior and the avoidance of antisocial behavior is a recognized norm across Amazonian societies.<sup>104</sup> Overing and Passes (2000) comment on the importance of “emotion talk” in Amazonian sociality:

[...] their ‘emotion talk’ is also ‘social talk’ in that they consider the management of their affective life *vis-à-vis other people* to be constitutive of moral thought and practical reason. It is a language that speaks axiologically of the social benefits of the practice of the everyday virtues of love, care, compassion, generosity and the spirit of sharing [...] It dwells equally upon the antisocial inclinations of anger, hate, greed, and jealousy that are disruptive to the human social state. (p.3)

While it appears that Amazonian cultures generally emphasize the restraint of affective states and behaviors similar to ‘anger’, there is considerable variation in their treatment of other affects, particularly ones relating to ‘sadness’, which the Yaminawa are very apt to express publicly. Feather claims that “[other] Amazonian peoples value the restraint of emotions such as grief and pain not because they are dangerous in themselves but because they are associated with a lack of self-control that can lead to thoughtlessness and anger” and that groups such as the Machiguenga and Piro view the expressiveness of Yaminawa and Nahua people “as an inevitable precursor to violence” (2010:211). In Feather’s view, the Nahua and Yaminawa’s affective expressiveness is “designed specifically to elicit compassion from others” (ibid.). Thus, prosociality appears to be an important component of emotion categorization in Yaminawa culture, as well as an important factor motivating the highly affectively expressive speech behaviors of Yaminawa speakers.

<sup>103</sup>Several speakers cited learning about Jesus Christ and going to church as reasons why they no longer *sídàì*, but there were some cases where highly devout individuals would admit to experiencing *sídàì* and also some cases where only marginally religious individuals would not admit to it. Identification as a Christian, particularly an evangelical Christian, and being an older (age 60+) woman are the two factors that appear, based on my limited sample, to correlate most strongly with the rejection of *sídàì*.

<sup>104</sup>In my personal view, this is unsurprising, as humans are, in general, social creatures living with or at least near other humans, and it only seems natural that we would tend to promote tranquility in our homes and communities.

### 3.5.4 Emotion metaphors

Overall, Yaminawa makes use of few metaphoric conceptualizations of emotions, even in narratives where emotion is in focus. As I will show in later chapters, expressive performances of experienced states is one of the preferred resources for communicating descriptions of affective experience. Here I provide a brief overview of some of the most salient and frequent metaphors and semantic frames used in Yaminawa to conceptualize and express emotions.

Metaphors for emotion concepts that utilize body part terms are well-documented cross-linguistically (see Kövecses 2000 and Wierzbicka 1999). In Yaminawa, the heart, *ũtì*, is locus of feeling and thought. It is also the only body part that I have documented thus far that is used in emotion metaphors. The list in (1) provides an inventory of currently attested lexicalized metaphoric phrases describing affective states.

- (1) a. *ũtì nètèwài*  
‘desire solitude, hold back a feeling’ (lit. ‘the heart is blocked/detained’)
- b. *ũtì déésítàdì*  
‘be shocked by an accusation’ (lit. ‘the heart jumps’)
- c. *ũtì(kì) dúkùì*  
‘feel better, start feeling/thinking’ (lit. ‘the heart is arriving’ or ‘it arrives at the heart’)
- d. *ũtì nāmài*  
‘hide a feeling (esp. anger)’ (lit. ‘beneath the heart’)
- e. *ũtì séyài*  
‘be shocked’ (lit. ‘heart to shudder’)
- f. *ũtì sháráwàà*  
‘feel better’ (lit. ‘to tidy up the heart’)
- g. *ũtì wékàxìdì*  
‘be agitated’ (lit. ‘the heart is annoyed/bothered’)
- h. *ũtì wépéàx ùì*  
‘feel better, calm down (lit. ‘heart will open and come’)
- i. *ũtì xétìbài*  
‘be worried, afraid’ (‘the heart stops’, lit. ‘is clogged’)<sup>105</sup>

There is only one instance of one of these metaphors in the entire corpus, specifically *ũtì dúkùì* in the sense of ‘start feeling, thinking’, provided in example (2). This utterance comes from the story *Ìskù ñúshìwù rúápítsìwè* ‘The Crested Oropendola (*Psarocolius decumanus*) Spirit and the Cannibal’, which concerns a woman whose father, a cannibal, kills and eats her first two husbands, who were brothers, until she marries the third and youngest brother, the Oropendola spirit, who kills the cannibal. The immediate context

<sup>105</sup>One speaker reported that this means ‘despondent’ or ‘unable to feel’ (after something bad happens).

of this utterance is that the woman has now raised the youngest brother to adulthood, and he now experiences affects appropriate to a grown man, and she marries him.<sup>106</sup>

(2) a. anũ isku wākēshta inũkai

*a* = *nũ* *isku* *wākē* -*shta* *ik* -*nũ* = *kai*  
3SG = NEW oropendola small -DIM AUX. ITR -OPT -CONTR

‘That this very son of the oropendola would grow.’

b. mǎ āwē ũtiki dukua

*mǎ* *āwē* *ũti* = *ki* *duku* -*a*  
already 3SG.POSS heart = LAT arrive -PFV

‘Now he had feeling/thought in his heart.’

c. mǎ wedeyakũĩakiapu

*mǎ* *wede* = *ya* -*kũĩ* -*a* = *kia* = *pu*  
already husband = POSS -INTENS -PFV = REP = MIR

‘Now, see, she made him her husband, they say.’

(TN.MRR.Isku ñũshĩwu ruapitsiwe.0615.line 190-192)

The rest of the heart metaphors in (1) were found in the dictionary of Sharanahua compiled by Scott (2004) and confirmed by elicitation and interviews. While the metaphors from the Sharanahua dictionary were recognized by speakers whose parents had lived in the Purús alongside Sharanahua, (1a), (1c), and (1i) were not recognized by the Nahua speaker who was consulted.

The recurrent metaphor is that of THE HEART IS A CONTAINER: it can be opened (1h), it is a space that can accumulate clutter (1f), and it can be filled or clogged (1i). In (1i) we see that the heart can be conceptualized as a passageway or conduit; the verb *xétĩbài* ‘be clogged’ is used to refer to debris creating natural dams in waterways, demonstrating the frames EMOTION/FEELING IS A FLUID. Metaphorically, then EMOTIONAL STATE CHANGES ARE MOVEMENT, and disruption of the flow, as in (1a) is pathological (and temporary). Because motion is in play as a relevant frame, it is also relevant to consider space as a component of the source, and in (1c) and (1h) we see that NEGATIVE EMOTIONS ARE DISTANT OBJECTS and POSITIVE EMOTIONS ARE PROXIMAL OBJECTS. (1d) uses the metaphor EMOTION IS AN OBJECT, which may be hidden beneath another object, the heart. In (1b), (1e), and (1g) we see evidence of another recurrent metaphor, THE HEART IS AN ANIMATE BEING. Beyond the proximal/distal, positive/negative association, there is no evidence for additional spatial metaphors (such as HAPPINESS IS UPWARD in English).

There are also two metaphors involving the liver, given in (3).

<sup>106</sup>Tone is not transcribed in data coming from natural speech, as it is difficult to transcribe correctly and consistently. See appendix A for a detailed description of the transcription, glossing, and translation conventions used throughout this dissertation.

- (3) a. *tàkà búkàdà*  
 ‘irritated, annoyed’ (lit. ‘liver turned bitter’)  
 b. *tàkà wátà*  
 ‘happy’ (lit. ‘sweet liver’)

Both of these metaphors were initially encountered in the same story as the heart metaphor above, *Ìskù ñũshìwù rúápítsìwè* ‘The Oropendola Spirit and the Cannibal’. These forms were uttered by the cannibal upon meeting his son-in-law, who he plans to eat. The relevant lines are given in (4).

- (4) a. *ẽ uba anũ, mẽ taka bukadakũĩaki, mẽ taka bukadakũĩaki*

*ẽ uba ak -nũ mǎ ẽ taka buka -da*  
 1SG.NOM medicine AUX.TR -OPT already 1SG.NOM liver bitter -VBLZ.ITER  
*-kũĩ -a =ki mǎ ẽ taka buka -da -kũĩ -a*  
 -INTENS -PFV =REAS already 1SG.NOM liver bitter -VBLZ.ITER -INTENS -PFV  
 =*ki*  
 =REAS

‘I’m going to drink ayahuasca, because my liver is so bitter, because my liver is so bitter.’

- b.  *mẽ taka wâtākũĩaki, ea uba axũkãki*

*mǎ ẽ taka wâtã -kũĩ -a =ki ea uba*  
 already 1SG.NOM liver sweet -INTENS -PFV =REAS 1SG.ACC medicine  
*ak -xud -kad -ki*  
 AUX.TR -BEN -PL.IPFV -IMPER.INDIR

‘Make me some ayahuasca because my liver is so sweet.’  
 (TN.MRR.Isku ñũshìwu ruapitsiwe.0615.line 50-52)

Younger speakers were not familiar with either of the liver metaphors, which were produced by a speaker in her 70s. The speaker’s eldest daughter, in her late 50s, reported that these metaphors simply meant that the cannibal was hungry for human flesh, and did not identify any affective component. A second consultant, the nephew of the speaker (also in his late 50s), identified these metaphors as having the affective meanings given in (3). Because the original context of the metaphors is contradictory (is he happy or is he annoyed?), and speakers are divided about their meaning, it is not possible to make conclusive claims about affective metaphors relating to the liver at this time. It may simply be the case that these liver metaphors are a performative element that portrays the cannibal’s speech as different than typical Yaminawa speech by using unusual metaphors.

The study of conceptual metaphors (as opposed to lexicalized ones), merits further research in Yaminawa. One such metaphor, the comparison of anger to heat, was only documented in the context of ethnopsychological interviews, leaving open the possibility that the metaphor may be due to contact with Spanish-language conceptual spaces

(for example, the Spanish word *acalorado* ‘heated’ is used to indicate anger or agitated discontent). There are two lexemes for ‘hot’ in Yaminawa: *nískài* ‘feel hot, be sweaty’ and *xádá* ‘hot (to the touch)’, but only *xádá* was mentioned by speakers in the context of *sídài* ‘anger’ scenarios. The emotion term *sídài* ‘angry’ does not occur in the naturalistic corpus with either word for ‘hot’, and *xádá* mostly occurs in the context of heating water, a shamanic context where it means ‘dry out’, and a personal narrative where it is used to describe the intense body heat produced by a woman experiencing a difficult labor. The term *bátsitàdì* ‘calm/settle down’ is formed from the root *bátsí* ‘cold’ and the associated motion suffix *-tad* ‘go, do, and return’, which lends some additional evidence for the metaphor ANGER IS HEAT.<sup>107</sup> SPICE IS HEAT has been blended with the ANGER IS HEAT metaphor in traditional ethnomedicine, and spicy foods (as well as very hot meat) are contraindicated for individuals who are prone to anger, according to older Yaminawa who continue to practice traditional medicine.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>107</sup>This use of the associated motion suffix *-tad* is also consistent with the observations above about proximity to the deictic center being ‘positive’.

<sup>108</sup>In Sepahua, some mestizos punish aggressive dogs, particularly dogs that bite someone, by putting a crushed chili pepper in their mouth. After I suffered a dog bite in 2016, Delicia Gomez explained to me that Yaminawas do not practice this because it makes dogs even more aggressive and disposed to bite.

## Chapter 4

# Affective bound morphology in Yaminawa

### 4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I shift from describing Yaminawa cultural domains and descriptive resources for affect, and I turn to the expressive functions of affective bound morphology in Yaminawa. This chapter serves to describe the distribution and basic stancetaking functions of affective morphology in Yaminawa, before turning to affective ways of speaking in the following chapters (5 through 7), where they will be discussed in an integrated fashion that also takes prosody, interactional features, and the rich social context into account. The aim of this chapter is simply to introduce the affective morphemes that are encountered in the following chapters and clarify their use as affective resources in addition to other, non-affective meanings that they may have.

Affective morphology in Yaminawa appears typologically notable for having morphemes that express meanings of sadness (specifically the ‘effort’ suffix *-betsa* and the ‘pity’ suffix *-nābe*), as these types of affective meanings are not currently attested cross-linguistically (see Ponsonnet and Vuillermet 2018b). Ponsonnet and Vuillermet (2018a) identify diminutives, augmentatives, and reduplication as the three most common types of affective morphology identified in the literature on evaluative morphology (p.8). Of these, Yaminawa exhibits both a diminutive and an augmentative with affective functions, but reduplication does not appear to have any conventionalized affective meanings. Panoan languages in particular seem to have rich sets of morphological resources for the expression of affect (see Zariquiey 2018b on Kakataibo), yet comparison of these resources does not appear to yield many cognates. For example, the form of the diminutive is quite varied across Panoan languages: *-(pī)shtá* in Yaminawa, *-ra(tsu)* in Kakataibo, *-hVko* in Iskonawa, *-niko* in Amahuaca, and *-fuku* in Shipibo. Zariquiey (2018b) notes that the diminutive in Kakataibo appears to have grammaticalized from an independent word (p.199); a similar process appears to have occurred independently in Yaminawa. There does not appear to have been any direct historic contact between Southern Yaminawa speakers and Kakataibo speakers, rather the grammaticalization and profusion of



diminutives appears to be an areal feature of Ucayali – even Ucayalino Spanish uses the diminutive *-ita* to form imperatives (e.g., *oyecita!* ‘listen up!’),<sup>109</sup> whereas standard Latin American Spanish only permits the use of the diminutive on nouns.

Yaminawa is a predominantly suffixing language,<sup>110</sup> and all of the affective morphemes are suffixes. There are three affective bound morphemes that are very frequently used in the language: the (affectionate) diminutive suffix *-(pí)shtá* ‘DIM’), augmentative suffix *-(w)á* ‘AUG’), and intensifier suffix *-(kú)* ‘INTENS’). Much of the content of this chapter consists of an account of how these three morphemes are used, individually and in combination, to take particular affective stances in Yaminawa discourse. These suffixes are the three most frequent morphological resources in Yaminawa for expressing stance, affective or otherwise. In addition to these three prominent stance-taking suffixes, this chapter also provides an overview of other bound morphemes with affective stance-taking functions: *-shara* ‘well’ vs. *-chaka* ‘poorly’, benefactive *-xū(d)* vs. malefactive *-ã*, the mirative *pu*, *-betsa* ‘with effort’, and *-nābe* ‘inspiring pity’.

The structure of this chapter is as follows: sections 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4 provide descriptions of the form, distribution, and stancetaking functions of the DIM, AUG, and INTENS morphemes respectively; and section 4.5 describes additional, less frequent morphemes with affective stance-taking functions, as well as the inventory of affective interjections.

## 4.2 The diminutive suffix *-shtá*

The diminutive suffix is one of the most versatile and prevalent morphemes in Yaminawa. Corpus evidence indicates that it may appear on any word class except ideophones, and it has a wide range of meanings, from literal smallness to affection/positive evaluation to indicating a low scalar value. The most common meaning of the diminutive in the corpus is that of affection or positive evaluation, although this meaning is commonly combined with notions of smallness, particularly when speaking affectionately to or about children. Indeed, over 10 percent of the instances of the diminutive in the traditional text corpus are words with the root *wàkè* ‘child’, as children tend to be both small in size and beloved by their families and neighbors. As the following description shows, there are few cases where the diminutive unambiguously means literal smallness only, but numerous cases where it expresses affection with no clear meaning of literal smallness. For this reason, I sometimes refer to *-shtá* as the ‘affectionate diminutive’, despite the fact that it is the only diminutive form in Yaminawa, to make it clear that the semantics of this suffix are predominantly that of affection. The basic prosodic features of the diminutive are set out in section 4.2.1, followed by discussion of the meaning and function of the diminutive in nouns (section 4.2.2), verbs (section 4.2.3), adverbs (section 4.2.4), and other word classes (section 4.2.5). A summary is provided in section 4.2.6.

<sup>109</sup>Note that imperatives formed with diminutives in Ucayalino Spanish are always formed with the diminutive inflected for feminine gender *-ita* (vs. masculine *-ito*), regardless of the gender of the addressee or speaker.

<sup>110</sup>The only prefixes in the language are a set of body part derivational prefixes. See appendix section C.6.3.

### 4.2.1 The word-prosodic features of the diminutive

The diminutive always bears H tone, but the effects of this tone are different depending on the domain. The diminutive is associated with affectionate prosody (discussed in more detail in section 7.2), which is characterized by global high pitch. In nouns, the affectionate diminutive suffix appears to cause leftward spread of H tone to roots that do not have lexically-specified tone (which surface with low tone by default in isolation; see section C.4.5.1 for more on tone in nouns). This is exemplified below in (5).

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (5) a. wàkè<br><i>wake</i><br>child<br>‘child’                                   | b. wákéshtá<br><i>wake -shtá</i><br>child -DIM<br>‘little child’, ‘dear child’     |
| c. chikù<br><i>chiku</i><br>younger.sister<br>‘younger sister’                   | d. chíkúshtá<br><i>chiku -shtá</i><br>younger.sister -DIM<br>‘dear younger sister’ |
| e. àdù<br><i>adu</i><br>lowland.paca<br>‘lowland paca’ ( <i>Cuniculus paca</i> ) | f. ádúshtá<br><i>adu -shtá</i><br>lowland.paca -DIM<br>‘tasty lowland paca’        |

This H tone does not spread leftward for nominal roots with lexically-specified tone, as is the case for roots with HL contour tone, as in (6).

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (6) a. kápè<br><i>kápè</i><br>alligator<br>‘alligator’ | b. kápèshtá<br><i>kápè -shtá</i><br>alligator -DIM<br>‘tasty alligator’  |
| c. kítì<br><i>kítì</i><br>pot<br>‘clay pot’            | d. kítìshtá<br><i>kítì -shtá</i><br>pot -DIM<br>‘pretty/little clay pot’ |

e. kámǎ  
 kámǎ  
 dog  
 ‘dog’

f. kámǎshtá  
 kámǎ -shtá  
 dog -DIM  
 ‘beloved dog’

However, other high tone morphemes do not cause leftward H spread (see section C.4.5.1). This indicates that the raised pitch of the entire word may actually be affective prosody operating at the word or phrase level (see section 7.2 on the features of affectionate speech, including global high pitch), not true H tone spread. The diminutive also bears H tone when appearing in verbs, adverbs, and other word classes. H tone spread may also trigger global high pitch in verbs, as seen in (7).

- (7) a. úxáshtáwú  
 ùxà -shtá -à -wu  
 sleep -DIM -PFV = PL  
 ‘(the little/dear ones) slept’
- b. dúbíshtái  
 dùbì -shtá -ì  
 be.thirsty -DIM -IPFV  
 ‘(the little/dear) is thirsty’

However, in with verbs that have a (frequently occurring) tonal minimal pair, such as *wádái* ‘sing’ and *wàdái* ‘sow’, the H tone does not spread to the L tone root, presumably to maintain the lexical contrast, as seen in (8).

- (8) a. wàdàshtài  
 wàdà -shtá -ì  
 sow -DIM -IPFV  
 ‘(S/he) (with affection) is sowing (it)’
- b. wádàshtái  
 wádá -shtá -ì  
 sing -DIM -IPFV  
 ‘(S/he) (with affection) is singing’

When the diminutive occurs in certain metrical positions, the form changes from -shtá to -píshtá. The form -píshtá only appears when the diminutive is directly affixed to a mono-syllabic verb root, as in (9). See section C.4.3.4 for more on similar metrical processes in Yaminawa.

- (9) a. *úpíshtàì*  
       *ú*       *-píshtà -ì*  
       come -DIM -IPFV  
       ‘(the dear one) is coming’
- b. *ápíshtàì*  
       *ák*       *-píshtà -ì*  
       AUX.TR -DIM -IPFV  
       ‘(the dear one) is doing (it)’
- c. *pípíshtàì*  
       *pí*       *-píshtà -ì*  
       eat -DIM -IPFV  
       ‘(the dear one) is eating’

This metrical alternation suggests that the diminutive may have grammaticalized from the adjective *píshtà* ‘small’. As noted in the introduction to this chapter, the diminutive form *-shtà* has cognates in only some of its sister Panoan languages. The adjective form *píshtà* is cognate with the word for ‘a little (bit)’ in Amahuaca (*pishta*, see Hyde 1980) and also appears to be cognate with the word for ‘small’ in Chácobo (*pístia*, from Tallman 2018), but does not appear to have cognates in other Panoan languages with accessible lexical documentation.<sup>111</sup>

#### 4.2.2 The diminutive in nouns

The affectionate diminutive demonstrates the widest range of meanings when affixed to a noun. As a true diminutive, with no apparent affective or evaluative meanings, the diminutive may only appear with inanimate nouns, as in (10), which is the only example of an unambiguously non-affectionate diminutive in the corpus. Note that all forms drawn from the corpus are unmarked for tone, as it is not marked in the Yaminawa standard orthography, and I am not yet confident in my ability to consistently transcribe it correctly in natural speech (see appendix A for a detailed description of how data is transcribed, translated, annotated, and cited.)

<sup>111</sup>Fleck et al. (2012) lists the word *pistsëc* ‘small’ for Matsés, but the phonological differences in this form and the Yaminawa form don’t appear to correspond to regular sound correspondences.

- (10) CONTEXT: An elderly man's daughters are hidden inside the house, watching him through a small gap in the thatch of the wall.

shawashta waxũ ũĩkadi

*shawashta* -*shta wa* = *xũ*                      *ũĩ* -*kad* -*i*  
opening -DIM make = SS.PE.A/S > A see -PL.IPFV -IPFV

'From the little opening that they made, they were watching.'  
(TN.MRR.Ishpawāwē Xukadi.0051.line 151)

The most frequent meaning of the diminutive is affection, which is most commonly used with human common nouns (11a), kin terms (11b), and proper nouns (11c).

- (11) a. aka adiwushta iki

*aka*    *adiwu*    -*shta ik*                      -*i*  
and.so old.man -DIM AUX.ITR -IPFV

'And so the dear/poor old man was (like this).'  
(TN.MRR.Ishpawāwē Xukadi.0051.line 234)

- b. ēwē āwīshta yuiyuxiki

*ēwē*                      *āwĩ* -*shta yui* -*yu*                      -*xi*                      -*ki*  
1SG.POSS wife -DIM tell -do.first -FUT.IPFV -NF

'...in order to tell my dear wife first.' (TN.MRR.Isku.0060.line 70)

- c. Kimshta nũ ũĩbis

*Kim* -*shta nũ*                      *ũĩ* -*bis*  
Kim -DIM 1PL.NOM see -PRF

'We met (lit. 'had seen') dear Kim.' (CN.MML.Gringo.0444.line 1)

There also appear to be a few examples of body parts marked with the diminutive, as in (12). In these cases, it is the possessor of the body part term that is the object of affection. These constructions do not have the meaning that the body part is small.

- (12) CONTEXT: A young man's younger brother has been decapitated in battle, and he thinks to himself that he should return the head to his village.

ēwē extu bapushta wixiki

*ēwē*                      *extu*                      *bapu* -*shta wi*                      -*xi*                      -*ki*  
1SG.POSS younger.brother head -DIM bring -FUT.IPFV -NF

'I will bring my dear younger brother's head.' (TN.MML.Uxe.0183.line 89)

The affectionate diminutive may also be used to express a positive evaluation of an inanimate or lower-animacy object (like an animal), typically as a 'tasty' food, as in (13).

(13) a. yawashta pīchāxũ...

yawa -shta pīchā = xũ  
 peccary -DIM cook = SS.PE.A/S > A

‘After cooking good/tasty peccary...’ (TN.MRR.Isku.0060.line 503)

b. dabishta atu beebaxiki

dabi -shta atu bee -bad -xi -ki  
 meat -DIM 3PL.ABS taste -CAUS -FUT.IPFV -NF

‘So we can make them try the tasty meat.’ (TN.MRR.Isku.0060.line 504)

c. CONTEXT: An ancestor woman has just transformed into a hawk due to excessive excitement about a cornfield.

xikishta ũĩ ē ikakũiki

xiki -shta ũĩ -i ē ik -a -kũĩ -i = ki  
 maize -DIM see -IPFV 1SG.NOM AUX.ITR -EV -INTENS -IPFV = ASSERT

‘Seeing the fine/tasty corn, I became like this.’

(TN.MRR.Kapa ñũshĩwu.0043.line 778)

The affectionate and positive-evaluative semantics of the diminutive cause some forms to be semantically or culturally infelicitous, such as *rúdúsh tá* INTENDED: ‘little snake’ or ‘pretty snake’ or ‘tasty snake’ (snakes are culturally considered to be ugly, nasty creatures that are not to be eaten). The affectionate or positive semantics of the diminutive are so dominant, that the above form is generally rejected by speakers, and the phrase ‘small snake’ is best expressed using an adjective: *rùdù píshtá*.

Uses of the affectionate diminutive sometimes border on meanings of pity, such as that seen in (11a), where it refers to a family member who is both beloved and ill. In (14) we see an utterance where the affectionate meaning seems less likely, as the object *tsuara* ‘someone’ is not necessarily known to the speaker, but the sense of pity nonetheless remains.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>112</sup>Although, in traditional Yaminawa culture, the size of the community is quite small (less than a couple hundred people), and it would be unlikely that someone who died in the community would be unknown to the speaker. Furthermore, in contemporary Yaminawa culture, it is not at all unusual for Yaminawas to show up in large numbers at the wakes and funerals of mere acquaintances or even strangers in order to grieve (openly and sincerely) with the family.

- (14) CONTEXT: The speaker is describing how the sight of a small bird carrying a tuft of cotton in its beak forbodes the death of someone close to the observer.

*mã tsuarashta daxii, itiru*

*mã tsuara -shta da -xi -i i -tiru*  
already someone -DIM die -FUT.IPFV -IPFV AUX. ITR -POT

‘It can tell us that some poor person is going to die.’  
(CN.MLGA.Pajarito de algodón.0258.line 43)

One final use of the affectionate diminutive on a nominal form is with word *awa(ra)* ‘something/anything’, where it transforms the meaning to ‘anything *at all*’, as in (15).

- (15) a. CONTEXT: The speaker is describing her appetite during the first months of her first pregnancy.

*awashta pikaspai*

*awa -shta pi -kaspai -i*  
something -DIM eat -DESID.NEG -IPFV

ENGLISH: ‘(I) didn’t want to eat anything at all/even a little bit.’  
SPANISH: ‘No quería comer nada/ni un poquitito.’  
(CN.MML.Mi Primer Hijo.0444)

- b. CONTEXT: *Xúyá Nǚshìwù*, the Rat Spirit, is teaching an ancestor woman what she should avoid during pregnancy.

*awarashta pixũ, mĩ mēkēpa mĩ xuakĩ*

*awara -shta pi =xũ mĩ mēkēpa mĩ xua*  
something -DIM eat =SS.PE.A/S > A 2SG.POSS hand.INS 2SG.NOM scratch  
-kĩ  
-PROHIB

‘(Whenever) you eat anything (at all), do not use your hand to scratch yourself.’ (TN.MRR.Xuya Nǚshìwu.0091.line 54)

- c. CONTEXT: The chief vulture has arrived to eat an old man who is near death; another vulture insists to him that no vulture has touched the old man (the chief vulture’s intended dinner) before his arrival.

*awashta nũ bia mēēaba*

*awa -shta nũ bia bee -N -a =ba*  
something -DIM 1PL.NOM 2SG.ACC touch -MAL -PFV =NEG

‘We haven’t touched anything (at all) of yours.’  
(TN.MRR.Ishpawãwẽ Xukadi.0051.line 158)

This use appears more closely semantically related to the literal ‘small’ sense of the diminutive, in that the speakers use the diminutive to pick out an extreme scalar value at the low end of the scale: the speaker in (15a) did not want to eat “even a *little* bit”. The diminutive may also be used to indicate an extreme low scalar value when used with adverbs, (as discussed in section 4.2.4).

### 4.2.3 The diminutive in verbs

The diminutive *-(pɪ)shtá* is frequently found in verbs. The Yaminawa verbal template is complex, with over a dozen verbal slots (see section C.6). Affective and evaluative morphemes, particularly the diminutive, may occupy a variety of positions within the template, but there do not, at this time, appear to be any scopal effects arising from different positions. The diminutive always follows any valency-changing morphology (if present), and it always precedes any person/number agreement (if present) and TAM suffixes. That the diminutive occurs internal to these inflectional categories is evidence that it is an affix, not a clitic, despite the fact that it may occur on most word classes.

The most common use of the verbal affectionate diminutive is found in imperatives, where the object of affection is the interlocutor(s), as in (16).

- (16) a. CONTEXT: Reported speech of a woman to her husband, who mistakenly believed she had died or was dying during childbirth.

*mã, ea ipishtayabawẽ*

*mã, ea i -pishta -yaba -wẽ*  
my.love cry say -DIM -NEG.NF -IMPER

‘Don’t cry, my love!’ (TN.MRR.Xuya ñũshĩwu.0091.line 171)

- b. CONTEXT: Reported speech of the speaker asking her young granddaughter (some years earlier) who had taken her into the forest and left her alone there.

*ea yuishtawẽ, bia tsũã iyumẽ*

*ea yui -shta -wẽ, bia tsua -N iyu -a =mẽ*  
1SG.ACC tell -DIM -IMPER 2SG.ACC who -ERG lead.away -PFV =INTERR

‘Tell me, who led you away?’ (CN.MML.0444.line 100)

- c. CONTEXT: The speaker is directing one of her grandchildren to go pick a mango from a nearby tree for her to eat while recording.

*ea mango wixũshtawẽ*

*ea mango wi -xud -shta -wẽ*  
1SG.ACC mango get -BEN -DIM -IMPER

‘Get me a mango!’ (Conv.MML.0538)



The prevalence of the diminutive in imperatives indicates that they may have a politeness function.<sup>113</sup> As section 5.4.1 discusses, *shínài* ‘sad’ stance, which is characterized in part by the use of diminutives, is used in request-making. Diminutives are conspicuously absent from commands when the speaker is taking a *sídài* ‘angry’ stance toward their interlocutor, as in section 6.2.1.

Similarly, the diminutive is also frequently used to express affection toward a second person argument of a declarative sentence, as in (17). The object of affectionate stance does not appear to be limited to any particular grammatical role in the utterance: the second person argument that is the object of affection may appear in either accusative case (more common) or nominative case (very uncommon).

- (17) a. CONTEXT: A group of bad people are coming to seek revenge on Uakaru, a culture hero, and his family is warning him of their approach.

*bia reteshtai wekadi*

*bia rete -shta -i we -kad -i*  
2SG.ACC kill -DIM -IPFV come.PL -PL.IPFV -IPFV

‘They’re coming to kill you.’ (TN.JRR.Uakaru Ñũshĩwu.0112.line 259)

- b. CONTEXT: The speaker is expressing her relief and happiness that the interlocutor returned from a trip.

*mã mĩ uxũshta*

*mã mĩ u -xud -shta -a*  
already 2SG.NOM come -BEN -DIM -PFV

‘You had come back (to us).’ (Conv.TYW.0535)

While the verbal use of the diminutive is most frequently used to take an affectionate stance toward the interlocutor(s), it may also be used to take affectionate stances toward non-participants, i.e., a third person verbal argument, as in (18).<sup>114</sup>

- (18) a. CONTEXT: The speaker is describing how when a person is gravely ill, a small bird will come to take the soul.

*mã sababashta upishtaikai*

*mã saba =ba -shta u -pishta -i =kai*  
already a.while =NEG -DIM come -DIM -IPFV =CONTR

‘He’ll be coming not long after.’ (CN.MLGA.Pajarito de algodón.0258.line 10)

<sup>113</sup>Diminutives have also been reported to have a politeness function when combined with imperatives in Urarina, another Peruvian Amazonian language, (Olawsky 2006:p.571), and in Quechua (Carranza Romero 1993:p.178).

<sup>114</sup>Note that the adverb *sababa* ‘not long’ in (18a) is also marked with the diminutive (see section 4.2.5).

- b. CONTEXT: Reported speech of a woman in mythical times who is mourning her husband, as she notices the presence of a vulture.

ẽwẽnẽ ea nãxũshtaitadu...

ẽ-            wede        -N    ea            da -N        -xud -shta -ita        = du  
1SG.POSS husband -ERG 1SG.ACC die -MAL -BEN -DIM -PST3 = DS

‘My dear husband just died (to my detriment), and now...’  
(TN.MLGA.Xete.0258.line 13)

- c. CONTEXT: The Squirrel Spirit is urging his new affines to prepare for travel now that some of their party has woken up.

mã buishtaĩnĩwũwākadi, nũ kaanũ!

mã        bui        -shta -ĩnĩwuwad -kad        -i        nũ            kaa -nũ  
already wake -DIM -INCEP        -PL.IPFV -IPFV 1PL.NOM go -OPT

‘They’re getting up already, let’s go!’  
(TN.MRR.Kapa ñũshĩwu.0043.line 404)

Nominal forms and verbal forms are alike in that affection is the predominant meaning for the affectionate diminutive, but there are some notable semantic differences. Most notably, in verbs, there does not appear to be any component of the meaning that relates to relative size, and there are no instances of positive evaluation toward inanimate objects. Affection and politeness appear to be the only meanings that the diminutive carries when affixed to verbs.

#### 4.2.4 The diminutive in adverbs

While diminutives frequently appear in nouns and verbs, they are less frequently used on adverbs. When used with adverbs, the diminutive does not have affectionate semantics.

Temporal adverbs indicating time of day, such as *wénãmáři* ‘morning’ or *ñátã* ‘afternoon’, are the type of adverb that most commonly occurs with a diminutive. In these adverbs, the diminutive has the function of indicating an extreme scalar value, i.e., ‘early morning’ or ‘late afternoon’, as in (19).

- (19) a. CONTEXT: The speaker is describing the time of day that hunting parties would return.

ñãtãshta dukubiswukia

ñãtã            -shta duku -bis        = wu = kia  
afternoon -DIM arrive -HABIT = PL = REP

‘They say they used to arrive very late (just before dark).’  
(CN.JMRS.0298.line 79)

- b. CONTEXT: The speaker is describing the time of day that her maternal aunt arrived to feel her abdomen during her first pregnancy.

wēnāmārīshita ui

wēnāmārī -shita u -i  
morning -DIM come -IPFV

‘She came early in the morning.’ (CN.MML.Mi primer hijo.0444.line 32)

For adverbs indicating an interval of time, such as *sábá* ‘a while’, the diminutive indicates a low value for that interval, i.e., ‘a little while’, as in (20a). More frequent than the form *sábáshtá* ‘a little while’ is the form *sábábáshtá* (a.while-NEG-DIM) ‘not long at all’, shown in (20b).

- (20) a. CONTEXT: The speaker is describing the time of day that hunting parties would return.

mā sabashta yabeaidu...

mā saba -shita yabe -ai = du  
already a.while -DIM night -IPFV.SUB = DS

‘It would be getting dark soon/in a little while...’ (CN.JMRS.0298.line 80)

- b. CONTEXT: Two children have been abandoned in the forest by their neglectful father, and are trying to find their way home by themselves. In the forest, they find and follow a trail, the older sibling encourages the younger by promising that they will eat soon.

aichu mā nū dukui kai, mā nū sababashta māmā ayatā, sababashta nū bisi pii  
kaikai

aichu mā nū duku -i ka -i mā  
EXCLAM:how.good already 1PL.NOM arrive -IPFV go.SG -IPFV already  
nū saba =ba -shita māmā aya =tā, saba =ba -shita  
1PL.NOM a.while =NEG -DIM chicha drink =IPE, a.while =NEG -DIM  
nū bisi pi -i ka -i =kai  
1PL.NOM humita eat -IPFV go.SG -IPFV = CONTR

‘How great! We’re arriving now, right after we drink *chicha* (fermented ground maize drink), we will eat *humita* (ground maize dough steamed in leaves).’  
(TN.MRR.Pāmā weru kechu chaiya ñāwā xadukĩā.0595.line 197)

The diminutive is only very infrequently used with other types of adverbs. In the corpus, there are only two locative adverbs that appear with the diminutive, given in (21). In (21a), with *chāũba* (far=NEG) ‘close’, we see that the diminutive indicates that the distance is very short, and in (21b), with *nāmā* ‘below’, the diminutive has the effect of indicating that the location was the lowest extreme.

- (21) a. CONTEXT: A group of men are returning to the village.

ãñã mã chaibashta...

ãñã mã chai =ba -shta  
when already far =NEG -DIM

‘When they were already quite close.’ (CN.JMRS.0298.line 106)

- b. CONTEXT: The speaker is describing a traditional longhouse.

weturutsi keya ipaudiba, nãmāshta ipaudi

weturu =tsi keya ik -pau -di =ba nãmã -shta  
window =GUESS high AUX. ITR -IPFV.PST6 -PST6 =NEG below -DIM  
ik -pau -di  
AUX. ITR -IPFV.PST6 -PST6

‘The windows, I guess, weren’t high, they were at the very bottom (flush with the ground).’ (TN.MRR.Isku Nũshĩwu ruapitsiwe.0615.line 243)

With the manner adverb *wẽnãmã* ‘slowly, carefully’, the diminutive indicates an extreme low scalar value, i.e., ‘very slowly’, as in (22).

- (22) a. CONTEXT: The speaker is describing the manner in which he returned from a hunting trip, carrying a heavy burden.

wẽnãmāshta ã ui

wẽnãmã -shta ã u -i  
slowly -DIM 1SG.NOM come -IPFV

‘I was coming back very slowly/carefully.’ (CN.JMRS.0298.line 73)

- b. CONTEXT: A man is in the forest when he realizes that something strange is going on. He is taking in his surroundings, and is about to notice a giant tree full of monkey spirits.

ari kaki ãã, askadikia, wẽnãmāshta ãã

a =ari ka -ki ãã -aska -di =kia wẽnãmã -shta ãã -a  
3SG =LOC.REG go -NF see -like.that -PST6 =REP slowly -DIM see -PFV

‘He looked in the direction he had come from, like this they say, he looked very slowly.’ (TN.MRR.Diwu nũshĩ.0615.line 53-54)

The quantifier *íchápàbà* (a.lot = NEG) ‘few’ has a second use as an adverb that modifies property concepts, with a meaning roughly equivalent to ‘a little bit’.<sup>115</sup> The affect of

<sup>115</sup>Note that all examples of *ichapabashta* in the corpus currently come from contemporary narratives by a single speaker, and so they may actually represent calques from Spanish *un poco* ‘a little’ or *un poquitito* ‘a little bit’ (notice the Spanish diminutive *-ito* on the second of these forms).

the diminutive is, in this case as in the previous cases, to indicate an extreme low value. In (23a) we see the use of *íchápàbàshtá* ‘a little bit’ modifying a verbal property concept *bésêi* ‘be afraid’ to indicate that the grammatical subject experienced a very low level of fear. In (23b), *íchápàbàshtá* ‘a little bit’ is used to modify a nominal property concept *tátìbà* ‘foolish’ to indicate that the subject was only somewhat foolish.

- (23) a. CONTEXT: The speaker is describing how a group of men felt after a member of their hunting party died of an accident in the forest.

*ichapabashta besediwukia*

*ichapa* = *ba* -*shta* *bese* -*di* = *wu* = *kia*  
a.lot = NEG -DIM be.afraid -PST6 = PL = REP

‘They say they were just a little afraid.’ (CN.JMRS.0298.line 112)

- b. CONTEXT: The speaker is explaining why he chose to leave his first wife for her sister.

*mĩ chiku ichapabashta tatiba*

*mĩ* *chiku* *ichapa* = *ba* -*shta* *tatiba*  
2SG.POSS older.sister a.lot = NEG -DIM foolish

‘Your sister is a little bit foolish.’ (CN.JMRS.0298.line 49)

We will see in the following section that diminutives may be used with *íchápàbà* when it functions as a quantifier as well.

#### 4.2.5 The diminutive in other word classes

The diminutive occurs on some closed word classes in addition to the major word classes discussed above. These include adjectives, postpositions, quantifiers, and demonstratives.

The class of adjectives in Yaminawa is small and closed, including only prototypical adjectival categories like size, color, and quality. The diminutive on adjectives typically has meanings of affection or positive evaluation, as in the examples in (24). The positive evaluative use of the diminutive is evident in (24c), where the diminutive is used on the adjective *éwápà* ‘big’ to express positive evaluation of the size of the fields.

- (24) a. CONTEXT: Reported speech of a woman who has recently survived a difficult labor to her husband, regarding their new baby.

*nũkũ wake chakashta mē ikakĩkia*

*nũkũ* *wake* *chaka* -*shta* *mā* *ẽ* *ik* -*a* -*kĩ* = *kia*  
1PL.POSS child bad -DIM already 1SG.NOM AUX.ITR -EV -NF = REP

‘Because I’ve already had our poor, weak child, she said.’  
(TN.MRR.Xuya ñũshĩwu.0091.line 173)

- b. CONTEXT: A woman is cleaning up the surroundings of a house that was previously strewn with all kinds of trash.

mãtsũki, wex wex wex wex, sharashta iskarakũĩ

*mãtsũ -ki wex wex wex wex shara -shta iskara -kũĩ*

sweep -NF IDEO:sweepingx4 good -DIM like.this -INTENS

‘Sweeping “wex wex”, it was nice and clean, just like this.’

(TN.TYW.ĩnãwã xadu.0283.line 31-32)

- c. CONTEXT: A group of orphaned children have raised themselves in the forest and are now adults who are clearing and planting their first fields.

nãduxũ wai ewapashta wai turu ewapa wakãki

*nã =adu =xũ wai ewapa -shta wai turu ewapa wa -kad*

DEM.ANA = LOC = TR field big -DIM field round big make -PL.IPFV

*-ki*

-IPFV

‘Right there, nice, big fields, they made big round fields.’

(TN.MML.Ruawu dawawu.0261.line 88)

When the diminutive is used with the adjective *chákà* ‘bad’, it expresses affection, and alters the meaning of *chákà* from negative evaluation to pity, as in (25) as well as (24a) above, indicating that some combinations with the diminutive may be lexicalized to have meanings that are not entirely predictable from the meaning of the root.

- (25) CONTEXT: *ĩnãwã Xadu* ‘Grandmother Jaguar’, has two aspects: ‘Grandmother Jaguar’ is evil, but alter aspect, *Kexu*, is good. Grandmother Jaguar has killed her own grandchild, and her sons attempt to kill her in revenge, killing the part of her that is *Kexu* in the process.

Kexu chakashta mã daa

*Kexu chaka -shta mã da -a*

Kexu bad -DIM already die -PFV

‘Poor Kexu had already died.’ (TN.TYW.ĩnãwã Xadu.0283.line 179)

The diminutive may also be used with the expression of size *dàtũ* (DEM.PROX -size), meaning ‘this size’.<sup>116</sup> Speakers generally use gesture in conjunction with this phrase to indicate the literal size. The diminutive is used when the object is judged to be particularly small, either in an absolute or relative sense. An example of this is given in (26).

<sup>116</sup>The suffix *-tũ* derives an adjective describing size from a noun or demonstrative.

(26) *āwē keduti datiushta*

*āwē kedu -ti da tiu -shta*  
3SG.POSS cut -INS DEM.PROX -size -DIM

‘His knife was this (small) size (a few inches long).’  
(TN.JRR.Ruapitsi.0070.line 56)

The diminutive may also be used with *dàtù* ‘this size’ to express a positive evaluation regarding size, even when the size is large relative to the standard of comparison, as in (27).

(27) CONTEXT: A forest creature in the form of a small man has attached itself to an ancestor man’s leg, and cannot be removed. Noticing that the little man is frightened by a shrimp and shifts his position on the leg, the ancestor’s wife searches for a crab to scare the creature away.

*datiu xachu ewapa shidikũ, xachu datiushta wiswai achidikia*

*da -tiu xachu ewapa shidi -kũ xachu da -tiu -shta wiswai*  
DEM.PROX -size crab big fat -INTENS crab DEM.PROX -size -DIM quickly  
*achi -di =kia*  
grab -PST6 =REP

‘She quickly grabbed a big, fat crab this big, a good sized crab.’  
(TN.MRR.Wuipapi.0141.line 95)

Following a postpositional enclitic, the diminutive indicates a precise location, as in (28a) ‘right there’ or (28b) ‘just above’.

(28) a. CONTEXT: An older couple is raising a baby *iskù* bird (*Psarocolius decumanus*). When they go work in their fields, they return periodically to check on and feed the baby bird.

*yudutākāki bae watākāki, ũtushikāki, awiadushta*

*yudu -tad -kad =ki bae wa*  
work -AM:go.do.and.return -PL.IPFV =SS.SIM field make  
*-tad -kad =ki ũ -tushi -kad*  
-AM:go.do.and.return -PL.IPFV =SS.SIM see -AM:do.upon.arrival -PL.IPFV  
*=ki a =wi =adu -shta*  
=SS.SIM 3SG =EMPH =LOC -DIM

‘When they went to work, when they went to make fields, they would come back to see him right there (where they left him).’  
(TN.MRR.Isku ñũshĩwu.0042.line 34)

- b. CONTEXT: The speaker is describing the first time she saw an airplane land.

ua diiwu mǎnǎkirishta

ua dii =wu mǎnǎ =kiri -shta  
there forest =PL upward =toward -DIM

‘(It was) there, just above the trees.’ (CN.MML.0444.line 52)

The diminutive frequently occurs with the quantifier *íchápàbà* ‘few, a little’ (literally ‘not many/much’), where it indicates an extreme low value, as in (29).

- (29) a. ichapabashta ibi

ichapa =ba -shta ibi  
a.lot =NEG -DIM blood

‘(There was) a little bit of blood.’ (CN.JMRS.0298.line 13)

- b. xeki rurushta apaikǎwē ichapabashtaya nũ kanũ

xeki ruru -shta ak -pai -kad -wē ichapa =ba -shta =ya  
maize ground -DIM AUX.TR -DESID -PL.NF -IMPER much =NEG -DIM =POSS  
nũ ka -nũ  
1PL.NOM go -OPT

‘Y’all make a little cornmeal, so we can travel with a little bit (to eat).’  
(TN.MRR.Ishpawǎwē xukadi.0051.line 321)

On demonstrative pronouns, the diminutive indicates literal small size, as in (30).

- (30) a. CONTEXT: A cannibal’s dinner has escaped, so he considers trying just a small piece of his own flesh from his calf muscle.

dashta beenũ

da -shta bee -nũ  
DEM.PROX -DIM touch -OPT

‘I’m going to try this little bit.’ (TN.JRR.Ruapitsi.0070.line 57)

- b. CONTEXT: An ancestor woman gives her new daughter-in-law some maize to chew to make *chicha* (fermented corn drink).

dashta ea dakashtaxũki, tũkũshtaxũki

da -shta ea daka -shta -xũ -ki tũkũ -shta  
DEM.PROX -DIM 1SG.ACC chew -DIM -BEN -IMPER.INDIR put.in.mouth -DIM  
-xũ -ki  
-BEN -IMPER.INDIR

‘Please chew this little bit for me, put it in your mouth.’  
(TN.MRR.Aya ñũshĩwu.0597.line 121)



## 4.2.6 Summary of the distribution and semantics of the diminutive

The diminutive has a wide range of meanings including: literal small size on nouns and demonstrative pronouns; indicating extreme low values for certain adverbs; indicating precise location for postpositions, and affection or pity among nouns, verbs, and some adjectival forms. Table 4.1 provides a summary of some of the meanings associated with the diminutive for different word classes. While the diminutive may have its origins in expressing small size, the primary role of the diminutive is now to express stance: affection or positive evaluation.

Table 4.1: Summary of the uses of DIM by word class

word class	affection/ pos.eval.	literal smallness	politeness	low scalar value	precision
nouns	X	X			
verbs	X		X		
temporal adverbs				X	
manner adverbs				X	
adjectives	X	X (with <i>-tùù</i> )			
quantifiers				X	
postpositions					X
demonstrative pronouns		X			

## 4.3 The augmentative suffix *-wã*

The most basic meaning of the augmentative *-wã* is that of large relative size (the opposite of the function of the diminutive), but this suffix may also have meanings relating to negative evaluations and/or intensification. The augmentative is much more limited in its distribution than the diminutive, and has only been shown to occur in nouns and adjectives. In fact, the augmentative only occurs approximately 200 times (compare to over 1100 instances of the diminutive). Yaminawa makes use of other verbal resources (including the intensifier, section 4.4, and other suffixes, section 4.5) to express negative evaluation and intensification.

### 4.3.1 The word-prosodic features of the augmentative

The augmentative has a number of notable morphological and word-prosodic features that distinguish it from other affective or stance-expressing morphemes. Foremost among these is that the augmentative is one of the suffixes in Yaminawa can reveal the underlying form of truncated roots surfacing with HL contour tone, as seen in (31).

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (31) a. kápè<br>kápétà<br>alligator<br>‘alligator’                         | b. kápétàwà<br>kápétà -wâ<br>alligator -AUG<br>‘big alligator’ |
| c. áwà<br>áwápà<br>tapir<br>‘tapir’  | d. áwápàwà<br>áwápà -wâ<br>tapir -AUG<br>‘big tapir’           |
| e. năĩ<br>năĩnĩ<br>tamandua<br>‘tamandua’ ( <i>Tamandua tetradactyla</i> ) | f. năĩnĩwà<br>năĩnĩ -wâ<br>tamandua -AUG<br>‘big tamandua’     |

As I describe in appendix C, section C.4.3.1, noun roots which appear as disyllabic with HL tone in absolutive case are underlyingly trisyllabic. When affixed with the augmentative, or certain other nasalizing suffixes like the ergative/instrumental or locative, the truncated, or latent, syllable reappears. The augmentative may also reveal latent syllables in disyllabic adjectives with HL tone, as in (32).

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| (32) a. úshĩ<br>úshĩnĩ<br>red<br>‘red (one)’    | b. úshĩnĩwà<br>úshĩnĩ -wâ<br>red -AUG<br>‘big red (one)’         |
| c. túnà<br>túnànũ<br>blue<br>‘blue/green (one)’ | d. túnànũwà<br>túnànũ -wâ<br>blue -AUG<br>‘big blue/green (one)’ |

The augmentative also has the notable tonal property of changing the tone of both H and L tone disyllabic roots to HL contour tones. The augmentative suffix itself is always

realized with L tone only, as in (33). Appendix C, section C.4.5.1 describes tonal phenomena in nouns in greater detail. Note that the augmentative also causes nasal spreading to disyllabic H and L tone roots.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>(33) a. rùdù<br/> <i>rudu</i><br/> snake<br/> ‘snake’</p>  | <p>b. rúnùwà<br/> <i>rudu -wâ</i><br/> snake -AUG<br/> ‘big snake’</p>                   |
| <p>c. wàkè<br/> <i>wake</i><br/> child<br/> ‘child, baby’</p> | <p>d. wákèwà<br/> <i>wake -wâ</i><br/> child -AUG<br/> ‘big baby’, ‘huge child’</p>      |
| <p>e. páxtá<br/> <i>páxtá</i><br/> dog<br/> ‘dog’</p>         | <p>f. páxtàwà<br/> <i>páxtá -wâ</i><br/> dog -AUG<br/> ‘big dog’</p>                     |
| <p>g. xíkí<br/> <i>xíkí</i><br/> maize<br/> ‘maize’</p>       | <p>h. xíkìwà<br/> <i>xíkí -wâ</i><br/> maize -AUG<br/> ‘big (ear of, pile of) maize’</p> |

### 4.3.2 The augmentative in lexicalized stems

In some common stems referring to animal and plant species, the augmentative has become lexicalized, as in the forms provided in (34).

- (34) a. nènàwà  
*deda* -wâ  
wild.palm.fruit.sp -AUG  
‘*pijuayo* palm/fruit’ (*Bactris gasipaes*) (*dèdà* is a wild palm fruit similar to, but smaller than the *pijuayo*)
- b. xáùmàwà  
*xáùmà* -wâ  
arawana -AUG  
‘*paiche* fish’ (*Arapaima gigas*) (the *arawana* is *Osteoglossum bicirrhosum*)

c. néxùwǎ

dexu -wǎ

taricaya -AUG

‘charapa turtle’ (*Podocnemis expansa*) (the *taricaya* is *Podocnemis unifilis*)

In these forms, the pairs of species names are a root denoting a smaller species or ethnotaxonomical category, and a complex form consisting of a root plus the augmentative which identifies a larger species which has similar features. The intensifier suffix *-kúu* is similarly used in the formation of certain species names, but it indicates a prototypical species from the ethnotaxonomical category corresponding to a root (see section 4.4.2).

### 4.3.3 The functions and semantics of the augmentative

The augmentative *-wǎ* has two meanings in Yaminawa: large relative size and negative affect. As a resource for negative affect, the augmentative may be employed to express either contempt or fear.

#### 4.3.3.1 Nouns and adjectives: size

The most prevalent and fundamental use of the augmentative is to express large relative size. This judgment is always relative to the size of prototypical members of the appropriate class. A large fruit is small in comparison to a large tapir, but fruits can be judged to be particularly large in relation to the typical size of other fruits. The augmentative most clearly has the exclusive meaning ‘large’ when used with nouns denoting animals, plants, and inanimates, as in the forms presented in (35).

- (35) a. CONTEXT: A man killed a tapir spirit, and his community is coming to see it.

wekǎki ũ̃awu awapǎwǎ raka

we -kad =ki ũ̃ -a =wu awapa -wǎ raka -a  
come.PL -PL.IPFV =SS.SIM see -PFV =PL tapir -AUG lie.down -PFV

‘As they came, they saw that a huge tapir was laid out.’

(TN.MML.Awa Nũshĩwu.0183.line 150)

- b. CONTEXT: A man has foolishly attempted to make love to a boa constrictor, and she begins to squeeze him to death.

a dedumẽ rũnũwǎnẽ yayuakeki

a dedu =mẽ rudu -wǎ =nẽ yayu -ake -ki  
3SG.ABS here =GIVEN snake -AUG =ERG squeeze -AM:circular -IPFV

‘The huge boa wrapped around him squeezing him here (his torso).’

(TN.MRR.Rũnũwǎ Nũshĩwu.0132.line 92)

- c. CONTEXT: A man has planted a large field of pumpkins, which are ready for harvest.

wārāmāwāwu, wārāmāwāwu badibadikada

wārāmā -wā =wu wārāmā -wā =wu badi- badi -kad -a  
pumpkin -AUG =PL pumpkin -AUG =PL REDUP.DISTR- pile -? -PFV

‘Huge pumpkins, huge pumpkins piled all over.’  
(TN.MML.Adu Nūshīwu.0204.line 3)

- d. CONTEXT: A man has come across a very large *lupuna* tree while hunting spider monkeys.

xūnūwāmē nādu mēstēkia nāduridua āwē pūñā ichapa uduridua āwē pūñāwu

xudu -wā =mē nā =adu mēstē =kia nā =adu  
lupuna -AUG =GIVEN DEM.ANA =LOC branched =REP DEM.ANA =LOC  
=ri =dua āwē pūñā ichapa udu =ri =dua āwē pūñā  
=ADD =SRC 3SG.POSS branch many there =ADD =SRC 3SG.POSS branch  
=wu  
=PL

‘(It was) there in a huge many-branched *lupuna* (*Ceiba pentandra*), they say, with lots of branches on this side, and branches on that side, too.’  
(TN.MRR.Diwu Nūshī.0615.line 56)

- e. CONTEXT: The evil *Īnāwā Xadu* ‘Grandmother Jaguar’ has captured and fattened up two children, and is now going to cook them in a stew.

puu, nādu rawetā kītīmāwā mērā, keru, puu, keru

puu nā =adu raweta =N kītīmā -wā mērā  
IDEO:fall.in.water DEM.ANA =LOC two =ERG pot -AUG inside  
keru puu keru  
IDEO:hit.bottom IDEO:fall.in.water IDEO:hit.bottom

‘Splash! Right there the two went into the giant pot. Clunk! Splash! Clunk!’  
(TN.MRR.Pāmā weru kechu chaiya.0595.line 397)

When used with human nouns, the augmentative sometimes maintains the sense of large relative size, as in (36). Note, however, that the above example is judged by most speakers to be either humorous or outright insulting, as the augmentative applied to human nouns often expresses negative affect/evaluation (see following section).

(36) wākēwā

wake -wā  
child -AUG

‘big baby’

The most common (seemingly) human nouns that appear with the augmentative in the corpus are *āwī* ‘wife, female’ and *wede* ‘husband, male’. However, in nearly all of the cases where these roots occur with the augmentative, they are being used in the sense of ‘female’ and ‘male’ respectively to describe a large game animal, as in (37).

(37) a. CONTEXT: A hunter is pursuing a spider monkey in the canopy.

pataukukaitā āwē wīsūwā adikia, āwīnīwā shīnīwā

pata -uku -kai = tā āwē wīsūwā  
pursue.animal -CIRC:early.morning -AM:go.doing = IPE 3SG.POSS shadow  
ak -di = kia āwīnī -wā shidi -wā  
AUX.TR -PST6 = REP female -AUG fat -AUG

‘As he was following, he hunted it in its shadow they say, a big, fat, female (monkey).’ (TN.MML.Isu.0204.line 111-112)

b. CONTEXT: A hunter is camped in his pumpkin field waiting to kill the *majás* that has been eating there.

mā ui, adu wēnēwā shidi

mā u -i adu wede -wā shidi  
already come -IPFV *majás* male -AUG fat

‘It was coming now, a big, fat, male *majás* (lowland paca, *Cuniculus paca*).’ (TN.MML.Adu ñūshīwu.0204.line 9)

The augmentative also indicates large size on adjectives. When an adjective is marked with the augmentative, it is common that the noun it modifies also be marked, as in (38).

(38) a. CONTEXT: A shaman has traveled to the afterlife to visit his deceased daughter and is describing the *pihuayo* palms growing in her yard there.’

āwē nēnāwānēwā xeshkāñā dia, kēchūwātiū, ūshīnīpāwā

āwē nēnāwānē -wā xeshkāñā di -a kechu -wā -tiū ūshīnīpā  
3SG.POSS *pihuayo* -AUG in.patio stand -PFV bowl -AUG -size red  
-wā  
-AUG

‘She has a giant *pihuayo* palm in the patio, (its fruit are) the size of big bowls, (and) really red.’ (TN.MML.Yura ñūwē dai mērā kadi.0388.line 36-37)

- b. CONTEXT: A man is gathering edible frogs with his neighbors when he notices a fallen log that looks like a good place to search.

tãrãwã xatedi ariri ewapanẽwã chaxuxũwãwu ikadi

tara -wã xate -di = ari -ri ewapa -nẽ wã chaxuxu -wã  
 log -AUG cut -PST6 = LOC.REG -toward big -EP -AUG frog.sp -AUG  
 = wu ik -kad -i  
 = PL AUX. ITR -PL.IPFV -IPFV

‘(It looked like) lots of big frogs were living over by the giant cut log.’  
 (TN.MML.Tãrãwã weruya.0219.line 6)

Note that in (38a), the speaker produced the adjective *úshĩ* ‘red’ with two latent (de-truncated) syllables: the most common and widely-accepted *nĩ*, plus an additional *pã*. As discussed in section C.4.3.1, the latent syllable *pa* is one of the most frequent, and many speakers appear to use it as a default option when they are unsure of the underlying syllable.

One additional common use of the augmentative is in nouns that denote types of fields dominated by a single type of crop. These are formed by affixing both the augmentative and the collective plural = *wu* to a noun denoting a crop, as in (39).

- (39) a. xíkìwãwu

xíkí -wã = wu  
 maize -AUG = PL

‘cornfield’

- b. mǎnĩǎnẽwãwu

mǎnĩǎ -nẽ -wã = wu  
 plantain -LAT.SYLL -AUG = PL

‘plantain field’

- c. yúápàwãwu

yúápà -wã = wu  
 cassava -AUG = PL

‘cassava field’

In contrast to the previous uses discussed, this use does not express large size of individual plants or their edible parts, rather, it expresses a large quantity of plants (and their edible parts).

#### 4.3.3.2 Nouns: negative affect

The augmentative, when applied to human nouns, frequently has the opposite effect as the diminutive, and expresses negative affect or evaluation. Ponsonnet (2018) identifies

negative evaluations as affective meanings commonly associated with diminutives cross-linguistically. Meanings specifically relating to contempt and fear are also identified as attested affective meanings in some languages in the sample. The range of affective meanings associated with the diminutive in Yaminawa appear to be consistent with Ponsonnet's generalizations.

The most common unambiguously human noun to take the augmentative suffix is *ñũwẽ* 'witch (doctor)', as seen in (40). With this form, the augmentative appears to contribute an affective meaning expressing apprehension or that the noun is considered formidably powerful.

- (40) a. CONTEXT: The shaman is preparing to take vengeance on two prankster spirits by eating tobacco and hot chilies.

Dawe ñũwẽmãwãñẽ ãwẽ yuchi pia.

*da* = *we* ñũwẽmã -wã = *nẽ* ãwẽ yuchi pi -a  
DEM.PROX = COM shaman -AUG = ERG 3SG.POSS chili eat -PFV

'With it, the powerful shaman ate his chili.'  
(TN.MML.Ñũwẽ shidi chau wai shidi.0388.line 80)

- b. CONTEXT: An old shaman's daughter has died, but he is powerful and goes to visit her in the afterlife.

ãwẽ apa ñũwẽmãwã

ãwẽ apa ñũwẽmã -wã  
3SG.POSS father shaman -AUG

'Her father was a big-time shaman.'  
(TN.MML.Yura ñũwẽ dai mẽrã kadi.0388.line 5)

In natural speech, the augmentative is very uncommon on human nouns other than *ãwĩ* 'wife, female', *wede* 'husband, male', and *ñũwẽ* 'witch'. In the context of elicitation, speakers report that the augmentative is offensive and expresses contempt when combined with kin terms or the roots *ãwĩwu* 'woman' and *dukuwede* 'man'. Used with the root *wake* 'child', as in (36) above, it is not necessarily pejorative if the context is clear that the child is of relative large size for his or her age, but the effect is often at the very least somewhat humorous. There are currently no clear examples of this contemptive use in the corpus, which is unsurprising given that Yaminawas generally avoid the expression of anger and strong insults, as discussed in chapter 3.

#### 4.3.4 Summary of the distribution and meanings of the augmentative

The augmentative suffix is only known to appear on nouns and adjectives, and only appears to have two meanings: literal large size and negative affect. Table 4.2 summarizes the formal distribution of the augmentative and its possible semantics.



Table 4.2: Summary of the uses of AUG by word class

word class	lit. large size	negative affect
nouns	X	X
adjectives	X	

## 4.4 The intensifier *-kũĩ*

Like the diminutive suffix, the intensifier *-kũĩ* has a high frequency and broad distribution. This suffix is attested with nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and other minor word classes. It is not attested with ideophones. The typical semantics of the intensifier vary from indicating prototypicality or precision, to indicating the extreme (high end) of a scale. The intensifier itself does not have any consistent affective meaning, rather, it frequently co-occurs with other affective morphemes and has the effect of intensifying the affective content expressed by those morphemes.

The basic morphological and prosodic properties of the intensifier are set out in section 4.4.1, followed by a description of the intensifier in lexicalized stems in section 4.4.2, the uses of the intensifier in nouns (section 4.4.4), in verbs (section 4.4.3), in other word classes (section 4.4.5), the effect of the intensifier with the diminutive and augmentative (section 4.4.6), and finally a summary of the distribution and uses of this morpheme in section 4.4.7.

### 4.4.1 The morphological and word-prosodic features of the intensifier

The intensifier *-kũĩ* bears HL tone and is nasalized. Unlike the augmentative *-wâ*, which is also nasalized and bears HL tone, the intensifier does not have a nasal feature triggering nasal spread and HL tone on the root, as shown in (41). See Appendix C, section C.4.4 and section C.4.5 for more on nasality and tone. In the example below, we see that there is no nasal spread or change to HL tone in nouns (41a-b), in verbs (41c-d), nor in other categories like postpositions (41e).

(41) a. *rùdùkũĩ*

*rudu -kũĩ*

snake -INTENS

‘a real snake’ (as opposed to a toy or vine resembling a snake)

- b. xíkíkúî  
*xíkí -kúî*  
 maize -INTENS  
 ‘regular maize’ (as opposed to hard maize or sweet maize)
- c. wàdàkúîà  
*wàdà -kúî -à*  
 sow -INTENS -PFV  
 ‘really planted it’ or ‘planted it well’
- d. díkákúîkì  
*díkà -kúî -ki*  
 hear -INTENS -IMPER.INDIR  
 ‘listen well!’
- e. puente àdùkúî  
*puente = àdù -kúî*  
 bridge = LOC -INTENS  
 ‘right at the bridge’

Notice that in (42), the suffix *-kúî* also does not cause the de-truncation of truncated nouns (as is seen with ergative case and the augmentative, two other nasalized nominal suffixes).

- (42) a. áwàkúî  
*áwà -kúî*  
 tapir -INTENS  
 ‘a real tapir’ (as opposed to a cow)<sup>117</sup>
- b. áwápàwà  
*áwápà -wà*  
 tapir -AUG  
 ‘a large tapir’

In nouns, the intensifier always follows the augmentative if they co-occur, see section 4.4.6.

In verbs, the intensifier has a similar distribution to that of the diminutive. It typically occurs after the valency changing morphology and before the final T/A suffixes, but

<sup>117</sup>In Peruvian Amazonian Spanish, the word for tapir is *sachavaca*. *Sacha* comes from Quechua and means ‘wild’, ‘of the jungle’, or ‘seemingly’ (Chirif 2016). *Vaca* is the Spanish word for cow. In Yaminawa, the word for ‘cow’ has parallel complexity: *náwà áwà*, literally: ‘mestizo’s tapir’ or ‘foreigner’s tapir’.

may occur before or after direction and associated motion markers, circadian temporal suffixes, certain modal suffixes (see Appendix C, section C.6 for more on the verbal template). The intensifier may co-occur with the diminutive in a number of different word classes, most frequently in adverbs and verbs. In elicitation, speakers permit either DIM-INTENS or INTENS-DIM order, but in natural speech, the diminutive always precedes the intensifier when they co-occur (see section 4.4.6).

#### 4.4.2 The intensifier in lexicalized stems

The intensifier, like the augmentative, can be identified in some lexical stems, as in (43).

- (43) a. kúbákúî  
           kúbá      -kúî  
           tinamou -INTENS  
           ‘rufous morph *Tinamus spp.*’ (including *Tinamus major*)
- b. mánîàkúî  
           máníà    -kúî  
           plantain -INTENS  
           ‘common plantain’ (*Musa* × *paradisiaca*, ‘Dominico’ cultivar or similar)
- c. ùdikúî  
           ùdì                -kúî  
           male.relative -INTENS  
           ‘brother, classificatory bother’ (specifically used in contrast to other types of male relatives such as male cross-cousins)

In most of these lexical cases, the intensifier appears in species names, but it is not always clear when its use is actually lexicalized and when its use simply indicates a type species of a class within Yaminawa ethnotaxonomy.

#### 4.4.3 The intensifier in verbs

The intensifier is most frequently found in verbs, where its meaning is in part dependent on the lexical aspect of the verb. The intensifier itself does not appear to have affective meaning of either positive or negative valence; rather, the meaning of the root and the context in which it occurs determine these meanings, and the intensifier serves as an expressive resource for communicating that the speaker considers the action to have been performed in an exceptional or noteworthy way.

With telic verbs, the intensifier indicates an event or action performed to completion are given in (44).

- (44) a. CONTEXT The speaker is describing the clearing of a field in preparation for planting new crops.

*cetico* nãtiu wetsa, nãtiu wetsa, ãwẽ *ramawu* mã kuu- kuukũĩta

*cetico* nã -tiu wetsa nã -tiu wetsa, ãwẽ rama =wu  
*cetico* DEM.ANA -size other DEM.ANA -size other 3SG.POSS branch = PL  
 mã kuu -kũĩ -ita  
 already burn -INTENS -PST3

‘(We) burn– the other day (we) completely burnt the branches of one *cetico* (*Cecropia spp.*) tree that size and another that (same) size.’  
 (Conv.JMRS + MML.0517)

- b. CONTEXT: The speaker went to a group of missionaries to explain his daughter’s serious medical condition and ask for financial support. Because they only gave him a small amount, another participant in the interaction questioned whether he did a good job explaining the situation in Spanish, which he does not speak confidently. The speaker insists that he did communicate the situation well to the missionaries.

nũ deduxũ, ã yui kai, *todo* yuikũĩki

nũ dedu =xũ ã yui -i ka -i todo yui -kũĩ -i  
 1PL.NOM here =TR 1SG.NOM tell -IPFV go -IPFV all tell -INTENS -IPFV  
 =ki  
 = ASSERT

‘From here we– I went to tell (them), explaining it all well.’  
 (Conv.MRR + PGF.0518)

- c. CONTEXT: Two speakers have described the agricultural work that they have already completed that season, and the work that they plan to do in the upcoming weeks.

*Crugernã* mãwẽ bae sharakũĩnũ

*Cruger* =nã mã ãwẽ bae shara -kũĩ -nũ  
*Cruger* = GEN already 3SG.POSS field make.good -INTENS -OPT

‘We’re going to get Cruger’s field cleaned up well next.’  
 (Conv.JnGR + TYW.0520)

- d. CONTEXT: The maize has fully-formed ears and is ready for harvest.

*mã xeki werutushikũĩa*

*mã xeki werutushi -kũĩ -a*  
already maize form.grains -INTENS -PFV

‘The maize already had well-formed grains.’  
(TN.MLGA.Shidipawāwē kashta ñũshĩwu widi.0258.line 139)

- e. CONTEXT: A woman has cooked a *taricaya* turtle with all of its eggs. Before she can eat any, a group of spirits finishes off the eggs.

*tuu wisti wiĩnĩwũwādikia, tuu wisti, ũjũ ũjũ ũjũ ũjũ, a da mã kēñũkũĩkadi*

*tuu wisti wi -ĩnĩwuwad -i =kia tuu wisti ũjũ ũjũ*  
egg one take -INCEP -IPFV =REP egg one IDEO:grab IDEO:grab  
*ũjũ ũjũ a da mã keyu -N -kũĩ*  
IDEO:grab IDEO:grab 3SG.ACC DEM.PROX already finish -MAL -INTENS  
*-kad -i*  
-PL.IPFV -IPFV

‘Right away they each were taking an egg, each grabbed an egg, now they were already finishing these off completely (to her detriment).’  
(TN.MRR.Xũnũwā ñũshĩwu.0615.line 62-64)

With stative verbs, the semantics appear to express that the verb was experienced to an extreme or maximum extent, as in (45).

- (45) a. CONTEXT: The speaker is describing a time that his hunting trip was longer than expected, and he ran out of food and water.

*ẽ ayapaibis, ẽ wudikũĩbis*

*ẽ aya -pai -bis ẽ wudi -kũĩ -bis*  
1SG.NOM drink -DESID -HABIT 1SG.NOM be.hungry -INTENS -HABIT

‘I was thirsty, and I was really hungry.’ (CN.JMRS.viaje a cazar.0298)

- b. CONTEXT: *Yúàshì* ‘The Greedy One’ refuses to share fire with man and the other animals. A parrotlet volunteers to steal the fire, and tricks *Yúàshì* by pretending to be cold so he can get closer to the fire.

“tsaa,” iki, “ekawiriri ẽ mātĩnākũĩki”

*tsaa ik -i e -kawiriri ẽ mātĩnā -kũĩ -i*  
EXCLAM:brr AUX.ITR -IPFV 1SG -?also? 1SG.NOM be.cold -INTENS -IPFV  
= *ki*  
= ASSERT

“Brr,” he was saying, “I’m really cold, too.” (TN.MRR.Yuashi.0615.line 63)

A less frequent use of the intensifier is with activity verbs to express that an action was performed with great effort, as in (46).

- (46) CONTEXT: A woman was bit very badly by a dog and had much difficulty walking for several weeks afterward, although she managed with crutches.

pāxtā pīākūiti, [...] ubisis kapishtakūiti

paxta =N pi -ā -kūi -ti ubisis ka -pishta -kūi -ti  
dog =ERG eat -MAL -INTENS -PST5 poor.thing go.SG -DIM -INTENS -PST5

‘The dog bit her really bad and the poor girl went along with much effort.’  
(Conv.PGF + MRR.0518)

#### 4.4.4 The intensifier in nouns

In natural speech, the intensifier is uncommon with nouns. In the traditional and contemporary corpus, it does not have intensificational semantics when used with nouns, rather it is used to contrast a ‘true’ or ‘legitimate’ entity from a false or less-prototypical entity, as shown in the contrasts in (47).

- (47) a. CONTEXT: A water spirit, *Bushuidu*, has been stealing children. An ancestor investigates.

yurakūi ede mērā kai, Bushuidu kaki ūiā

yura -kūi ede mērā ka -i Bushuidu ka -ki ūi -a  
person -INTENS water in go -IPFV Bushuidu go -NF see -PFV

‘The (real/human) man was going into the river and saw Bushuido go.’  
(TN.MML.Ede mērā ñūshīwu.0406.line 75)

- b. CONTEXT: An ancestor woman has two young lovers in addition to her older husband.

āwē wedekūi, nā wede pexku rawe, rawenū wisti wedeya

āwē wede -kūi nā wede pexku rawe rawe -nū wisti  
3SG.POSS husband -INTENS DEM.ANA husband youth two two -and one  
wede =ya  
husband =POSS

‘There was her real (first) husband, and the two young men, she had three husbands.’ (TN.MML.Tua ñūshīwu.0388.line 160)

Data from elicitation reveals no restrictions on what types of nouns may be affixed with the intensifier: humans, animals, plants, and other inanimates are all acceptable. In the case plants and animals, the intensifier usually indicates that the animal referred to is the type species, or, that the plant/animal is of the kind known natively to the

Yaminawa and not a foreign or introduced species (such as the case of the form *áwà* ‘tapir’, sometimes used to refer to cows, a non-native animal, and the corresponding form *áwàkũĩ* ‘tapir proper’, which clarifies that the intended referent is the tapir and not the cow).

#### 4.4.5 The intensifier in other word classes

The intensifier *-kũĩ* occurs with most of the minor word classes, most notably adjectives, adverbs, postpositions, and demonstratives. The intensifier does not occur with ideophones.

All documented adjectives in Yaminawa are gradable (i.e., property concepts like ‘dead’ and ‘wooden’, which are not gradable, are expressed verbally or via apposite noun phrases), and the intensifier always modifies the meaning of adjectives to indicate the maximum of the scale, as in (48).

- (48) a. CONTEXT: The speaker is describing her first birth, which was very difficult. Her mother and maternal aunt were urging her to push, but she was tired and felt the baby was too big.

*ēkai itiruba, waadu, ewapakũĩ*

*ē*                = *kai*    *ik*                -*tiru* = *ba*    *wa* = *a*                = *du ewapa -kũĩ*  
1SG.NOM = CONTR AUX. ITR -POT = NEG say = PFV.SUB = DS big -INTENS

‘I said, “but I can’t”; (the baby) was very big.’  
(CN.MML.Mi primer hijo.0444.line 128)

- b. CONTEXT: In the ancient times, the vulture was white, but was stained black when he spread his wings over the first embers of fire to protect them from the rain.

*aka xete, xetekia uxupa shara ipaudikia, uxupakũĩ*

*aka*            *xete*    *xete*            = *kia*    *uxupa shara ik*            -*pau*            -*di*  
INTERJ:so vulture vulture = REP white good AUX. ITR -IPFV.PST6 -PST6  
= *kia, uxupa -kũĩ*  
= REP white -INTENS

‘So the vulture, the vulture, they say, was pretty and white, pure white.’  
(TN.MRR.Yuashi.0615.line 95-96)

- c. CONTEXT: The speaker is describing *Pũĩ Wàkè* ‘the child of feces’, who is the reason humans defecate.

*mã beewe da, ũũj, dawu xuai wetsea, chakakũkia*

*mã beewe da ũũj da = wu xua -i*  
 already muddy DEM.PROX INTERJ:oh.boy DEM.PROX = PL scratch -IPFV  
*wetse -a chaka -kũĩ = kia*  
 do.all.over -PFV bad -INTENS = REP

‘He was muddy, oh boy, he was scratched up all over every part, he was really nasty, they say.’ (TN.MRR.Pũĩ wake.0141.line 14-15)

For gradable adverbs, the intensifier also indicates the maximum value of the scale, as in (49).

- (49) a. CONTEXT: A woman takes two husbands, and quickly becomes pregnant.

*mã kushikũĩ wake dadea, dukuwede rawewe mã iki*

*mã kushi -kũĩ wake dade -a dukuwede rawe = we*  
 already quickly -INTENS child put.inside -PFV man two = COM  
*mã ik -ki*  
 already AUX.ITER -NF

‘She got pregnant very quickly because she had been with two men.’  
 (TN.TYW.Înãwã xadu.0283.line 119)

- b. CONTEXT: A man climbed way up in a huge tree to collect some baby birds from a nest. A guy he doesn’t get along with comes along and knocks down his ladder, leaving him stranded in the canopy of the tree.

*ũĩaskadikia chaikũĩ bai*

*ũĩ -aska -di = kia chai -kũĩ bai*  
 see -do.like.so -PST6 = REP far -INTENS earth

‘He looked (down) like this, they say, (and saw that) the ground was really far.’ (TN.MRR.Isku ñũshĩwu.0060.line 96)

With non-gradable adverbs, such as temporal adverbs indicating time of day, the intensifier is used to indicate a time at the extreme bound, as in (50).

- (50) a. *ñãtãkũĩ*

*ñãtã -kũĩ*  
 afternoon -INTENS

‘really late in the day, nearing sunset’



b. *wěñāmāĩkũĩ*

*wěñāmāĩ -kũĩ*

morning -INTENS

‘really early in the morning, shortly after sunrise’

With temporal adverbs expressing a time of day, it is more common that the diminutive and intensifier co-occur, as described in section 4.4.6, than that the intensifier occur by itself, as shown above. On Spanish words borrowed as temporal adverbs, the intensifier is used to express exhaustive focus, specifying a precise time, as seen with the word *lunes*, ‘Monday’ in (51).

(51) *luneskũĩ bajai*

*lunes -kũĩ baja -i*

Monday -INTENS go.downriver -IPFV

‘(He) will go downriver Monday (not a day earlier/later).’

(Conv.PGF + MRR.0518)

Similarly, when the intensifier occurs with postpositions, it functions as exhaustive focus, specifying a precise location, as in (52).

(52) a. *nã puente adukũĩ*

*nã puente =adu -kũĩ*

DEM.ANA bridge =LOC -INTENS

‘She was right at/on the bridge.’

(Conv.JMRS + MML.0517)

b. *bawa mãñũkũĩ, mãwãwã adu udu pexe tsaua*

*bawa mãñũ -kũĩ bawa -wã =adu udu pexe tsau -a*

hill at.base.of -INTENS hill -AUG =LOC there house sit -PFV

‘Right at the base of a cliff, there at the huge hill, sat her house.’

(TN.MML.Chai Kushi Wuwadi.0219.line 149)

The intensifier may also occur on the proximal demonstrative pronoun *da* to indicate exhaustive focus, as in (53).

- (53) CONTEXT: A young widow has left her village and married a filthy tapir spirit and is neglecting her children. The brother of her deceased husband comes to check on her, discovers the neglect, and accidentally kills her when he tried to kill the tapir spirit.

ãwẽ wākāpā pĩāki, dakũĩ mā aka

ãwẽ      wākāpā      pia      =N      ak      =ki      da      -kũĩ      mā  
 3SG.POSS sister.in.law arrow =INS AUX.TR =SS.SIM DEM.PROX -INTENS already  
 ak      -a  
 AUX.TR -PFV

‘When he shot his sister in law, he hit her right here (in the side of the upper abdomen).’ (TN.MLGA.Awa.0294)

Finally, the intensifier is also commonly seen with the quantifier *íchápà* ‘many’, where it has true intensificational semantics, indicating an extreme high value, as in (54).

- (54) CONTEXT: An old man has been slowly getting weaker and sicker as he ages. At first his wife carried him as they moved seasonally through the forest, but after many years, she has tired of this responsibility.

wari mā itiadi, mā wari itiadi, wari ichapakũĩ mā atiadi

wari mā      ik      -tiad      -i      mā      wari ik      -tiad  
 sun already AUX.ITR -HABIT.FREQ -IPFV already sun AUX.ITR -HABIT.FREQ  
 -i      wari ichapa -kũĩ      mā      ak      -tiad      -i  
 -IPFV sun many -INTENS already AUX.TR -HABIT.FREQ -IPFV

‘It was like this for a year, it was like this for (another year), for many years she always (took care of him).’ (TN.MRR.Ishpawãwẽ xukadi.0051.line 21-22)

#### 4.4.6 The effect of the intensifier combined with the diminutive and augmentative

The intensifier *-kũĩ* frequently co-occurs with the diminutive *-shṭá* and the augmentative *-wâ*. As the examples below demonstrate, the intensifier must always follow the augmentative, and only rarely precedes the diminutive.

On nouns, the intensifier does not co-occur with the diminutive, but it may co-occur with the augmentative, with the effect of intensifying the meaning of the augmentative (large size), as in (55).

- (55) a. CONTEXT: An ancestor woman is struggling in labor, so her husband goes to get a doctor to help. When the husband returns with the doctor his wife has already had the baby with assistance from the Rat Spirit.

ũia āwē wākēwā datiu chistua, werunāwākēwākũ

ũĩ -a āwē wake -wā da -tiu chistu -a werunā  
see -PFV 3SG.POSS child -AUG DEM.PROX -size hold.in.arms -PFV male  
wake -wā -kũ  
child -AUG -INTENS

‘He saw that she was holding a big baby this size, a huge baby boy.’  
(TN.MRR.Xuya ñũshĩwu.0091.line 73-74)

- b. CONTEXT: The Squirrel Spirit, who perfected the art of agriculture, has planted an extremely large cornfield and built a house for his wives’ family. In the example below, he is showing them the house for the first time.

pexe nēshpākāñā tsauĩnākāwāda, pēxēwā, pēxēwākũ, nēshpākāñākũ

pexe nēshpākāñā tsau -ĩnākāwād -a pexe -wā pexe -wā -kũ  
house in.middle sit -INCEP -PFV house -AUG house -AUG -INTENS  
nēshpākāñā -kũ  
in.middle -INTENS

‘There was a house sticking right up from the middle (of the field), a big house, a really big house, right in the middle (of the field).’  
(TN.MRR.Kapa ñũshĩwu.0042.line 388-389)

As in the examples above, it is often the case that nouns marked with both the augmentative and intensifier follow a form that is only marked for the augmentative. The corpus also contains one example of the intensifier used with the augmentative to modify the noun ñũwē ‘shaman’ to intensify the affective stance of the augmentative (the shaman is ‘very formidable’).

- (56) CONTEXT: The speaker is describing a widower who is also a powerful shaman.

mā dadi, āwĩ uba yura ñũwē, ñũwēmāwākũ

mā da -di āwĩ = uba yura ñũwē ñũwēmā -wā -kũ  
already die -PST6 wife = PRIV person shaman shaman -AUG -INTENS

‘She had already died, the widower was a shaman, a very powerful/formidable shaman.’ (TN.MML.Yura ñũwē dai mēřā kadi.0388.line 6-7)

On adjectives, the intensifier may co-occur with either the diminutive or the augmentative. It is more common that it occur with the diminutive, where it has the effect of intensifying either meanings relating to size, in (57) or meanings relating to positive evaluation and affection (58).

- (57) CONTEXT: A group of ancestor humans and animals are scheming to kill *Yúàshì* ‘The Greedy One’. The Armadillo has dug a deep hole as a trap that they will fill with fine ash that will collapse when *Yúàshì* steps in it.

ãwẽ chii kechatiba [...] wēshtā, wēshtāshtakũĩ

ãwẽ        chii kechatiba        wēshtā wēshtā -shta -kũĩ  
3SG.POSS fire in.small.pieces fine    fine    -DIM -INTENS

‘His fire had already burned down until only small bits remained, (the ash) was fine, extremely fine.’ (TN.MRR.Yúàshì.0615.line 234 and 237)

- (58) a. CONTEXT: The speaker is describing *Àyà ñũshĩwu*, the Parakeet (*Pyrrhura rupicola*) spirit, who has taken the form of a beautiful woman.

wuu xũnĩtsa, sharashtakũĩ

wuu xũnĩtsa shara -shta -kũĩ  
hair straight good -DIM -INTENS

‘Her hair was straight, she was very beautiful.’  
(TN.MRR.Aya ñũshĩwu.0597.line 39)

- b. CONTEXT: The speaker is describing a very old and ill man.

irabada chupeshtakũĩ, ãwẽ xau wisti

irabada chupe -shta -kũĩ    ãwẽ        xau wisti  
thin    weak -DIM -INTENS 3SG.POSS bone one

‘He was thin and very weak, poor thing, just bones.’  
(TN.MRR.Ishpawãwẽ xukadi.0051.line 23-24)

With adjectives modified by the augmentative, the intensifier indicates extremely large relative size, as in (59).

- (59) a. CONTEXT: The speaker is describing the rice field that his neighbors recently planted. It was three hectares, cleared, burned, and planted by hand.

wai ewapanẽwãkũĩ waitawu

wai ewapa -nẽ -wã -kũĩ    wa    -ita    =wu  
field big    -EP -AUG -INTENS make -PST3 =PL

‘They planted a really huge field the other day.’ (Conv.JMRS + MML.0517)

- b. CONTEXT: The speaker is looking at old photos of family and neighbors and notices in one of the photos that her uncle used to be much fatter than he is now.

*aqui estaba gordo [...]* xuapāwākũĩ

*aqui estaba gordo xuapa -wā -kũĩ*

here was fat fat -AUG -INTENS

‘In this one he was fat...he was really fat!’ (Conv.LAW + MMS.0519)

The intensifier may co-occur with the diminutive in verbs and adverbs. In diminutive marked adverbs, the intensifier serves to indicate an extreme of scale (very late, very early). The diminutive and intensifier most frequently occur on the temporal adverbs *wēnāmārĩ* ‘morning’ and *ñātā* ‘afternoon’, shown in example (60).

- (60) a. CONTEXT: A man who is extremely fast goes into the forest to hunt. He usually returns early, but it has already gotten late without him returning, and his family is beginning to worry.

*āwē adia rānānē, “yutekebeamāĩkĩ” ñātāpakei, ñātāshtakũĩkia*

*āwē adia rānānē yutekebe -a =māĩkĩ*

3SG.POSS brother.in.law many.ERG have.accident -PFV = possibly

*ñātā -pake -i ñātā -shta -kũĩ =kia*

be.late.in.day -AM:downward -IPFV afternoon -DIM -INTENS = REP

‘All his brothers in law said, “maybe he’s had an accident,” the day was getting late, it was already very late in the afternoon.’

(TN.MML.Chai Kushi Wewadi.0219.line 35-37)

- b. CONTEXT: A family is planning to plant a very large cornfield, so they are building a temporary shelter in the field so that they can spend more of the day working instead of going back and forth to their main house.

*iskara pishta watā, tedetiru aduxũ wadaki, wēnāmārĩshtakũĩ buinākāwātā, iskara xeki wadaxki*

*iskara pishta wa =tā tede -tiru aduxũ wada -ki wēnāmārĩ -shta*

like.this small make = IPE rest -POT LOC.SRC.TR sow -NF morning -DIM

*-kũĩ bui -ĩnākāwā =tā iskara xeki wada -xi -ki*

-INTENS wake -INCEP = IPE like.this.ITR maize sow -FUT.IPFV -NF

‘Having built a little (house) like this, we can rest there, and from there we will plant, getting up really early in the morning, in order to plant corn like this.’ (Conv.JnGR + TYW.0520)

In verbs, it is very uncommon that the diminutive and intensifier co-occur. When they do, it does not appear that their meanings interact. The diminutive contributes affection-ate stance, and the intensifier contributes the meaning that the action was performed completely, to a maximum extent, or with great effort, as in (61).

- (61) CONTEXT: A woman was bit very badly by a dog and had much difficulty walking for several weeks afterward, although she managed with crutches.

pāxtā pīākūīti, [...] ubisis kapishtakūīti

*paxta* =N *pi* -ā -kūī -ti *ubisis* *ka* -pishta -kūī -ti  
dog =ERG eat -MAL -INTENS -PST5 poor.thing go -DIM INTENS -PST5

‘The dog bit her really bad and the poor girl went along with much effort.’  
(Conv.PGF + MRR.0518)

#### 4.4.7 Summary of the distribution and meanings of the intensifier

Like the diminutive, the intensifier may be hosted by many word classes; however, its semantics are more limited. Table 4.3 provides a summary of the different word classes that may host the intensifier, and the meanings of the intensifier in each context.

Table 4.3: Summary of the uses of INTENS by word class

word class	true/legit, prototypical	extremely/ end of scale	exactly, precisely	completely, with effort
nouns	X			
verbs		X		X
adjective		X		
manner adv.		X		
locative adv.		X		
temporal adv.		X	X	
postposition			X	
demonstrative pronoun			X	
quantifier ( <i>íchápà</i> )		X		

### 4.5 Other affective stance-taking suffixes

In addition to the high-frequency suffixes presented in the preceding sections, Yaminawa has at least four other suffixes which appear to function primarily as resources for affective and/or evaluative expression. Yaminawa also makes a distinction between the benefactive applicative (which adds an absolutive or accusative object which is positively affected by the event or action described by the verb) and the malefactive applicative (which adds an absolutive or accusative object which is negatively affected by the event or action) (see section 4.5.4). I have also included the mirative =*pu* in this section, as it is used to express surprise. These suffixes are summarized in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Other affective and evaluative stance-taking suffixes

form	word class	meaning
-shara	n., adj., adv., v.	positive evaluation
-chaka	v.	negative evaluation
-betsa	v.	sadness, intense emotion or effort
-nābe	v.	pity
-xud	v.	benefactive
-ã (or nasalization)	v.	malefactive

#### 4.5.1 -shara ‘positive evaluation’

The suffix *-shara* is used with nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and verbs to express positive evaluations. This suffix has the same form as the free morpheme *shárà* ‘good, beautiful, clean’. *-shara* is far less frequent than the morphemes presented in sections 4.2 through 4.4, occurring 24 times in the traditional narrative corpus.

Most instances of *-shara* occur in verbs, and it is used productively with both transitive and intransitive verbs. When applied to verbs, the positive evaluation is typically directed toward the manner or resulting state. The utterances in (62) provide examples of *-shara* on an intransitive and a transitive verb, respectively.

- (62) a. CONTEXT: Two children have been neglected by their mother and have not been bathed in months. Their uncle comes to visit and makes them bathe.

mã dashisharawu

mã dashi -shara -a =wu  
already bathe -GOOD -PFV =PL

‘They bathed themselves well.’ (TN.MML.Awa Ñũshĩwu.0183.line 92)

- b. CONTEXT: A man has taken his wife to the beach while he fishes with poison. He has added the poison to the water, and the fish are stunned and floating to the surface where he gathers them.

datiu ñāpã retesharawu

da -tiu ñāpã rete -shara -a =wu  
DEM.PROX -SIZE mojarra kill -GOOD -PFV =PL

‘(Big) mojarra<sup>118</sup> this size, he killed them well/completely (all the fish).’  
(TN.MRR.Bapu Ñũshĩwu.0132.line 84)

<sup>118</sup>Mojarra refers to various fish species in the *Gerreidae* family, or other fish species with similar appearance and ecology.

On adjectives, *-shara* may have semantics that are simply positive evaluation, as in (63a), or it may also involve some degree of intensification as in (63b).

- (63) a. CONTEXT: The speaker is describing the appearance of the Squirrel spirit, after he transforms himself into a handsome young man.

yura tushisharakũĩ

yura tushi                      -shara -kũĩ  
body tanned/golden -GOOD -INTENS

‘(His) body was was a really beautiful color (tanned/golden).’  
(TN.MRR.Kapa Ñũshĩwu.0043.line 42)

- b. CONTEXT: The speaker is describing the handiwork of a highly skilled potter.

atiri tushpusharawu

a = ti      = ri      tushpu -shara = wu  
3 = ALL = ADD round -GOOD = PL

‘All the rest (of the pots) were perfectly round.’  
(TN.MRR.Bapu Ñũshĩwu.0132.line 10)

On nouns, the suffix *-shara* typically expresses beauty, as in (64).

- (64) CONTEXT: The speaker continues the description of the handiwork of the skilled potter in (63b).

kepusharawuya

kepu -shara = wu = ya  
plate -GOOD = PL = POSS

‘She had beautiful plates.’ (TN.MRR.Bapu Ñũshĩwu.0132.line 13)

The suffix *-shara* does not appear to be highly productive with adverbs, as it occurs in just one form *rabashara* ‘never before’ or ‘only very recently’ as in (65).<sup>119</sup> The adverb *ràbà* in Yaminawa alone means ‘recently’ or ‘just’ (as in the English temporal adverbial use in ‘I just got back from the store’).

<sup>119</sup>Anecdotally, I also once heard a grandmother use *-shara* on in the adverbial form *kúshísháràkũĩ* [quickly-GOOD-INTENS] ‘really fast’ when describing the suspicious speed with which one of her grandsons arrived home from school each day (he had actually been hanging out at the creek instead of studying).



- (65) CONTEXT: The speaker has come home with fish and is surprised that his wife begins to eat them raw. She is not actually his wife, she is a lowland paca spirit who has disguised herself.

rabashara mĩ iskabispaki

*raba*    *-shara mĩ*            *iska*    *-bis*    = *ba*    = *ki*  
recently -GOOD 2SG.NOM like.this -HABIT = NEG = ASSERT

‘Why are you acting like this all of a sudden?’  
(TN.MML.Adu Nũshĩwu.0204.line 104)

While this form occurs six times across two speakers (both females over 50) of different dialects, it’s possible that it is a calque of the regional Spanish expression *bien recién*, which is often used critically in the sense of ‘never before’ or ‘this is the first time that...’. It can express surprise and mild criticism of the current behavior or action as in (65), or it may express surprise regarding a positive behavior change as in (66).

- (66) CONTEXT: A negligent mother returns home to her two children, who have previously lived dirty and covered in ticks, to find them freshly bathed and groomed.

batu tsũã dashibamẽ, rabashara mã iskakākãidaba

*batu*    *tsua* = *N*    *dashi* -*bad* -*a*    = *mẽ*    *raba*    *-shara mã*  
2PL.ACC who = ERG bathe -CAUS -PFV = INTERR recently -GOOD 2PL.NOM  
*iska*    *-kākãid -a*    = *ba*  
like.this -CONT -PFV = NEG

‘Who gave you a bath; this is the first time you’ve ever been like this.’  
(TN.MML.Awa Nũshĩwu.0183.line 93)

In either case, there appears to be a subtle expression of negative evaluation, not positive evaluation, when *-shara* is used with adverbs. It is invariably positive when used with other word classes, and the negative evaluation associated with its use in forms like *ràbàshàrà* likely comes from the expressive use of *bien* ‘well, really’ in the regional Spanish as an intensifier. In Ucayalino Spanish, the phrase *bien recién* ‘very recently’ is typically used in the context of criticism, to indicate that the object of criticism is recently starting a behavior that they should have performing already (e.g., concerning themselves with their children’s education, working in their fields in a timely manner).

#### 4.5.2 *-chaka* ‘negative evaluation’

The suffix *-chaka* is only attested on verbs. It occurs with both transitive and intransitive roots, as in (67). The intervocalic /k/ is sometimes deleted, resulting in the form *-chaa*. The suffix *-chaka* likely grammaticalized from the free adjective form *cháká* ‘bad’.

- (67) a. CONTEXT: A mother is angry at her two daughters for not informing her sooner that their father was alive.

mã ea yuichakatushipaitaba

mã ea yui -chaka -tushi -pai -ita =ba  
2PL.NOM 1SG.ACC tell -BAD -AM:do.upon.arrival -DESID -PST3 =NEG

‘Y’all didn’t immediately tell me upon arriving a few days ago!’  
(TN.MRR.Ishpawāwē Xukadi.0051.line 525)

- b. CONTEXT: A woman in labor is waiting on her husband to return with the doctor.

aree, awetiaruku uchakaimē?

aree awetia =ruku u -chaka -i =mē  
EXCLAM what.time =CNTEXP come -BAD -IPFV =INTERR

‘Oh, when (if ever) will he come?’ (TN.MRR.Xuya Ñũshĩwu.0091.line 8)

The meaning of *-chaka* is invariably negative evaluation, but the evaluation can be directed at the manner of the verb or at its subject (or be ambiguous). In example (68) the negative evaluation is directed at the manner of the verb, with the effect of expressing pity for the subject.

- (68) CONTEXT: Two daughters feed their elderly father, who is very weak and cannot eat quickly or well

da pibadiwukia, pipichakaki

da pi -bad -di =wu =kia pi- pi -chaka -ki  
DEM.PROX eat -CAUS -PST6 =PL =REP REDUP.REPEAT- eat -BAD -IPFV

‘They fed him, and he ate and ate poorly (i.e., little bite by little bite).’  
(TN.MRR.Ishpawāwē Xukadi.0051.line 378)

In other cases where *-chaka* is used to express pity, it may be combined with other expressive suffixes like the diminutive *-sh̥tá* or the pity suffix *-ná̃bè~ -ná̃mē*, as in (69a-b).

- (69) a. CONTEXT: The speaker is describing an extremely old and sick man.

pãñ wēñũwēñũchakashtadikia

padi =N wēñũ- wēñũ -chaka -sh̥ta -di =kia  
hammock =INS REDUP.FREQ- sit.in.hammock -BAD -DIM -PST6 =REP

‘(Poor thing), he just sat there (continuously) in the hammock, they say.’  
(TN.MRR.Ishpawāwē Xukadi.0051.line 375)

- b. CONTEXT: Grandmother Tiger is pretending to be a weak old woman.

chitinābechakaukukāĩdi kai

*chiti -nābe -chaka -uku -kāĩ -di ka -i*  
crouch -PITY -BAD -CIRC:early.morning -AM:go.doing -PST6 go -IPFV

‘She went about all hunched over early in the morning.’  
(TN.TYW.ĩnāwã Xadu.0283.line 175)

In the majority of cases, the negative evaluation is also directed at the subject itself, and often expresses anger or frustration, as in (70a), or disgust, as in (70b).

- (70) a. CONTEXT: A man who travels very quickly through the forest is frustrated that the rest of his party is very slow-moving.

nã pedatã, dukuchakatushi, nãtãpake

*nã peda =tã duku -chaka -tushi -i nãtã*  
DEM.ANA sunrise =IPE arrive -BAD -AM:do.upon.arrival -IPFV afternoon  
*-pake*  
-AM:downward

‘The sun rose, and (when) those damn guys arrived, it was already late.’  
(TN.MML.Chai Kushi Wewadi.0219.line 200)

- b. CONTEXT: A tapir spirit has taken a human woman as a wife. He is very disgusting and crass, and constantly knocks her on the ground to have sex with her.

Papapapanĩ ãnã achakai

*Papapapadi =N ãnã ak -chaka -i*  
Papapapadi =ERG again AUX.TR -BAD -IPFV

‘Papapapadi (a tapir spirit) was doing her ugly/badly again (having sexual intercourse).’ (TN.MML.Awa Nũshĩwu.0183.line 109)

#### 4.5.3 *-betsa* ‘intense emotion/effort’ and *-nābe* ‘pity’

The suffixes *-betsa* and *-nābe* are two exclusively verbal suffixes that have primarily affective semantics. The suffix *-betsa* indicates that the action is performed with intense effort or emotional investment. In everyday conversation, it is often used in expressions of pity or *shĩnãĩ* ‘sadness’, as in (71).

- (71) a. CONTEXT: The speaker is describing having arrived home from a hunting trip to discover that a neighbor's elderly mother had passed away.

ichapa shĩnābetsabiswu, nã- a *señora* chaashta daadu

*ichapa shĩnã -betsa -bis =wu a señora chaka -shta da =a*  
 many be.sad -EFFORT -HABIT = PL DEM lady bad -DIM die = PFV.SUB  
 = *du*  
 = DS

‘Lots of them were really sad because the poor woman had died.’  
 (CN.JMRS.0298)

- b. CONTEXT: The speaker's elderly father-in-law is seen walking down the road with his cane, and the speaker is speculating as to his motivation for making the effort to go walking.

ũĩbetsai kai

*ũĩ -betsa -i ka -i*  
 see -EFFORT -IPFV go -IPFV

‘He's going visiting, poor thing.’ (Conv.MML + JMRS.0517)

The suffix *-betsa* also expresses difficulty or that the performance of the action or activity requires significant effort (physical or psychological) on the part of the subject, as in (72).

- (72) CONTEXT: Two large sacks of yuca requires a substantial amount of time and effort to peel, wash, boil, mash, and process into the resulting quantity of masato.

ñũkãki kai, *dos costalpāwā* wei kai, masato wabetsaxiki

*ñũkã -i ka -i dos costal -pa -wã we -i ka -i masato wa*  
 ask.for -IPFV go -IPFV two sack -EP -AUG bring -IPFV go -IPFV *masato* make  
*-betsa -xi -ki*  
 -EFFORT -FUT.IPFV -NF

‘She went to ask, she went to bring two big bags (of yuca) in order to make masato.’ (Conv.MMS + LAW + MML.0538)

In the corpus there is a single example of *-betsa* used metaphorically with the temporal verb *pédàì* ‘to dawn, to be morning’ with the effect of inchoative aspect.

- (73) pedabetsabatiĩ, tii awetiĩ warira, *una de la mañanaraiki*, tii ruawu dawawu icha-panāwāwu uxawawaidawu

*peda -betsa* = *ba* = *tĩ* *tii* *awetiĩ* *wari* = *ra* *una de la mañana*  
dawn -EFFORT = NEG = time EXCLAM what.time hour = DUB one.AM  
= *raiki tii* *ruawu dawawu ichapa -nā -wā* = *wu uxa -wawaid -a* = *wu*  
= DUB EXCLAM Bad People many -EP -AUG = PL sleep -CONT -PFV = PL

‘Before it was even about to dawn, ooh, what time would it have been, maybe 1 a.m., ooh, the whole lot of the Bad People were still sleeping.’  
(TN.MML.Ruawu Dawawu.0261.line 275)

Overall, there are relatively few examples of *-betsa* in the corpus (only around 10 examples when parallelisms are discounted), so the inchoative aspectual use may be more productive than a single example would suggest.

It is possible that the suffix *-betsa* developed diachronically from the adjective *metsa* that is attested in Sharanahua, which means ‘beautiful’, ‘upright, straight’, or ‘true, correct’ Scott (2004). This adjective is also attested in Shipibo as *metsá* which is only recorded as meaning ‘beautiful’ in Lorient et al. (1993).

The suffix *-nābe*, which is also sometimes realized as *-nāmẽ*, expresses pity, typically for a very elderly or very ill person, or for someone who is deceased, as in (74).

- (74) a. CONTEXT: The speaker is recounting the unfortunate premature death of the man running.

ichunābei kai tok tok

*ichu -nābe -i* *ka -i* *tok* *tok*  
run -PITY -IPFV go -IPFV IDEO:footstep IDEO:footstep

‘The poor guy went running “tok tok”.’ (Conv.MML + LAW + MMS.0538)

- b. Context: The evil Grandmother Jaguar spirit is deceptively pretending to be an elderly woman.

chitinābechakaukukāĩdi

*chiti* *-nābe -chaka -uku* *-kāĩd* *-i*  
hunch.over -PITY -BAD -CIRC:early.morning -AM:go.doing -IPFV

‘She went about all hunched over early in the morning.’  
(TN.TYW.ĩnāwā Xadu.0283.line 175)

- c. CONTEXT: The speaker is describing customs of the Nahua before contact. They ate meat medium rare and experienced stomach aches, but now (post-contact) they know to cook meat well done.

*pero datĩātā mā tāpĩnābeawu*

*pero da* = *tĩā* = *tā* *mā* *tāpĩ* *-nābe -a* = *wu*  
 but DEM.PROX = time = IPE already know -PITY -PFV = PL

‘But after this time, now they know.’ (CN.JMRS.0298.line 14)

While I have heard *-betsa* used in the speech of nearly all of the Yaminawa and Nahua speakers that I worked with, the majority of examples of *-nābe -nāmē* in the corpus come from the speak of María Miranda Llergo, a 55 year old Nahua speaker. The few tokens from other individuals come from her Yaminawa husband, his sister, and two Nahua women in their 20s who frequently interact with María. Other Yaminawa do recognize forms with *-nāmē* and will produce them in elicitation, but I have not yet captured them using it in natural speech. This suffix is attested in Northern Yaminawa (the Yurúa dialect) (Faust and Loos 2002), but it is not listed as a suffix in Sharanahua by Scott (2004). At the time of this writing, I have not identified any free morphemes that would be possible candidates for a diachronic source of this suffix.

#### 4.5.4 *-xud* and *-ā*, the benefactive and malefactive applicatives

Yaminawa has both a benefactive (*-xud*) and a malefactive (*-ā*) applicative. Both of these verbal suffixes affect the argument structure of the verb in the same way: they increase the valency of the verb to add an argument which is affected by the event. The benefactive is used when the event is evaluated as having a positive or favorable impact on the added argument as in (75a), and the malefactive is used when the event is evaluated as having a negative or unfavorable impact on the added argument as in (75b). Because the speaker’s evaluation of the impact of the event is what distinguishes these two suffixes, I consider them to have a role in the morphological expression of affective and evaluative stances.

- (75) a. *āwĩnĩ mā yawa pĩchāxuda*

*āwĩnĩ* = *N* *mā* *yawa* *pĩchā* *-xud -a*  
 woman = ERG already peccary cook -BEN -PFV

‘(His) wife had already cooked white-lipped peccary for him.’  
 (TN.MRR.Isku ñũshĩwu.0060.line 243)

- b. *adu chakatã mã duku ewashta pĩãkĩ*

*adu chaka -tã =N mã duku ewa -shta pi -ã -a*  
*paca bad -EP =ERG already 2PL.ACC 1POSS.mother -DIM eat -MAL -PFV*  
*=kĩ*  
*= ASSERT*

‘The evil lowland paca has killed your mother to our detriment.’  
 (TN.MML.Adu Nũshĩwu.0204.line 133)

When the benefactive occurs before a suffix beginning with a consonant, the final /d/ of the benefactive suffix is deleted and the suffix is nasalized: *-xũ*, as in (76a). The malefactive is realized as nasalization only when it follows a disyllabic root with an open final syllable, as in (76b).

- (76) a. *mã, ã bia axaxũtãnũ*

*mã ã bia axa -xũ -tã -nũ*  
*dear 1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC fish.with.poison -BEN -AM:go.do.and.return -OPT*

‘Honey, I’m going to go fishing for you.’  
 (TN.MRR.Bapu Nũshĩwu.0132.line 71)

- b. *mĩ ěwẽ ãwĩ ea rêtẽa*

*mĩ ěwẽ ãwĩ ea rete -N -a*  
*2SG.NOM 1SG.POSS wife 1SG.ACC kill -MAL -PFV*

‘You killed my wife (to my detriment)!’  
 (TN.MML.Adu Nũshĩwu.0204.line 45)

#### 4.5.5 =*pu*, the mirative

The mirative =*pu* is used for two communicative ends: the expression of surprise and to encourage the interlocutor(s) to attend to something in the surrounding environment. The most frequent use is as a verbal suffix to form mirative commands *ũũpu* ‘look!’ (also plural *ũĩkãpu*) and *dikapu* ‘listen up!’ (also plural *dikakãpu*) (see section C.6). As an enclitic marking surprise, it can be used even in contexts where the event occurred long ago, as in (77). This suffix also occurs on other word classes, such as nouns, as in (78).

- (77) CONTEXT: A man climbed high up in a tree, his ladder got knocked down, and he spent the whole day stuck hugging a tree limb.

*weuwãĩdikiapu!*

*weu -wãĩ -di =kia =pu*  
*be.face.down -CIRC:all.day -PST6 =REP =MIR*

‘He was (stuck up there) face-down all day!’  
 (TN.MRR.Isku nũshĩwu.0060.line 152)

(78) CONTEXT: A man has found his long-lost sister.

“Ēwē puishtapu” eaiki.

ēwē      pui    -shta = pu   ea   ik        -i  
1SG.POSS sister -DIM = MIR cry AUX. ITR -IPFV

‘He was crying, “my dear sister!”’ (TN.MML.Isu Nūshīwu.0204.line 128)

#### 4.5.6 Affective interjections

One final class of resources for expressing affect in Yaminawa are affective interjections. There are many interjections in Yaminawa and much variety in their use and realization, depending on the speaker and dialect. Some key, recurrent affective interjections and other sound objects, such as clicks, are listed in table 4.5.

Table 4.5: Affective interjections and their associated affects

form	phonetic characteristics	associated affect
<i>aichu</i>	high pitch, lengthened final vowel	<i>ídibài</i> ‘be happy’, ‘thank you’
<i>ariï</i>	creaking voicing, lengthened final vowel	<i>wékàxdà</i> ‘be annoyed’, ‘oh, no’
<i>kee</i>	low pitch	<i>séyài</i> ‘be disgusting’, <i>wékàxdà</i> ‘be annoyed’, ‘ugh’
<i>kee</i>	high pitch	<i>ídibài</i> ‘be happy’, ‘wow!’
<i>tiimāwi</i>	high pitch	<i>úbiskūi</i> ‘concern, pity’, ‘poor thing’
<i>pee</i>	low, falling intonation	‘disappointment’, ‘oh, no’
<i>pee</i>	falsetto pitch, sometimes repetitions	affectionate mirativity ‘aww, look!’
<i>tii</i>	with [i], high pitch, no final lengthening	<i>rátèi</i> ‘surprise’
<i>tii</i>	with [e], low pitch with a slow slight rise, very long	‘disapproval (of behavior)’
<i>chũ</i>	pronounced with [õ], rapid, sometimes final glottalization	remembering or realizing something, ‘oh, yeah!’
((dental click))	single click, sometimes sustained teeth-sucking	strong negative evaluation
((dental click))	rapidly repeated click (2-5x)	weak or unsurprised negative eval, ‘well, what can you do?’
<i>uuu</i>	very sustained length, high pitch/falsetto	emphatic ‘like you wouldn’t believe’
<i>ia</i>	varies based on affective context	backchannel sound object, ‘okay’, ‘uhuh’



## 4.6 Summary

This chapter presented a typologically unusually elaborated inventory of affective bound morphology attested in Yaminawa. While resources like diminutives, augmentatives, and miratives are cross-linguistically widespread, others, such as morphological markers of sadness (e.g. the Yaminawa verbal suffixes *-nābe* ‘pity’ or *-betsa* ‘with effort’) appear to be less common, or at the very least, less recognized and described in the languages of the world.

While elaborated inventories of affective morphology appear to be common in the Panoan linguistic family, there do not appear to be many cognate forms indicating a common development trajectory. Instead, these systems appear to have developed in parallel due to areal effects in the Ucayali region, possibly beyond. As the documentation of Peruvian Amazonian languages improves, these impressionistic observations about emotive expressivity in the region will hopefully be developed into a coherent diachronic and areal account.

Affective morphology is very frequently employed in Yaminawa and constitutes an important linguistic resource for emotive expressivity in the language. In the chapters that follow, affective morphology plays an important in affective stancetaking when it combines with different acoustic resources for affective expression. For example, the diminutive *-shtá* is associated with both affectionate speech (section 7.2) and ‘sad’ speech (chapter 5).

## Chapter 5

# The expression of *shǐnǎi* 'sadness, concern'

### 5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I described the morphological resources used to express affective stances in Yaminawa. In this chapter, and in the following two chapters, I turn to the description of how morphology, acoustic features, and interactional features are used in combination to communicate affective stances. I use the phrase 'acoustic features' to refer to intonation, nasal prosody, voice quality, speech rate, and speech volume. 'Interactional features' refers to characteristics such as the number and complexity of backchannels, the way turns are distributed among participants, and the presence and length of pauses between turns. I begin by describing the expression of *shǐnǎi*, meaning 'think', 'be sad', 'miss someone', or 'worry' (see table 3.1 and section 3.5.3 for more detailed descriptions of the meaning of *shǐnǎi*). *Shǐnǎi* 'sad' stance is frequently expressed, acoustically salient, and culturally important. The features used to express *shǐnǎi* 'sad' stance are presented in table 5.1.

The features used to express *shǐnǎi* 'sad' stance are varied, and not all speakers employ every feature in every expression of *shǐnǎi* 'sad' stance. The examples that I selected for this chapter are mostly representative of a *shǐnǎi* 'sad' way of speaking, where the affective 'key' (in Hymes' terms) of the interaction is that of sadness. The social contexts for the *shǐnǎi* 'sad' way of speaking include discussions of serious illness or death, estrangement from close friends and family (due to travel or other circumstances), and the discussion of personal problems (often referred to as 'troubles telling' in Conversation Analysis, e.g., Jefferson 1988). The use of *shǐnǎi* 'sad' features is not limited to *shǐnǎi* ways of speaking; *shǐnǎi* features can be used in individual turns to take a *shǐnǎi* 'sad' stance without the affective key of the entire surrounding discourse being based in sadness. We see an example of such switching between affective stances in example (81) in section 5.2.3, where the speaker takes both *shǐnǎi* 'sad' and affectionate stances.

Table 5.1: Features used in the construction of ‘sad’ affect

type	form	other affective contexts
morphology	- <i>shtá</i> - <i>betsa</i> (verbal)	affection
pitch	global high global low rise at end	affection, urgency neg. evaluation, complaints, fear
voice	creaky	fear, negative evaluation, age-based authority
speech rate	slow	
speech volume	quiet	
backchannels	complex overlapping parallelism	
other	final V lengthening	list intonation

In this chapter, I draw on data coming from both conversation and monologic narratives. Each of these types of data have different strengths and weaknesses. Monologic narratives have audio that is acoustically analyzable using phonetic software because it was typically collected with a lapel microphone in a quiet environment (when possible). Because a single speaker is narrating, there are relatively few instances where there is overlapping speech that complicate transcriptions and acoustic analyses. However, monologic recordings do not provide data that can inform our understanding of the features of interaction.<sup>120</sup> On the other hand, recordings of conversation provide data that permits the analysis of affective stancetaking in interaction, but these recordings were generally produced with the internal microphones on a ZoomH4n recorder, have overlapping speech, and have noise from activities in the background, making both transcription and acoustic analysis difficult. By examining both monologic narrative and conversation, it is possible to describe both acoustic and interactional features in detail.

I begin in section 5.2 by using data from monologic narrative to describe the acoustic features that characterize the *shínàì* ‘sad’ way of speaking and *shínàì* stance. In section 5.3, I use data from conversation to describe the interactional features of *shínàì* stance, including the social contexts where it is frequently encountered. Throughout all sections of this chapter, I also make note of the morphological resources employed by speakers to take affective stances. In section 5.4, I discuss some of the other types of stances that speakers take by indexing *shínàì* ‘sad’ stance by using salient features associated with it. I

<sup>120</sup>In practice, I was always present as a co-participant when I made recordings of monologic narratives, and it was frequently the case that at least one other native Yaminawa speaker was persistently or intermittently present during such recording. Some of the interactional data in this dissertation is drawn from recordings where one or more participants was not wearing a mic.

conclude in section 5.5 with a discussion of the salience and cultural significance of *shínài* speech, some comparisons to other affective ways of speaking, and a comparison of *shínài* ‘sad’ speech with ritual wailing across Amazonia as described by Urban (1988).

## 5.2 The acoustic features of *shínài* ‘sad’ speech

This section describes the acoustic features of *shínài* ‘sad’ stance. The most prevalent acoustic features of ‘sad’ speech are creaky voicing, slow speech rate, lengthened final vowels, and low speech volume. There is not a universal intonational pattern for expressing *shínài* ‘sadness’ – global high pitch appears to contribute meanings of affection or urgency when combined with *shínài* features, and global low pitch appears to contribute meanings relating to fear (concern) and negative evaluations.

In this section, I discuss four examples of *shínài* ‘sad’ stancetaking. In 5.2.1, I discuss an example describing the death (years earlier) of the father of the speaker as a prototypical example of *shínài* ‘sad’ speech. I provide a second prototypical example by a different speaker in section 5.2.2, where a speaker describes the death (during the pre-contact period) of her mother and brother. In 5.2.3, I discuss an example where the speaker alternates between affectionate stance and *shínài* ‘sad’ stance to contrast their features. I provide a final example in 5.2.4 to illustrate some additional features of *shínài* speech, namely final vowel lengthening and rising pitch.

### 5.2.1 Example: the death of María’s father

This section presents a prototypical example of *shínài* ‘sad’ speech as used in a monologic narration of a personal loss. In the following example, excerpted from a short narrative told by María Miranda Llergo about the illness and death of her father, María remembers a particularly emotional moment when her father, gravely ill, was evacuated via air to the city of Pucallpa.

(79) 1. *sueroya Pucallpa nīchikadi*

*suero* =ya *Pucallpa nīchĩ -kad -i*  
IV.fluids = with Pucallpa order -PL.IPFV -IPFV

‘They were sending him off to Pucallpa, with IV fluids.’

2. *nũ eaiki (.2) “ẽwẽ epashta” ((.9s audible breath))*

*nũ ea ik -i ẽwẽ epa -shta*  
1PL.NOM cry AUX. ITR -IPFV 1SG.POSS father -DIM

‘We were crying, “my poor father.”’

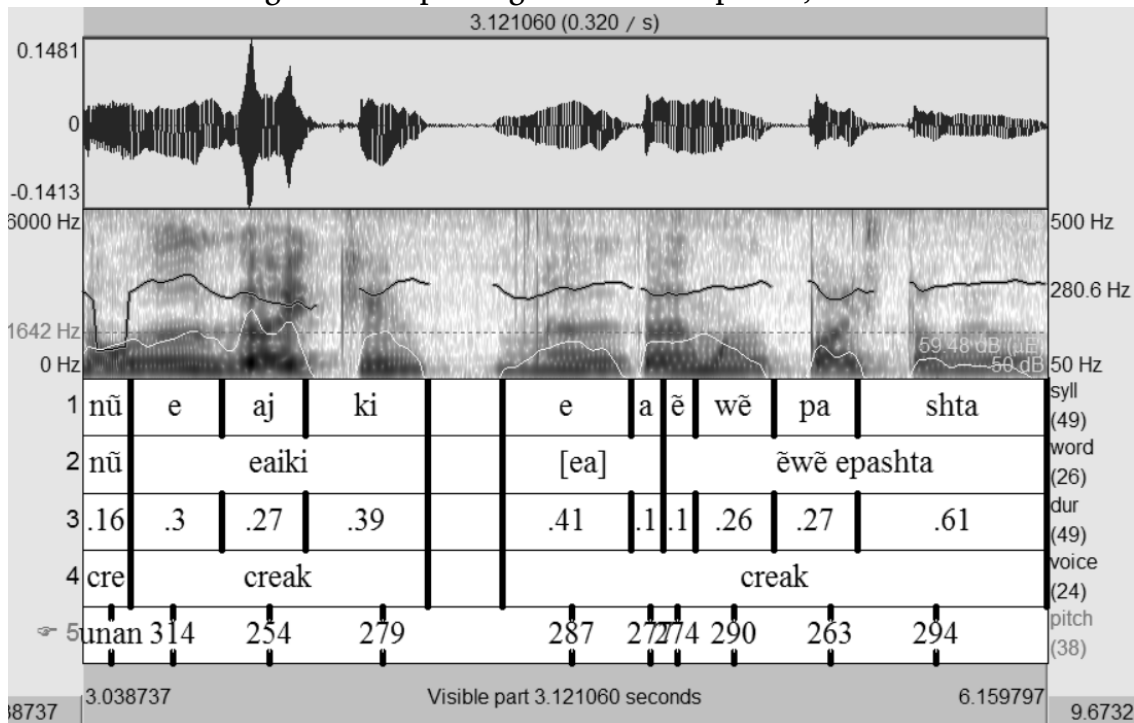
(Example continues on next page)

- ‘The airplane that came, the airplane, Wadu.’

- (CN.MML.mi-papa-se-ha-muerto.0444)



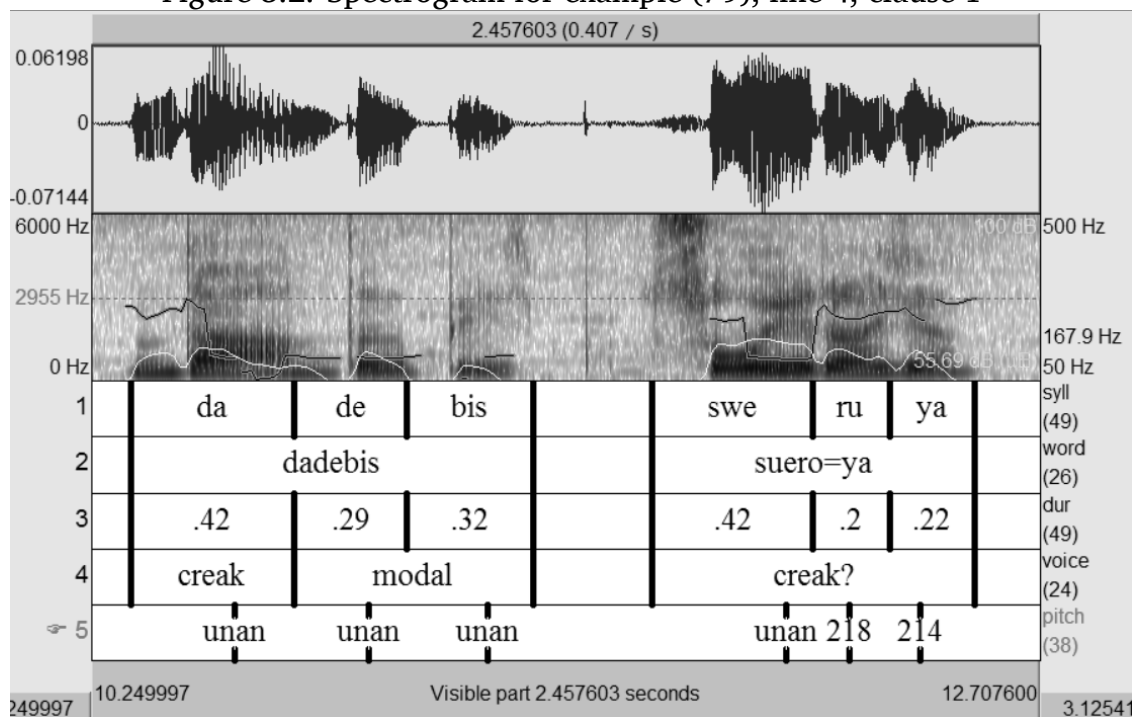
Figure 5.1: Spectrogram for example 79, line 2



The third utterance, about the arrival of the plane, returns to a normal volume level with modal voicing, only to drop in volume and resume creaking in the final utterance (79) line 4. By the final words of this utterance, *mã kai* 'he was leaving', Maríá's voice is barely above a whisper, and the final off-glide of the verb *kai* is considerably longer than other vowels in the excerpt.

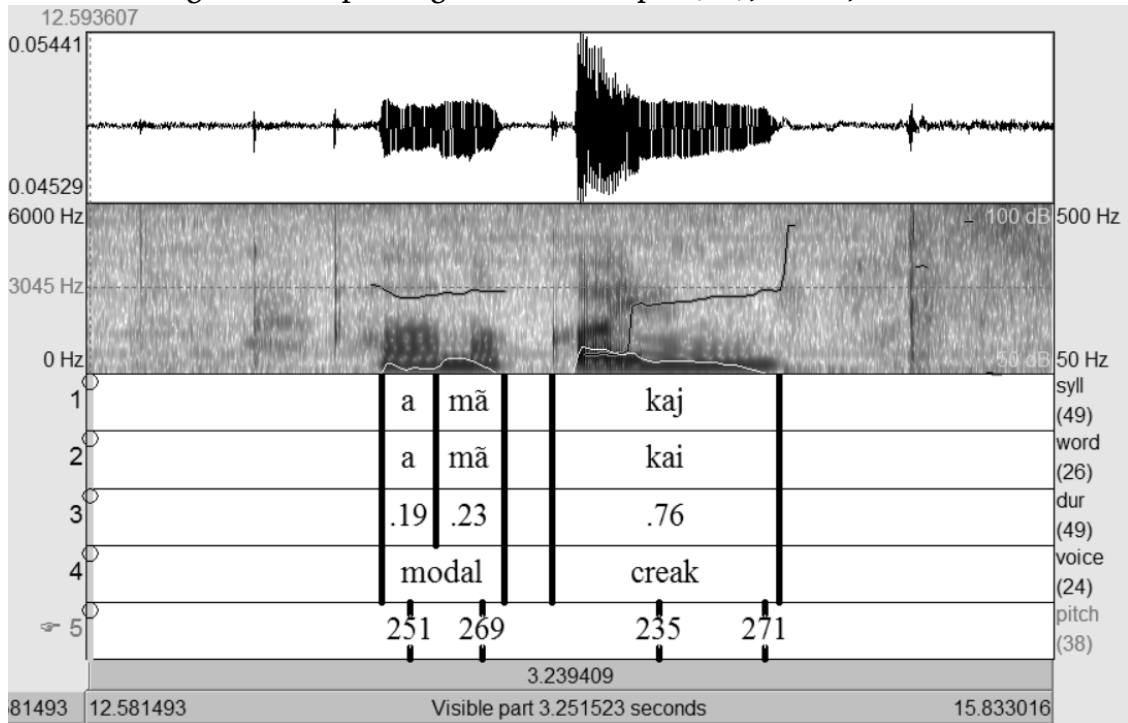
In the above example, we see examples of all three pitch-based features of sad speech. Between the first two utterances, there is a rise of approximately 40Hz when Maríá begins to describe her crying to a relative global high pitch, which, in conjunction with the use of the diminutive *-sh tá* on *ép á* 'father', expresses affection for her father. Then the pitch drops in the third utterance to the level of the beginning of the first utterance (approximately 265Hz), reaching a global low pitch below 220Hz as she describes the last time she saw her father, an example of global low pitch as resource for expressing a negative evaluation or fear in conjunction with sadness. In the final, most characteristically 'sad' utterance, (79) line 4, the spectrograms for which are given in figures 5.2 and 5.3, we see final rising pitch (to 265Hz at the end of the utterance), the third feature of *shín ài* 'sad' speech.

Figure 5.2: Spectrogram for example (79), line 4, clause 1



This example shows that there is no single intonational contour that characterizes *shín ài* 'sad' speech. While final rising intonation is not known to characterize other affective ways of speaking, global high and global low are associated with other affects in addition to *shín ài*. Global high pitch is associated with affection, and therefore often found in contexts expressing bereavement or concern for others, where the emotional attachment

Figure 5.3: Spectrogram for example (79), line 4, clause 2



between the speaker and the object is being foregrounded. Global low pitch is associated with negative evaluations (see chapter on complaining speech), and therefore often found in contexts where speakers are discussing events that are viewed negatively (i.e., events with unfavorable outcomes). The final sharp rise in pitch that is seen in examples such as (79) line 4, appears to be most common in ‘sad’ or concerned speech, particularly when the outcome is unknown, or, as in the above example, when the speaker is narrating their emotional reaction to a past event as if it were occurring in the present, in which case this rise indicates the uncertainty that they felt in that moment. This rise is also found in example (83) line 7 in section 5.3.1, and in example (82) line 1 in section 5.2.4.

### 5.2.2 Example: the massacre

In this section, I discuss a speech sample where the speaker, María Luísa, spontaneously volunteered a personal narrative about the death of her family. As in the previous section, this example contains many features of *shǐnǎi* ‘sad’ speech, and serves as a prototypical example of such speech. In this example, she is on the verge of tears, and some features of ‘sad’ speech are barely distinguishable from the sound of actual crying. In particular, the creak and raised pitch toward the end of (80) line 2 appear to be due, in large part, to non-linguistic physiological factors involving tension in the larynx due to crying. In comparison with the example in section 5.2.1, which does not involve actual crying, we

see that some of the pitch and voicing features of *shínàì* ‘sad’ speech imitate the physiology of crying to index sadness.

The sentences in (80) come from a personal narrative by María Luisa Garcelán Álvarez relating the deaths of her family in a massacre that took place sometime around 1960. This massacre was the event that precipitated the Yaminawa of the alto Río Sepahua entering into sustained contact. Prior to this event, many of them lived in a state of initial contact and voluntary isolation, living mostly deep in the forest in the interfluvial zones between the Sepahua, Las Piedras, and Alto Purus rivers. Most of the initial contact involved young Yaminawa men stealing machetes, pots, clothing, and other manufactured objects from loggers or other Peruvians entering Yaminawa territory. According to the Yaminawa (as well as some Amahuaca), this prompted Padre Ricardo Álvarez Lobo, who was at the time responsible for the Dominican mission in Sepahua, to provide the Amahuaca with shotgun shells and cash to *conquistar* (forcibly contact) the Yaminawa, who at the time were only armed with bows, arrows, and spears. While the Yaminawa and Amahuaca had numerous prior violent conflicts, this massacre was by far the bloodiest and most traumatic in their memory. Men, women, children, and the elderly were all victims. María Luísa, then around 8 years old, survived that day because she was playing in the forest with some of her cousins. She was captured and kept as a *criada* or *servienta* (‘servant’), along with the other surviving girls, until she was around 11 years old, when an older male relative was able to reclaim her. This history was difficult for María Luísa to tell, and it is difficult to listen to, but it is a history that she and other Yaminawa consider very important, and which they frequently remember and narrate.

- (80) 1. ea ēwã rētēdiwudu ((.4s audible exhale))

ea            ewa            =N    rete -N    -di            =wu =du  
1SG.ACC my.mother =VOC kill -MAL -PST6 =PL =DS

‘After they had killed my mother,’

2. ēwã uba ((.3s breath)) (.7) ēwã uba, ēpu, yura uba ((.6 loud inhale))

ewa            =N    =uba    ewa            =N    =uba    ē            =pu    yura  
my.mother =VOC =PRIV my.mother =VOC =PRIV 1SG.NOM =MIR person  
=uba  
=PRIV

‘I was an orphan (lit. ‘I had no mother’), look at me, I have no one.’

(Example continues on next page)



3. *ẽwẽ extushta* ((breath)) *we- wake werunã wakeshta, ẽwẽ extu, ea ẽwã rêtẽtã,*  
*ẽwẽ extu -shta wake werunã wake -shta ẽwẽ extu ea*  
 1SG.POSS brother -DIM child male child -DIM 1SG.POSS brother 1SG.ACC  
*ewa =N rete -N =tã*  
 my.mother =VOC kill -MAL =IPE

‘And my little brother, a little boy, my little brother, after they killed my mother...’  
 (CN.MLGA.0162)



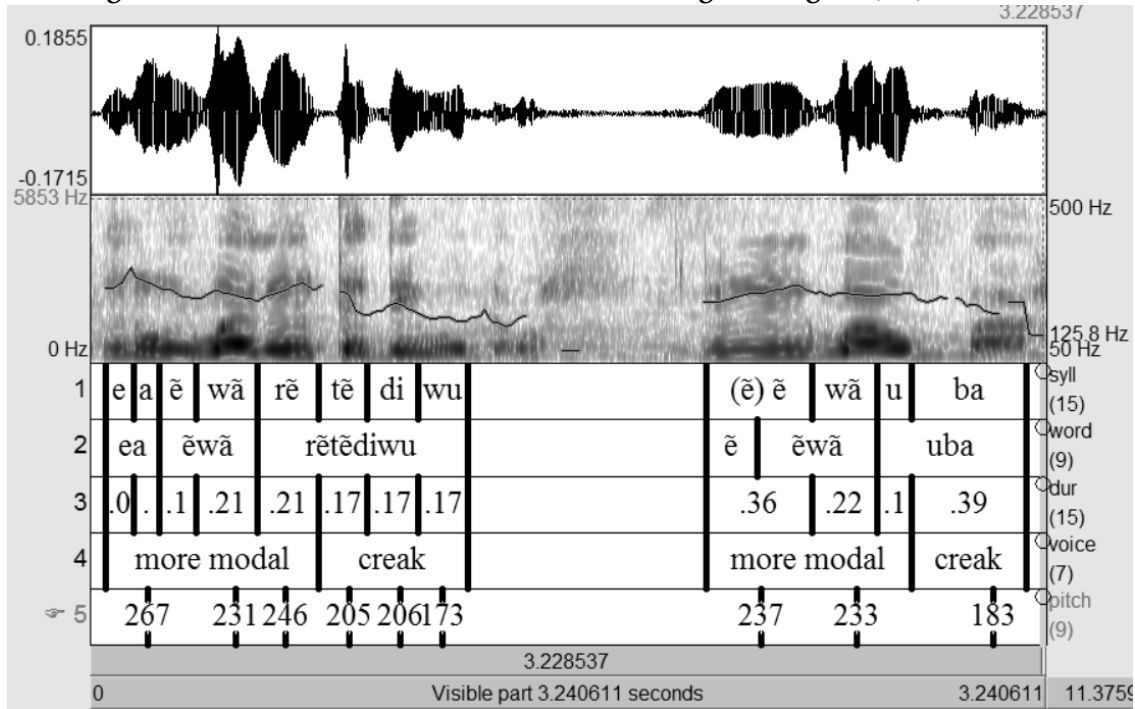
Morphologically, her speech is marked by the repeated use of the vocative case, a resource for expressing affection, for her mother, and the use of the diminutive, also an affectionate resource, for her younger brother. The malefactive applicative is also employed here to draw attention to the personal suffering, a negative evaluation, that the event has caused for María Luisa. On the discourse-level, this excerpt is also very typical of mourning speech for the Yaminawa and Nahua, particularly the repeated use of the privative in line 2, where her speech is slightly disrupted by crying.

Some of the acoustic features used to express *shínài* ‘sadness’ in this example are low speech volume, global low pitch, and decreased speech rate. The speech volume drops noticeably after the first utterance in line 1, and stays low as she recalls that her brother was also killed. The pitch is also generally low during the first and third lines as she narrates the massacre. This use of low pitch is consistent with the way that it was employed in the previous example by María Miranda: to express negative evaluation. Unlike the speech of María Miranda, María Luisa Garcelan does not employ final vowel lengthening in this excerpt, or in nearly any of her speech.<sup>121</sup> We can see in the spectrogram of the first utterance and the following phrase, given in figure 5.4, that there is a significant drop in the pitch of the speech, as well as the rate. It may appear that there is final vowel lengthening because the final vowel of *ẽwã uba* at the beginning of line 2 is definitively longer than surrounding vowels; however, it is important to take into consideration the duration of stop closure of the preceding consonant, <*b*>, which is nearly as long as the vowel itself. This length appears to be due to the overall decrease of speech rate and not lengthening of the vowel.

María Luísa’s speech also provides a clear example of creaky voicing to express *shínài* ‘sadness’, visible in the words *rêtẽdiwu* ‘they killed’ and the privative suffix *-uba* in figure 5.4. Creaky voicing, which was also identified in the previous example, is one of the most salient and consistent acoustic resources used to take *shínài* ‘sad’ stances, across individual tokens and across speakers.

<sup>121</sup> María Luísa lived for many years with Amahuacas and speaks the Amahuaca language. I have not worked on affective speech in Amahuaca in systematic way, but I have had exposure to the language around Sepahua, and it is not my impression that Amahuacas use this feature, at least not in expressions of sadness. The lack of this prosodic pattern in María Luísa’s speech may be an effect of contact on her idiolect.

Figure 5.4: Decrease of rate but no final lengthening in (80) lines 1-2



### 5.2.3 Example: Wadu's dog bite

In this section, I consider an example where a speaker takes both *shínàì* 'sad' stance and affectionate (non-sad) stance in the same section of discourse. This excerpt comes from a conversation between Teresa Ramirez Saldaña and myself (*Wàdù*, annotated as KCN) where Teresa recalls her emotional reaction when I returned from a trip to Pucallpa where I was being treated for a dog bite. The entire exchange involves very affectionate speech (Teresa considers me her classificatory daughter), but her speech shifts from *shínàì* 'sad' stance in the first two lines where she discusses my recovery, to affectionate stance in lines 3-6 as she narrates my return to Sepahua, then she re-takes *shínàì* 'sad' stance in her final lines (7, 9, and 11) as she confirms the state of my healing.

(81) 1. *mã bia sharawaawu*

*mã*      *bia*      *shara -wa*      *-a*      = *wu*  
 already 2SG.ACC good -VBLZ.TR -PFV = PL

'They had already healed you.'

(Example continues on next page)

2. *mã bia curaki, mã bia sharawaawudu (.4)*

*mã bia cura -ki mã bia shara -wa =a =wu*  
 already 2SG.ACC cure -NF already 2SG.ACC good -VBLZ.TR = PFV.SUB = PL  
 = *du*  
 = DS

‘To cure you, they had already made you better when,’

3. *tii, dikaskati mã mĩ ua*

*tii, dika -aska -ti mã mĩ u -a*  
 EXCLAM hear -like.that -PST5 already 2SG.NOM come -PFV

‘Wow! I heard it like that, that you had already come back!’

4. *awetiarã mã mĩ uxũshta (1.1)*

*awetia =ra mã mĩ u -xud -shta -a*  
 when =DUB already 2SG.NOM come -BEN -DIM -PFV

‘When was it that you came back?’

5. *mã mĩ uxũshta dikaskati (.4)*

*mã mĩ u -xud -shta -a dika -aska -ti*  
 already 2SG.NOM come -BEN -DIM -PFV hear -like.that -PST5

‘You had come back, I heard it that way.’

6. *tii, mã, mã, mã Wadushta ua (.9)*

*tii mã Wadu -shta u -a*  
 EXCLAM already Wadu -DIM come -PFV

‘Yay, Wadu has come back!’

7. *mĩ sanasharaxbaki shĩnã, Wa<sub>A</sub>|dushta<sub>A</sub>|*

*mĩ sana -shara =ax =ba =ki shĩnã -a Wadu -shta*  
 2SG.NOM heal -GOOD = SS.PE.A/S > S = NEG = ? think -PFV Wadu -DIM

‘You thought you hadn’t healed well, right, Wadu?’

8. KCN: |mhmm<sub>A</sub>|

9. mm (.3) |*un poco* mã mĩ *sana-* (.4) mã mĩ<sub>B</sub>| *sharaadu* (.8)

*un poco mã mĩ sana mã mĩ shara =a =du*  
 a little bit already 2SG.NOM heal already 2SG.NOM be.good = PFV.SUB = DS

‘Mmm, you were a little bit heal-’

(Example continues on next page)

10. KCN: |*ya sha-*, *ya mǎ ea sharawaa*|  
<sub>B</sub> <sub>B</sub>

*ya shara ya mǎ ea shara -wa -a*  
 already good already already 1SG.ACC good -VBLZ.TR -PFV

‘It was already bett–, (they) had already made me better.’

11. *nǎdu mǐ uti*

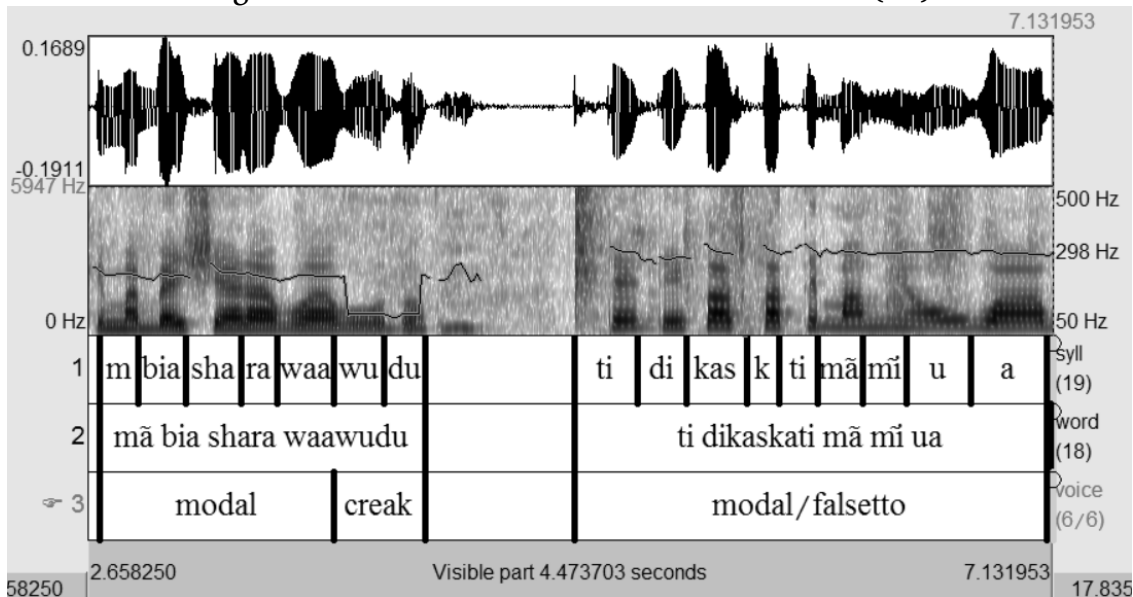
*nǎ =adu mǐ u -ti*  
 DEM.ANA =LOC 1SG.NOM come -PST5

‘After you were better... after that, you came back.’  
 (Conv.TYW.0535)



The rise in pitch between the first block of utterances and the second can be seen in Figure 5.5. Line 2, the first line shown in the spectrogram, has mostly modal voicing, with a small amount of creak, and low pitch (around 235Hz) and slow pace when recounting my absence using *shǐnǎi* stance. As Teresa begins line 3, she adopts global high pitch (around 300Hz), a marker of affection, and fast pace when she relates finding out that I had returned (this pitch and rate is more or less maintained through line 6).

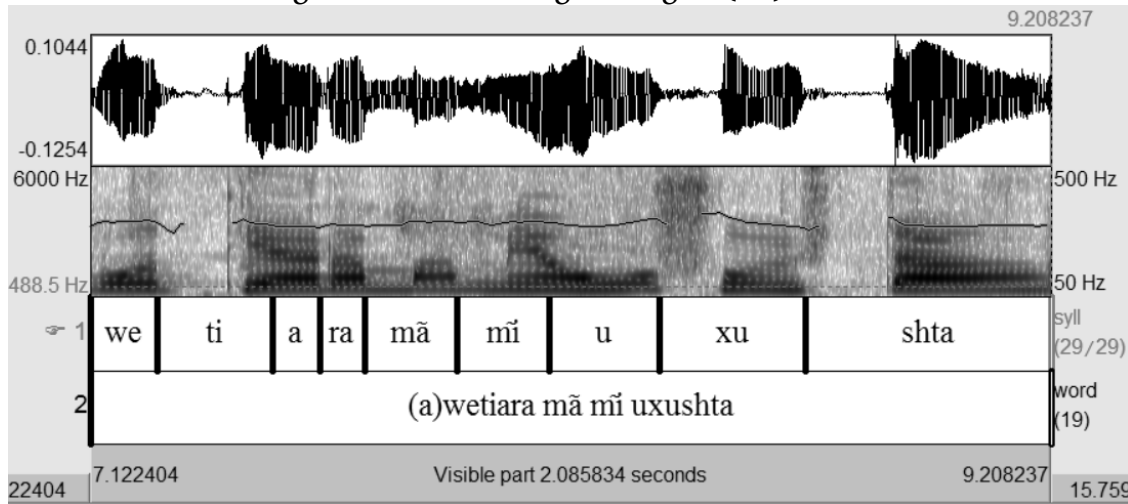
Figure 5.5: Pitch increase between lines 2-3 of (81)



Lines 4 and 5 provide examples of utterances that have both features of affection and sadness. These utterances make use of the diminutive and benefactive as morphological resources for taking affectionate stance and making a positive evaluation, respectively.

The verb *uxūshta* ‘came back’ is composed of four morphemes: *u* the root ‘come’, *-xud* the benefactive, *-shta* the diminutive, and *-a* the perfective. The use of the diminutive to express affection should, by this point, be unsurprising, but the use of the benefactive is quite interesting. Here, the benefactive does not appear to have a strong function as a pure applicative, as it has not added any explicit argument. To the extent that there is a beneficiary for these two clauses, it appears to be the speaker herself (or perhaps including other people as well), who is made happy by the return, but no explicit first person pronoun is employed, although this would normally be obligatory. While there are few clear examples of this type of use of the benefactive in the corpus,<sup>122</sup> this use is not a totally isolated outlier, and it appears that the benefactive may have begun grammaticalization to a more general marker of positive evaluation. The spectrogram for line 4 of (81) is given in figure 5.6.

Figure 5.6: Final lengthening in (81) line 4



The most salient feature of line 4 is the use of falsetto voice, which is maintained through line 6. In line 4, we also see evidence of final vowel lengthening, a resource for *shĩnàì* ‘sad’ stance, combining with acoustic resources for taking affectionate stance, most notably global high pitch. Notice that creaky voicing is absent here and in the following lines. Her lines 7 and 9 exhibit some affectionate features (the diminutive, the positive evaluative suffix *-shara* in line 7), and some *shĩnàì* features, but neither of these stances is fully expounded by robust combinations of features like we saw in the previous two examples of *shĩnàì* ‘sad’ speech. She begins to reposition by dropping the falsetto voicing of lines 3-6 and returning to modal voicing in line 7, where her pitch remains relatively high and affectionate. *Shĩnàì* ‘sad’ stance is taken again more fully in line 11 where her speech volume and pitch decrease, returning to similar levels as in line 1.

<sup>122</sup>Looking for instances of benefactives where no explicit argument has been added is not sufficient as third person arguments are often implicit, and there is also no consistent way to rule out speech errors.

## 5.2.4 Example: Uмба's ankle

In the previous examples, we saw instances where speakers expressed what appear to be genuine emotions regarding past events, but stance does not have to reflect the actual affect experienced by the speaker. Stances can be deployed to index past affective states or hypothetical ones. The following example is an excerpt from a conversation where José Manuel Ramirez Saldaña tells his wife, María Miranda, about a near accident that took place that morning. A child, 'Uмба', was on a bicycle on the bridge, and nearly got hit by a motocar and pinched her ankle in the bike's chain. In the preceding discourse, José Manuel expresses the concern he experienced in the moment of the near-accident, and gives some of the hypothetical negative outcomes (severe injury, anger from the child's parents) of an accident. In the example below, his wife responds with some explicit emotion talk, involving both descriptive and expressive affective resources, about how she would have felt if one of those negative outcomes had been realized.

- (82) 1. sharakapashta tekeaba, tekea chakakũĩ ikerada ãwẽ ratuku adu

*shara -kapa -shta teke -a =ba teke -a chaka -kũĩ i*  
 good -? -DIM injure -PFV =NEG injure -PFV bad -INTENS AUX. ITR  
*-kerad -a ãwẽ ratuku =adu*  
 -COND -PFV 3SG.POSS knee =LOC

'Luckily she didn't get hurt, she could have seriously injured her knee.'

2. ãwẽ upuxku (.5) ãwẽ upuxkunũ wakeshta tekea ubiskũĩkerada (.7)

*ãwẽ upuxku ãwẽ upuxku =nẽ wake -shta teke -a ubis*  
 3SG.POSS ankle 3SG.POSS ankle =LOC small -DIM injure -PFV cause.pity  
*-kũĩ -kerad -a*  
 -INTENS -COND -PFV

'(I mean) her ankle - if she had injured her little ankle it would have been really sad.'

3. ubiskũĩ, apa sidakerada, apa

*ubis -kũĩ apa sida -kerad -PFV apa*  
 cause.pity -INTENS father be.angry -COND -PRF father

'Really sad, and her father would have been mad, her father.'  
 (Conv.JMRS + MML.0517)

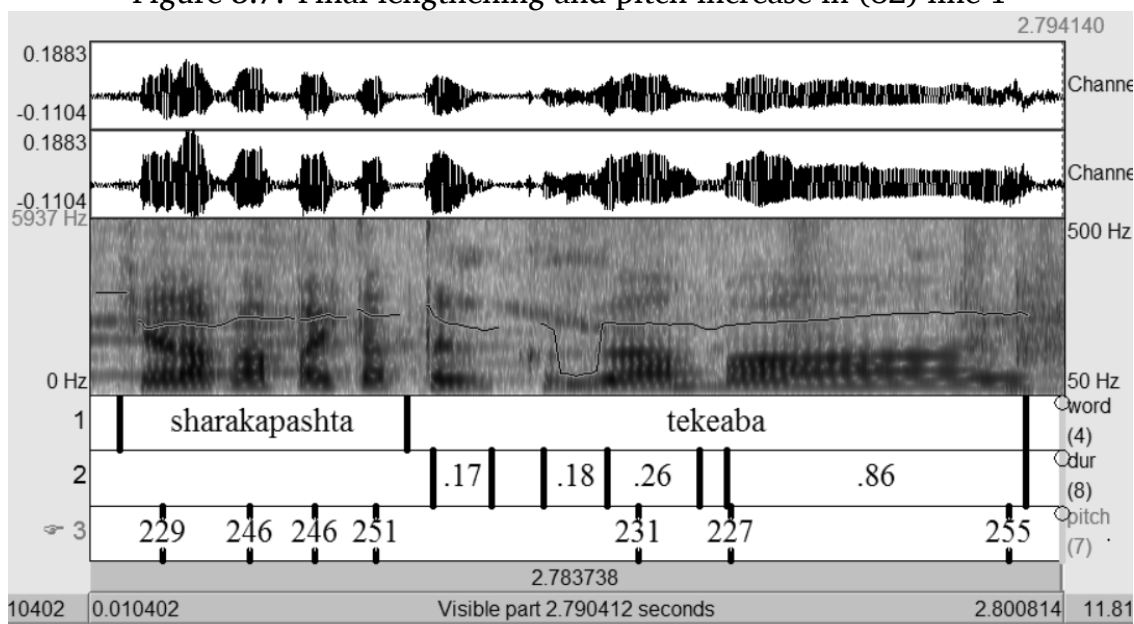


We can compare this speech to another example of María's speech in (79) to see that grieving-type *shĩnàĩ* speech uses more *shĩnàĩ* features than speech that expresses hypothetical *shĩnàĩ* 'pity' for an injury that could have happened, but did not. The number of resources deployed by a speaker to take an affective stance appears to be related to how clearly or strongly they wish to communicate that stance. In the case of the death

of a family member, the discourse may be saturated with *shínàì* ‘sad’ stance resources, as we saw in sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2, where the speakers used pitch, volume, rate, voice quality, and morphology together. In this example, María takes only a half-hearted *shínàì* ‘sad’ stance, likely because, in the real world, nothing bad happened and everyone was fine at the end of the day.

There are several identifiable features of *shínàì* ‘pitying’ stance, however. One of the most salient features of the above example are the intonation patterns. In the first utterance, the pitch rises steadily at the end of the first clause, then starts low and rises again on the word *tekeaba*, as shown in figure 5.7. This intonational contour is comparable to that of the final line of María’s example (79).

Figure 5.7: Final lengthening and pitch increase in (82) line 1



In this example, we also see very dramatic final vowel lengthening: the final *a* of the word *tekeaba* ‘didn’t break’ is an impressive .86 seconds long. The following utterance follows a similar acoustic pattern, and the final vowel of line 3 is also audibly lengthened. In this excerpt, we also hear a mix of higher and lower pitched utterances depending on the affect conveyed. In line 2, the pitch is higher (avg. 260Hz) and affectionate, but it drops (avg. 235Hz) in line 3 when María considers the possible negative outcome of the child’s father being angry (recall that low global pitch is used to communicate negative evaluation). Creak can be heard (but is difficult to isolate on a spectrogram due to background noise) on the word *sidakerada* ‘could have got mad’ (compare to some of the negative evaluations in *sídàì* ‘angry’ speech in chapter 6); creaky voicing is otherwise conspicuously absent from this example of *shínàì* ‘sad’ speech.

### 5.3 The interactional features of *shǐnǎi* ‘sad’ speech

Having established some of the key acoustic resources used to take *shǐnǎi* ‘sad’ stance in the preceding section, this section turns to examples of *shǐnǎi* ‘sadness’ in conversation. In addition to considering morphological and acoustic resources used to take *shǐnǎi* ‘sad’ stance in interaction, I take a closer look at the duration and structure of turns and the frequency and complexity of ‘backchannels’, which are sound objects (like *mm*) or linguistic material like repetitions or parallelisms that listeners take to take stances without making a bid for the next turn. Compared to other ways of speaking such as *sídài* ‘angry’ speech (chapter 6) or affectively-neutral agricultural talk (appendix D), turns in *shǐnǎi* speech (as a way of speaking) tend to have virtually no pauses between them, and backchannels tend to be frequent and complex, typically involving parallelisms. The lengthy excerpt of conversation in section 5.3.1 exemplifies these features.

In the Conversation Analysis tradition, one focus concerns the way that speakers initiate and close particular topics in the discourse. Much of this work has been done on English, where affectivity in interaction is performed in very different ways than in Yaminawa. One important interactional context for *shǐnǎi* ‘sad’ stances in Yaminawa is ‘troubles talk’ (see Jefferson 1984 and 1988 on troubles talk in English). In section 5.3.2, I provide two examples of troubles telling in Yaminawa, focusing on the way the troubles talk is initiated and closed.

In this section, as well as in other instances of interactional data in the chapters to follow, I use special transcription conventions to permit both the visualization of timing and overlap and the inclusion of interlinear morphological analyses. Appendix A provides a detailed description of these conventions, as well as other useful information about the principles I used in transcribing and translating the data in this dissertation.

#### 5.3.1 Example: waiting for Jairo

The following conversation was recorded while Lucy Atsahuadadiva (LAW), her cousin Mercedes Maynahuarute (MMS), and her aunt María Miranda (MML) waited for Lucy’s paternal uncle Jairo to arrive in Sepahua after being evacuated by boat from his community following a severe wound from an arrow.<sup>123</sup> At this time, no one in Sepahua knew the location or severity of his injury, and the three Nahua women made plans to meet him upon arrival at the hospital. The actual referential content of their utterances mostly has to do with their own plans, and not Jairo’s condition, but the affective features employed reinforce that their plans are motivated by their collective concern.

In the pre-contact and early-contact period, conflicts and accidents of this type are reported by the Nahua to have been fairly common, but in the present day they are very rare. María, who is around 50 years of age (and the classificatory mother-in-law of Jairo), witnessed many conflicts of this type, and much of the surrounding discourse consists of her narrating these stories and making informed speculation as to Jairo’s state and the village’s reaction. Lucy (age 29) is Jairo’s classificatory daughter. She has no

<sup>123</sup>Uncle Jairo was fortunately not gravely wounded and has since made a full recovery.



direct experience with the type of violent attack he has suffered. Despite living in Sepahua since adolescence, Lucy is a member of a socially and politically influential family and maintains close ties with her family in Serjali. On the other hand, Mercedes, age 22, is not a (close) relative of Jairo and does not have close ties to Serjali. Many, if not most, of the Nahua are highly distrustful of Western medicine, and it is commonly believed that if a person is required to receive inpatient care, even for just one or two nights, that it is a sign that they are likely to die. The three Nahua women involved in this conversation are all very well-accustomed to Western medicine and typically seek medical help at the health post before seeking a traditional healer, except in cases where the nature of the ailment is clearly spiritual.

In this situation, there appears to be a mismatch between their logical reaction to Jairo's evacuation (that evacuation is favorable in order for him to receive Western medical care) and their emotional reaction (that evacuation is frightening and may be a sign that he will not survive), and much of the conversation consists of expressing their emotional reactions, then reining those feelings in with arguments for a positive outcome or insisting that, given their lack of knowledge regarding Jairo's condition, they should not worry excessively and should instead channel their efforts into finding out more. Most women María's age or older would not wait for more detailed or accurate information, and instead trust the first telling and immediately begin to grieve. I have witnessed at least four occasions on which a telling of a grave accident occurred and the older women present immediately dropped everything to begin the performance of mourning songs, only to find a little while later that the news had been incorrect.<sup>124</sup> There are clear tensions in this conversation between performing an adequate amount of emotional response appropriate to their Nahua identity, and the avoidance of performing grief in the event that Jairo ends up being okay, which is appropriate to their identity as indigenous women who are *acostumbrada* 'accustomed' to post-contact life and mestizo culture. Features of *shínàì* 'sad' speech, as well as the use of Spanish forms, are used in the conversation to negotiate those tensions as well as relationships to Jairo and among the three participants.

While the recording has too much overlapping speech for spectral analysis to be accurate, it is still possible to hear many of the acoustic features of 'sad' speech – the decreased volume and rate,<sup>125</sup> some creaky voice, and clear final vowel lengthening and rising intonation in Lucy's utterance in line 7. Morphologically, we see the use of the 'effort' suffix *-betsa*, which is used first by Lucy when she wonders aloud if her uncle Jairo will be brought to Sepahua (as opposed to transported directly to a larger town), then repeated by María later.

<sup>124</sup>In one such case, erroneous news of the death of a baby arrived during a large community meeting, and the meeting had to be adjourned. The correction arrived just minutes later, while the older women (and some men) were still intensely performing their grief. They stopped singing and crying as abruptly as they had started, someone yelled out into the street for everyone to come back, and the meeting resumed as if nothing had happened.

<sup>125</sup>Note here that the rate is slow relative to the surrounding discourse, but not as slow as typical *shínàì* 'sad' speech, as this was an urgent, current concern for the speakers.

- (83) 1. MML: dedupāwākũiwu ((indicates thickness of a little over 1cm using her thumb and forefinger))<sup>126</sup>

*dedu -pā -wā -kũĩ =wu*  
 here -EP -AUG -INTENS =PL

‘(Their arrows) are really big, like this (thick).’

2. nāskakē, ēwē rayusishta (.6) ea pĩāka

*nāska =kē ēwē rayusi -shta ea pia =N*  
 like.that.ANA =A/S>O.PFV 1SG.POSS son.in.law -DIM 1SG.ACC arrow =INS  
*ak -a*  
 AUX.TR -PFV

‘Just like that, my son in law... (they) shot (him) with an arrow to my detriment.’

3. chakawu dika

*chaka =wu dika -a*  
 bad =PL hear -PFV

‘(I) heard bad things (i.e., that it was grave).’

4. MML: ñātā dikai wunū, dukuti nū wunū

*ñātā dika -i wu -nū duku =ti nū wu -nū*  
 afternoon hear -IPFV go.PL -OPT 1PL.ACC =all 1PL.NOM go.PL -OPT

‘Let’s go find out this afternoon, all of us, let’s go.’

5. LAW: nū kanū, | ñātāpake nū dikai kanū |

*nū ka -nū ñātā pake nū dika -i ka -nū*  
 1PL.NOM go -OPT afternoon fall 1PL.NOM hear -IPFV go -OPT

‘Let’s go, this afternoon let’s go find out.’

6. MML: | ñātāpake dukuti nū wunū |

*ñātā pake duku =ti nū wu -nū*  
 afternoon fall 1PL.ACC =all 1PL.NOM go.PL -OPT

‘This afternoon we’ll all go.’

(Example continues on next page)

<sup>126</sup>This conversation was not video recorded, and this gesture is reconstructed from memory

7. LAW: ipaixũba | papa Jairu | ewebetsatiruwuki

*ipaixuba papa Jairu ewe -betsa -tiru =wu =ki*  
 maybe father Jairo bring -EFFORT -POT =PL =ASSERT

‘It’s possible that they’re going to bring uncle Jairo (here).’

8. MMS: | (unintelligible) |  
 (0.3)

9. MMS: | ewetiru wuawu (unintelligible) cura | anũwu

*ewe -tiru wu -a =wu cura a -nũ =wu*  
 bring -POT go.PL -PFV =PL heal AUX.TR -OPT =PL

‘It’s possible they’ll bring him, they went (unintelligible) so that they can heal him.’

10. MML: | uwe, ewebetsakadi (unintelligible), weru | kakadi nũi | |.

*u -we ewe -betsa -kad -i weru -kãkad -i nũ*  
 come -IMPER bring -EFFORT -PL.IPFV -IPFV move -CONT -IPFV EXIST

‘Come, they are bringing him, (surely it’s the case that) they are (still) transporting him.’

11. LAW: | (unintelligible) |  
 (0.2)

12. MMS: para | que le curaki ewekadi | hoy día

*para.que le cura -ki ewe -kad -i hoy.dia*  
 in.order.to 3SG.ACC heal -NF bring -PL.IPFV -IPFV today

‘They’ll bring him today in order to heal him.’

13. MML: | werukãka | dimẽ | |

*weru -kãkad -i =mẽ*  
 move -CONT -IPFV =INTERR

‘They’ll be transporting him, right?’

14. LAW: | (unintelligible) | aweskawaxũtsi | arixũ- |

*aweska -wa =xũ =tsi ari =xũ*  
 how -VBLZ.TR =SS.PE.A/S>A =GUESS LOC.REG =SRC.TR

‘What can they do for him there?’

(Example continues on next page)

- 

In line 7 Lucy expresses her uncertainty about whether or not Jairo will be brought to Sepahua and the stance shifts back to *shínāi* 'sadness'. The proposition in line 7 is relevant to their afternoon plans (if Jairo is to be brought to Sepahua, then they can see for themselves what his condition is), but her use of the epistemic adverb *ipaxūba*, expressing doubt, reveals her concern that his condition may be grave enough to warrant immediate evacuation from Sepahua to the more distant cities of Atalaya (an additional 4 hours in emergency boat) or Pucallpa (an additional hour and a half in a plane) where surgical intervention is possible. Mercedes initially makes an unintelligible bid for the turn in line 8, but allows Lucy to finish, and a (0.3s) pause, before making an assurance in line 9 that Jairo will be brought to Sepahua for treatment. The form she uses partially repeats Lucy's structure, but omits the suffix *-betsa* 'with effort'. In line 10, María begins with a bid, specifically an encouragement (likely directed at Mercedes) to come along which overlaps with Mercedes' turn, then resorts to backchanneling the assurance, using the same stem as Lucy's form (*ewebetsa*), with the suffix *-betsa* 'with effort', indicating that she acknowledges that Jairo's travel will not be easy in his injured state. There is much overlap at the end of these lines, then a brief (0.2s) pause forming a transition relevance place.

Mercedes seems to find the degree of concern unwarranted, and this is reflected in both the propositional content of her utterances (asserting in each of lines 9, 12, and 16 that they will transport Jairo), and the reduced number of resources used to take *shínàì* ‘sad’ stance (for example, notice that, unlike María and Lucy, she does not use any affective morphology). Mercedes does not have a close kin relationship to Jairo, so her social responsibility to grieve is less than that of María or Lucy. There are multiple possible reasons for her stance here. She may be leveraging her emotional distance from the situation and reduced social responsibility to Jairo altruistically: to excuse María and Lucy from their social responsibility to grieve for Jairo until they know more. It could be that Mercedes feels that expressions of grief would be inappropriate, premature or otherwise incongruent with her ‘modern’ identity. Or it could simply be that Mercedes would rather converse than participate in mourning behavior that she has little social-responsibility to perform. In a normal situation, she could just excuse herself and return to her house, but in this case she was being recorded and had a vested interest in hanging around regardless of the topic of conversation. Mercedes continues her turn by repeating the content of her assurance in line 12, which has few audible features of *shínàì* ‘sad’ speech. Her significant use of Spanish here is notable, as she is more Yaminawa-dominant than Lucy (though less so than María). The only Yaminawa-language content of this line is material with partial parallel structure to the previous terms, the verb ‘to bring’. This use of Spanish may be a way of taking an authoritative stance communicating knowledgeability about how the local and regional health system works, a system that can only be navigated successfully in Spanish.

Overlapping Mercedes’ speech, María asks for repeated assurance that he will be transported in both lines 13 and 15. It seems that she has suddenly realized that the three women have only been assuming that Jairo is being transported, but that there has been no actual confirmation of this. Between the two repetitions, Lucy responds indirectly to María in line 14 by asking a rhetorical question: ‘what can they do for him [in the village]?’ In line 16, it is not clear if the parallelism in Mercedes’s utterance is intended as a backchannel to María, urging the knowledgeable Lucy to share any more available information about the evacuation, or if she is merely repeating Lucy’s rhetorical question and using some of the forms from María’s turns to underscore that what María’s question suggests, that Jairo is not actually being transported, is unreasonable. In the end, in line 17, María seems reassured and backchannels acknowledgment of Mercedes and Lucy’s point. The following discourse turns to the events that were likely to be developing in the community of Serjali as they wait for news.

### 5.3.2 *Shínàì* ‘sad’ affect in troubles telling

Troubles telling is talk that involves a participant relating some kind of misfortune, illness, or other (generally negatively-evaluated) occurrence. This type of talk is frequent in Yaminawa culture, and an important function of *shínàì* ‘sad’ speech is in the context of troubles talk. Jefferson (1988) identifies six possible component parts of troubles telling in English conversation:



6. RST:  $\left| \begin{smallmatrix} \text{mamita} \\ B \end{smallmatrix} \text{weda kaiba} \right| \begin{smallmatrix} \text{porque} \\ B \end{smallmatrix} \text{este} \tilde{e}w\tilde{e} \text{hermano Ignacio vamos nos dice}$   
dikaitaxãki

*mamita weda ka -i =ba porque este ewẽ hermano Ignacio*  
momma soon go.SG -IPFV =NEG because umm 1SG.POSS brother Ignacio  
*vamos nos dice dika -ita =xãki*  
go.HORT 1PL.ACC say.3SG.PRES hear -PST3 =LAPSE

‘My mom can’t go soon because of my brother Ignacio, “let’s go, so we can hear about it,” it was said.’ (Conv.RST + LAW + MTT.0574)



In this example, there does not appear to be an intentional approach component; Lucy’s question in line 1 uses global high pitch to take an affectionate stance toward Marina, and Marina takes this as an opportunity to segue to an arrival. In the example above, the arrival is constituted by line 2 where Marina minimally responds to Lucy’s question, by taking *shínàì* ‘sad’ stance using low pitch, low volume, creak, slow speech rate, and final vowel lengthening. In line 3, Lucy provides a minimal backchannel (she does not yet know the nature of the trouble), allowing Marina to continue her turn, which constitutes a delivery sequence. In the delivery, Marina maintains the acoustic features of *shínàì* ‘sad’ stance, and uses the morphological *shínàì* resource *-betsa* ‘with effort’ in line 5, but she also incorporates the negative evaluative suffix *-chaka* as she describes the trouble (that her return to her village is being delayed by circumstances outside her control) in both lines 4 and 5. In the final line, Marina’s daughter Rebeca joins in by contributing to the delivery with some concrete details about the problem to complement Marina’s delivery of the general nature of the problem and how she feels about it.

When speakers do not take a *shínàì* ‘sad’ stance during troubles telling, this is a way of communicating that they do not wish to discuss the problem at that time. The following example comes from the same interaction as above, just a couple of minutes earlier. Lucy notices that Rebeca’s young daughter doesn’t want to eat, and approaches troubles talk by indirectly inquiring whether she might be sick.<sup>127</sup> Rebeca is not immediately responsive to the indirect inquiry, so Lucy asks more directly, then, because Rebeca does not employ *shínàì* ‘sad’ stance features, senses that this is not a topic that Rebeca wishes to discuss, closes the topic, and moves on to ask Marina about her trip in the final line.

- (85) 1. RST: uu ya? ((encouraging her young daughter to eat)) (1.2)

*(Example continues on next page)*

<sup>127</sup>Rebeca’s daughter is disabled and suffers from frequent illnesses. In general, Rebeca performs very little troubles telling compared to other Nahua women (in particular her mother), despite being a very responsive recipient of others’ troubles tellings.

2. LAW: *no quiere |comer ãĩ|nĩkimãĩkĩ*  
<sub>A</sub> <sub>A</sub>  
*no quiere comer ãĩn = ik -i = mãĩkĩ*  
 NEG want.SG.PRES eat sick = AUX.ITR -IPFV = ASSUMP  
 ‘She doesn’t want to eat, it looks like it’s because she’s sick.’
3. RST: *|mm shĩnãsharaidu|*  
<sub>A</sub> <sub>A</sub>  
*shĩnã -shara = ai = du*  
 think -GOOD = IPFV.SUB = DS  
 ‘after being hopeful...’
4. MTT: *ejej*  
 ‘ohhh’ (realizing the conversation is about the toddler)
5. LAW: *awetia ãĩ wichi |mẽ hoy| dĩa*  
<sub>B</sub> <sub>B</sub>  
*awetia ãĩ wichi -ita = mẽ hoy dĩa*  
 when sick notice -PST3 = INTERR today  
 ‘When did you notice she was sick? Today?’
6. RST: *|ayer|*  
<sub>B</sub> <sub>B</sub>  
*ayer*  
 yesterday  
 ‘Yesterday.’
7. MTT: *|nãtia ã| |duku|tushia*  
<sub>B</sub> <sub>BC</sub> <sub>C</sub>  
*nã = tia ã duku -tushi -a*  
 DEM.ANA = time 1SG.NOM arrive -AM:do.upon.arrival -PFV  
 ‘From the moment I arrived.’
8. LAW: *aya*  
 ‘Oh, (I see).’
9. RST: *dasha |wata|*  
<sub>C</sub> <sub>C</sub>  
*dashawata*  
 yesterday  
 ‘Yesterday.’
10. LAW: *|mm| (.8)*  
<sub>C</sub> <sub>C</sub>  
 (Example continues on next page)



11. RST: dashawata iki taeti yuda ooj

*dashawata ik -i tae =ti yuda -a*  
yesterday AUX. ITR -IPFV first.time = all have.fever -PFV

‘It was like this yesterday, she first got the fever, ooh.’

12. LAW: aah, no

‘ohh, no.’

13. (1.6s)

14. LAW: *abuela* deri wisti mĩ uitamẽ, chichi?

*abuela deri wisti mĩ u -ita =mẽ*  
grandmother here only 2SG.NOM come -PST3 = INTERR  
*chichi*  
maternal.grandmother

‘Grandmother, did you come alone, grandmother?’

(Conv.RST + LAW + MTT.0574)



In line 2 Lucy suggests that Rebeca’s daughter may be ill, but, instead of responding, Rebeca simply continues feeding the child quietly saying something about having been hopeful in line 3. In line 4, Marina realizes that Lucy is talking about the child, not about Rebeca. In line 5, Lucy takes a more direct approach by asking when the child first appeared to be ill. Rebeca has very little to say about it in line 6 and 9, despite Marina getting involved and narrating the time of the noticing of the illness relative to the time of her arrival. Rebeca does not use any affective morphology, in lines 6 and 9, and, while her voice has some creak, the low pitch and lack of affectionate morphology indicate that she is not very concerned about the (mild) fever, though the negative evaluative stance features she employs would indicate that she does recognize that it is not a favorable circumstance. Lucy offers a commiserating backchannel in line 10, but neither Rebeca nor Marina elaborate further on the fever, and after 1.6 seconds, Lucy considers the talk closed and abruptly shifts to a high-pitched, affectionate greeting of Marina, who only infrequently visits her daughter in Sepahua.

## 5.4 The use of *shǐnǎi* ‘sad’ features in non-affective stancetaking

In addition to the use of *shǐnǎi* ‘sad’ speech features in affective expression, these features may also be used to express other social meanings by indexing ‘sadness’. In this section, I consider two of these social uses: in requests (section 5.4.1) and to index old age and textual authority in traditional narratives (5.4.2),

### 5.4.1 *Shínàì* speech in requests

In daily life and everyday conversation, I have observed that features of *shínàì* ‘sad’ speech are also frequently employed in requests. Unfortunately, all of recordings that I have with spontaneous requests are tokens from speakers who were far from the mic, and most of these come from highly noisy recordings of group conversation. The clearest example that I have of favor-asking speech is given in (86), where Alicia Sangama asks her relative Pascual Gomez to ask me for some money to take a motocar back to her house. Notice that the *shínàì* speech persists through her post-request expansion that explains why she needs the money (she is taking a large bag of cassava with her, which is very heavy, and she is quite elderly and weak).

- (86) 1. MRR:  $n\ddot{u}k\ddot{u} \text{ wawari } kaam\ddot{e} | \underset{A}{n\ddot{u}k\ddot{u}} \underset{A}{wawa}$

$n\ddot{u}k\ddot{u} \quad wawa \quad =ri \quad ka -a \quad =m\ddot{e} \quad n\ddot{u}k\ddot{u} \quad wawa$   
 1PL.POSS grandchild =ADD go -PFV =INTERR 1PL.POSS grandchild

‘Our grandchild also went? Our grandchild.’

2. ASM:  $| \underset{A}{jee} | \underset{A}{\ddot{e}j\ddot{e}}$

$jee \ \ddot{e}j\ddot{e}$   
 oh yes

‘Oooh. Yes.’

3. MRR: (unintelligible - asking about a second person)

4. ASM:  $n\ddot{a}ri \ kaa$

$n\ddot{a} \quad =ri \quad ka -a$   
 DEM.ANA =ADD go -PFV

‘He also went.’

5. (appx. 12s pass)

6. ASM:  $| \underset{B}{ku} - \underset{B}{kuka} |$

‘Uncle,’

7. MRR:  $| \underset{B}{uxapaik\ddot{u}} | \underset{B}{x\ddot{u}ri}$

$uxa \ -pai \ -k\ddot{u} \quad =x\ddot{u} \quad =ri$   
 sleep -DESID -INTENS =SS.PE.A/S > A =ADD

‘He was also really tired.’

(Example continues on next page)

8. ASM: *dos soleshta mĩ ea ñũkãxudiba iki, awe katãpãñã ã yua aka, yua wui kai*

*dos sole -shta mĩ ea ñũkã -xud -i =ba ik -i*  
 two soles -DIM 2SG.NOM 1SG.ACC ask.for -BEN -IPFV =NEG AUX.ITR -IPFV  
*a =we ka -tad -pãñã ã yua ak -a*  
 3SG =COM go -AM:go.do.and.return -IMPED 1SG.NOM cassava AUX.TR -PFV  
*yua wu -i ka -i*  
 cassava send -IPFV go -IPFV

‘Can’t you ask for two soles for me, I wanted to go with her, but I got cassava, I’m going with the cassava.’  
 (Conv.MRR + PGF.0518)



While it is very difficult to hear Alicia clearly, there is an audible shift in her voice quality if one listens carefully to the contrast between her first two utterances, before the lengthy pause in the conversation, and the last two. In the first, the amount of creak is moderate, taking into consideration that she is an elderly woman performing typically elderly speech (see the following section), but in the last utterance the creak is very prominent. Final vowel lengthening can be found at the end of each of her last two breath groups: the final *a* of *ã yua aka*, and the final *i* (or offglide) of *yua wui kai*. Interestingly, her pitch, based on the parts that are measurable, appears to be very high – above 400Hz in most of the final utterance, with the final vowel of the verb *kai* rising even further.

One major weakness of the corpus in its current state is that request and invitation sequences are very uncommon because they typically require immediate action, and this competes with speakers’ interest in staying near the recorder. Requests and invitations are very common in the minutes immediately preceding and following my recordings.<sup>128</sup> Visitors who happen to stop by during a recording are usually self-conscious about making requests or invitations, and the host generally will signal that I should pause the recorder.<sup>129</sup> In the daily visiting speech that I have witnessed, *shĩnã* speech is very commonly used for pre-requests between speakers who are not part of the same residence-group: there are generally a few turns of speech describing some unfortunate circumstance (such as arthritis flaring up) before the actual request is produced (a request for ibuprofen, etc.). It may also be deployed in pre-invitations, specifically, in my experience, invitations to share food or drink, where it takes the form as expressions of *shĩnã*-styled concern that the visitor/would-be-invitee must be hungry or thirsty. In this way, requests and invitations are not merely affect-less speech acts that merely index affect through the use of

<sup>128</sup>I could capture much of this type of speech simply by recording the visiting speech that takes place in my own home in Sepahua, but I choose not to because I want my friends to feel comfortable and free to discuss any topic when they visit me outside of our scheduled work together. Ultimately, I am a person first and a researcher second.

<sup>129</sup>Sometimes in these situations, requests to borrow something or invitations of food or drink take place wordlessly, by pointing, gesturing, or holding up the item that the prospective borrower would like to use.

*shínàì* speech, rather, they appear to embed or recruit affective expression as a part of the social component of acts of requesting and invitation.

#### 5.4.2 The use of *shínàì* features to index advanced age

Features of ‘sad’ speech are prevalent in the speech of older Yaminawa persons, and these features may be selectively used by any older speaker, particularly in the context where the elderly person wishes to establish age-based authorial authority in narrating folklore or personal narratives that took place decades prior. Slow pace, creak, low pitch, and trailing final vowels are all common features of the speech of elderly people. Elderly Yaminawa have usually already experienced the death of their parents, many of their aunts and uncles, some of their siblings and cousins, and, in many cases, some of their children and grandchildren. They frequently engage in *shínàì* ‘remembrance’ as an activity; listing the family and friends they have lost and consoling each other with the shared experience of these losses. Being *shínàì* ‘sad’ is particularly strongly associated with older women, and I have heard Yaminawa comment on the behavior of older women who are mirthful as being a youthful behavior, more appropriate to *xùbàyà* ‘adolescent women’.

It appears to me that this is particularly the case when speakers are establishing their authority as elders in the context of recounting traditional narratives, which are considered by most Yaminawa to be the highest form of language mastery and use. When I first arrived in Sepahua seeking Yaminawa language consultants (we use the term *profesores* ‘professors/teachers’ in Spanish), many younger people who were obviously fluent speakers were insecure about their ability to teach me as they were not master storytellers.<sup>130</sup> It appears that one of the criteria for being a skilled myth-teller in Yaminawa is old age. While the speech of older people uses many of the same acoustic resources as ‘sad’ speech, it is distinguishable in that it generally is not quiet or whispered, and it does not involve the mix of extreme high and low pitches that are seen in actual ‘sad’ speech, and does not necessarily involve the use of affective morphology.

The following examples are excerpts from the beginning of traditional narratives, representing a female speaker (María Ramírez, approximately 75 years of age) in (87) and a male speaker (Pascual Gómez, approximately 70 years of age) in (88).

<sup>130</sup>The Yaminawa have a decades-long history of working with anthropologists who worked almost exclusively with older (male) speakers who were masters of Yaminawa verbal art. It is not clear to me how much the Yaminawa notion of fluency as mastery of traditional verbal art forms was due to traditional beliefs about language use or the influence of anthropologists. Community notions of what constitutes language mastery or fluency have changed considerably in the time that I have been studying in Sepahua, in part due to my influence (I have worked predominantly with (female) speakers under the age of 60), but mostly due to local, regional, and national changes in public attitude and official policy toward indigenous peoples and their languages.

- (87) 1. Wãñũ, ě bia yuinũ, dikakũĩki, isku ñũshĩwu, isku ñũshĩwu

Wadu = N ě bia yui -nũ dika -kũĩ -ki  
 Wadu = VOC 1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC tell -OPT listen -INTENS -IMPER.INDIR  
 isku ñũshĩwu isku ñũshĩwu  
 crested.oropendola spirit crested.oropendola spirit

‘Wadu, I’m going to tell you, so you can listen closely, about the Crested Oropendola (*Psarocolius decumanus*) Spirit, the Crested Oropendola Spirit.’

2. isku ñũshĩwu iskadikia, isku ñũshĩwu iskadikia, dikakũĩki

isku ñũshĩwu iska -di =kia isku  
 crested.oropendola spirit be.like.this -PST6 =REP crested.oropendola  
 ñũshĩwu iska -di =kia dika -kũĩ -ki  
 spirit be.like.this -PST6 =REP listen -INTENS -IMPER.INDIR

‘The Crested Oropendola spirit (story) went like this, the crested oropendola spirit was like this, listen closely.’

3. wiixiki, isku ñũshĩwu...

wii -xi -ki isku ñũshĩwu  
 take -FUT.IPFV -NF crested.oropendola spirit

‘In order to take it, the crested oropendola spirit...’  
 (TN.MRR.Isku ñũshĩwu.0060)



In other portions of this narrative María’s pitch range regularly reaches into the 500Hz range, and she often hits 700Hz in a falsetto voice, but in the above example, which comes from the first lines of the story, her pitch stays mostly below 250Hz, with just a few peaks to 300Hz or less. Another *shínàì* feature that she uses here is her speech rate, which is slow,<sup>131</sup> with the story beginning at .17 to .18 seconds per syllable in the first and second lines, then slowing to around .24 to .26 seconds per syllable as she begins the actual narration of the story in the last line. Creaky voice, a hallmark feature of *shínàì* speech is audible throughout, but it becomes most prominent in the final line of example (87) where her speech also slows. This final line also provides an example of final vowel lengthening in the last word.

The following example comes from Pascual Gomez, a Yaminawa man in his early 70s at the time of recording. The speech in this excerpt is drawn from the first few lines of a myth-telling, where he is establishing his authority as knowledgeable elder.

<sup>131</sup>This could possibly also be due to the fact that her speech is comparatively careful as she attempts to start the narration without speech errors.

(88) 1. Adu ñũshĩwukia.

*adu ñũshĩwu =kia*  
*paca spirit =REP*

‘There was a lowland paca (*Cuniculus paca*) spirit, they say.’

2. Ñũrākia bae waatã, ñũrã bae waatãmẽ, ñũrã wãrã wadadikia.

*yura =N =kia bae wa -a =tã yura =N bae wa*  
*person =ERG =REP garden make -PFV =IPE person =ERG garden make*  
*-a =tã yura =N wãrã wada -di =kia*  
*-PFV =IPE person =ERG pumpkin sow -PST6 =REP*

‘A human, they say, made a garden, after he made the garden, he planted pumpkin, they say.’

(TN.PGF.Adu ñũshĩwu.0129)



In Pascual’s storytelling speech low pitch, slow rate, and very prominent creak are audible. The creak is so significant that it makes automated pitch analysis in Praat nearly impossible, so pitch impressions of his speech are made largely by manual measurements and estimation. Most of his (measurable) pitch is below 160Hz (his pitch range extends to above 325Hz in this same recording), with most of the speech in this example falling between 130Hz and 140Hz – quite monotone. While male pitch-ranges are naturally more limited than female pitch ranges, this type of monotone speech appears to be a more general characteristic of older Yaminawa men who lived in the Purus river area. Older Nahua men use much wider pitch ranges. This difference could be dialectal, or it could be that Yaminawa abandoned this type of speech due to criticism from other ethnolinguistic groups and/or mestizos. Impressionistically, this style of monotone speech seems most common to me in contexts where older Yaminawa men are establishing their authority (storytelling, community meetings, and also in certain contexts of complaining speech). The excerpt above shares some other features of ‘sad’ speech as well - in particular, there is significant final vowel lengthening at the end of each of the first two breath groups of line 2, and a slight pitch increase is audible over the course of each of the two lengthened vowels.

## 5.5 Conclusion

One of the most important uses of the *shĩnãĩ* ‘sad’ stance is the expression of grief. Since the 1950s, the Yaminawa and the Nahua have experienced an exceptionally high death rate due to warfare with other ethnic groups, epidemics at the time of contact, accidents, and illness more generally. While the birth rate is high, infant and childhood mortality is also high, and nearly every family has lost a child. For the Yaminawa and Nahua,

there are no social taboos against the discussion of death or serious illness,<sup>132</sup> indeed, the expression of grief is very culturally important, and in Yaminawa ethnopsychology it is considered potentially harmful to avoid or resist the expression of grief.

Several of the acoustic correlates of *shínàì* ‘sad’ affective stance have previously been identified in ritual wailing in Amerindian languages of Brazil by Urban (1988). Urban identifies four salient acoustic characteristics which are iconic of crying: “cry breaks”<sup>133</sup>, voiced inhalation, creaky voice, and falsetto vowels (ibid., p.389). In the preceding examples, creaky voice is particularly evident as a correlate of *shínàì* ‘sad’ affect in Yaminawa, and the excerpt in (80) has notably audible and noisy inhalation (though it is not actually voiced). My impressionistic judgments of Yaminawa funeral songs, which I have not recorded due to ethical considerations,<sup>134</sup> are that these songs have at least the first three crying-iconic features identified by Urban (1988); falsetto vowels do not appear to be used in that genre, but are found in *ñámà ñámà* songs expressing *shínàì* ‘sadness’ for faraway lovers, family, or friends.

The degree of use of ‘sad’ speech and its features is split along the lines of gender, age, and dialect. Female speakers tend to use this style of speech much more than male speakers, and female speakers tend to use more of the features in constructing the style. Older speakers use the style more than younger speakers, and both male and female Nahua appear to use more features to construct ‘sad’ speech than Yaminahua speakers. The gender-based split in the frequency of use of the *shínàì* ‘sad’ way of speaking is consistent with the implicational universal proposed by Graham (1986): while wailing is an exclusively female form of expression in some societies, in societies where wailing is a form of expression used by men, it may also be used by women (p.87).

The features of *shínàì* ‘sad’ speech are highly salient to Yaminawa, and they attend to the acoustic cues of this speech type even when the speaker is several houses away and their words are not clearly audible. On many occasions I have observed Yaminawas hear *shínàì* speech at a distance and draw the conclusion that something tragic has happened, causing the suspension of whatever activity they were engaged in so that they could go find out more information. In cases where community members already know about a situation such as a serious illness in a family, hearing the acoustic features of wailing at a distance is a cue to begin preparations for a *velorio* ‘wake’.

Some of the features of *shínàì* speech presented in this chapter are shared with with complaint-type *sídàì* ‘angry’ speech, which often also has creaky voicing and final vowel lengthening, as the description of the negatively-evaluated circumstances that contribute to sadness or pity have their own specific morphological and prosodic features that are

<sup>132</sup>In my native white, middle-class Euroamerican culture, discussions of death and grave illness are generally avoided because sadness is uncomfortable and there is a strong cultural preference to avoid uncomfortable affects.

<sup>133</sup>These are described as sob-like bursts produced by a push from the diaphragm creating pressure behind the glottis and released with voicing (Urban 1988, p.389).

<sup>134</sup>These songs induce very powerful emotions that I cannot ethically subject my language teachers to. When these songs have been spontaneously performed in my presence, I have never felt comfortable turning on the recorder, and there has (so far) never been a case where the recorder was already running when such songs have been performed.

found in other affective speech styles. Another affective way of speaking that has similarities to *shínàì* ‘sad’ speech is affectionate speech (see chapter 7), which shares some features of global high pitch and the frequent use of the diminutive *-sh tá*.



## Chapter 6

# The expression of *sídàì* ‘anger’ in Yaminawa

### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the expression of *sídàì* ‘anger’ in Yaminawa. I also consider affects that are more similar to *wékàxdài* ‘frustrated’ under the umbrella term of *sídàì*, as these affects are judged by Yaminawa speakers to be very similar conceptually (see chapter 3, section 3.5.3) and their acoustic and interactional features are closely related. These affects are among the most negatively evaluated by Yaminawa speakers, and speakers sometimes denied experiencing these affects. *Sídàì* ‘angry’ speech was performed in my presence far less commonly than positively-evaluated *shínàì* ‘sad’ speech. *Sídàì* speech is characterized by ultra-low or falling pitch, breathy voicing (and initial voiceless stop aspiration), a relatively rapid rate and loud volume for scolding and arguments (low volume for criticisms), the morpheme *chaka* ‘bad’, use of the verbal malefactive applicative *-ã*, and clipping of final segments or syllables. Interactionally, backchannelling in ‘angry’ and ‘annoyed’ speech is less frequent and minimal in form, and turns are long. Linguistic resources used in the expression of *sídàì* ‘angry’ affect are summarized in table 6.1.

Complaints and negative evaluations sometimes make use of features shared by expressions of sadness or pity, specifically creaky voicing and final vowel lengthening. Other types of angry or annoyed speech, such as expressions of criticism, do not use those features. Negative evaluations in general, whether angry in nature or descriptions of frightening events (see section 7.4), have low pitch and slow rate of speech. Overall, *sídàì* ‘angry’ speech has a more varied realization than *shínàì* speech (presented in chapter 5). Men, whose speech is underrepresented in the corpus, appear to employ *sídàì* ‘angry’ stance more than women. There also appear to be important differences between scolding speech produced by adults and directed at children (more clipping, more breathiness) and indirect critical speech that takes place between adults (slow and deliberate rate with long, uninterrupted turns). Though I have not retained recordings of actual arguments between Yaminawa adults out of ethical concerns, my impressions of this type of interaction is that it uses features of both types: loud volume with fast rate and clipping, long

turns with much overlapping interruption.

Table 6.1: Features used in the construction of ‘angry’ affect

type	form	other affective contexts
morphology	- <i>chaka</i> - <i>ã</i> (verbal)	fear
pitch	falling global low high	negative evaluation neg. evaluation, fear imperatives
voice	breathy creaky (phonetic from L pitch)	sadness (pitch independent)
speech rate	rapid slow and carefully articulated	urgency negative evaluation
speech volume	loud	
other	final segment/syllable clipping initial voiceless stop aspiration	fear
turn structure	long turns with long pauses few bids (unless defensive)	
backchannels	minimal or absent	

This chapter provides examples of *sídàì* ‘angry’ and *wékàxdài* ‘annoyed’ speech from a variety of contexts, specifically scolding children, criticism of neighbors’ parenting and agricultural techniques, and narration and reported speech of arguments.<sup>135</sup> Unlike *shínàì* ‘sad’ speech, angry and frustrated speech is not used outside of angry or frustrated contexts. Section 6.2 presents examples of the acoustic and morphological features of *sídàì* ‘angry’ speech. Section 6.3 presents examples of angry and annoyed speech in interaction, and describes the interactional characteristics of this type of speech, including long turns, pauses between turns, and minimal or absent backchannels. Section 6.4 concludes with some observations about similarities between *sídàì* ‘angry’ speech and other affective ways of speaking.

## 6.2 Acoustic features of *sídàì* ‘angry’ speech

This section describes the acoustic features of *sídàì* ‘angry’ stance. The most prevalent acoustic features of ‘angry’ and ‘annoyed’ stance are breathy voicing, clipping of final vowels or syllables, and aspiration of initial voiceless stops. The speech volume of *sídàì* ‘angry’ speech tends to be considerably louder than other ways of speaking. As with *shínàì* ‘sad’ speech, there is not a single intonation pattern associated with this way of speaking. Falling and global low pitch are associated with negative evaluations and fear (see 7.4),

<sup>135</sup>I did not record any actual arguments for ethical reasons.

and global low pitch also occurs in *shínàì* ‘sad’ speech. Creaky voicing sometimes appears in *sídàì* ‘angry’ speech when describing negative circumstances causing the anger or frustration; recall that creaky voicing is also used in *shínàì* ‘sad’ speech’ to discuss unfavorable circumstances. High pitch and rapid speech rate is used in urgent speech and commands in *sídàì* ‘angry’ speech. In addition to describing the acoustic features employed in *sídàì* ‘angry’ speech, I also take account of the affective morphological resources employed in the following examples.

In this section, I discuss four examples of *sídàì* ‘angry’ stancetaking. In section 6.2.1, I provide an example of a speaker narrating an argument she had years earlier. In section 6.2.2, I provide an example of reported speech of an argument between spouses in a traditional narrative. In sections 6.2.3 and 6.2.4 I provide two examples of spontaneously-produced grandparents’ scolding speech, directed at children of different ages.

### 6.2.1 Example: Teresa tells-off Mother Mercedes

This excerpt comes from a conversational recording with Teresa Ramírez Saldaña (TYW) and her husband Juan Gomez Ramírez (JnGR). In the preceding discourse, Juan had been discussing working in lumber extraction on the Mishahua river in the late 1980s, shortly after the contact of the Nahua. This was a turbulent period with various actors (the Dominican mission, evangelical SIL linguists, and the Yaminawa) all attempting to facilitate the “civilization” of the Nahua.<sup>136</sup> This led Teresa to recount some of the resulting political conflicts. In the example below, (89), Teresa reenacts part of an extended lecture that she gave Mother Mercedes when the latter overstepped her bounds. This excerpt consists of insults, followed by an angry defense of Teresa’s right to be in Nahua territory, some more insults, and finally a self-satisfied affirmation that she is a better person than Mercedes.

(89) 1. *mīwi- mīwi satanaskũĩkĩ* (.1)

*mī*                = *wi*                *satanas -kũĩ*                = *kĩ*  
2SG.NOM = SUBJ.FOC satan -INTENS = FOC

‘You, you really are Satan.’

2. *mīwi pa-, mīwi española ariakĩ* (.1)

*mī*                = *wi*                *española = ari*                = *a*                = *kĩ*  
2SG.NOM = SUBJ.FOC Spain = LOC.REG = SRC = FOC

‘You are from Spain.’

(Example continues on next page)

<sup>136</sup>The term *civilizarse* is commonly used in this part of Peruvian Amazonia to refer to the process of assimilation that typically follows the initial contact period.

3. *españa* ari katã(wẽ) (.2)

*españa* = *ari*      *ka*      -*tad*      -*wẽ*  
Spain = LOC.REG go.SG -AM:go.do.and.return -IMPER

‘Go back to Spain!’

4. deduwi ãwẽ bai ikĩ (.3)

*dedu* = *wi*      *ẽwẽ*      *bai* = *kĩ*  
here = SUBJ.FOC 1SG.POSS land = FOC

‘This is my land.’

5. deduwi ãwẽ-, deduax ã kãĩbi(s) (.2)

*dedu* = *wi*      *ẽwẽ*      *dedu* = *ax*      *ẽ*      *kãĩ*      -*bis*  
here = SUBJ.FOC 1SG.POSS here = SRC.ITSR 1SG.NOM come.out -PRF

‘This is my- I was born here.’

6. dedua datiu wakeshta, aka deduax ã yusinãkãwã(di) (.2)

*dedu* = *a*      *da*      = *tiu*      *wake* -*shta*      *aka*      *dedu* = *ax*      *ẽ*  
here = SRC DEM.PROX = size child -DIM well.then here = SRC.ITSR 1SG.NOM  
*yusi*      -*ĩnãkawad* -*di*  
grow.up -INCEP      -PST6

‘Here, since a young child, well, I grew up right here.’

7. ãkĩã (.2)

*ẽ*      = *kĩã*  
1SG.NOM = EXIST

‘I, myself.’

8. aka, mĩ, *españa* ari katãwẽ (.2)

*aka*      *mĩ*      *españa* = *ari*      *ka*      -*tad*      -*wẽ*  
well.then 2SG.NOM Spain = LOC.REG go.SG -AM:go.do.and.return -IMPER

‘Well, you, go back to Spain!’

9. mĩ *español*wi chaakĩ (.3)

*mĩ*      *español* = *wi*      *chaka* = *kĩ*  
2SG.NOM Spaniard = SUBJ.FOC bad = FOC

‘You’re a no-good Spaniard!’

(Example continues on next page)

10. a, nē sharashtakūĩ, wadi

N- ē shara -shta -kūĩ wa -di  
EMPH- 1SG.NOM good -DIM -INTENS tell -PST6

‘ “I, myself, am truly good,” (I) told her.’

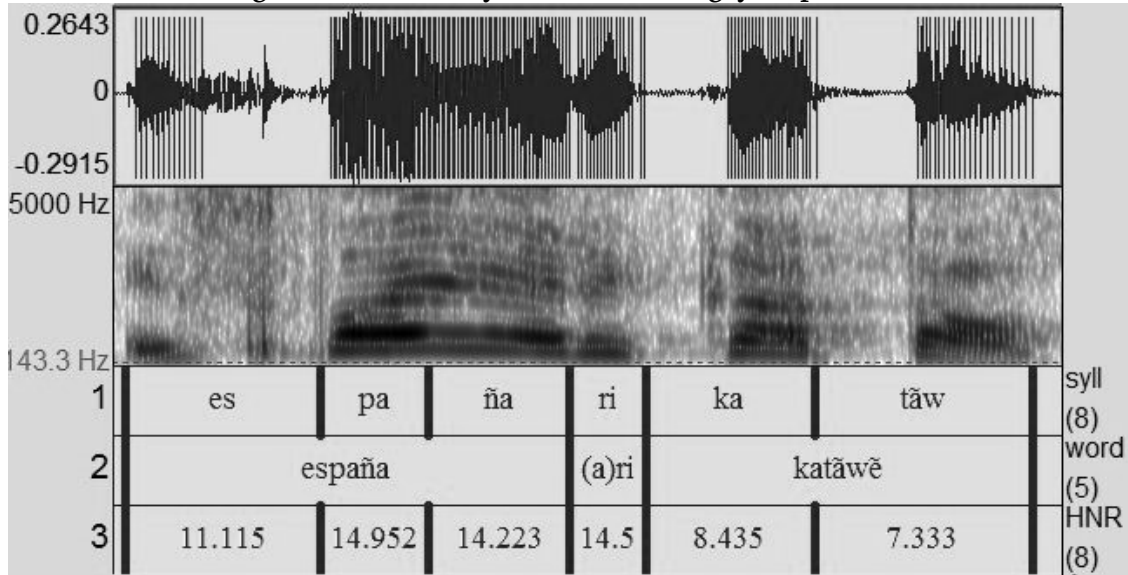
(Conv.JnGR + TYW.0520)



Teresa’s speech makes use of a rapid speech rate and falling and global low intonation patterns to express her angry stance. The rapid speech is punctuated by salient moderate-length pauses (between .1s and .3s), which are much shorter than the pauses seen in the sample of Teresa’s *shĩnāĩ* ‘sad’ speech in example (81). The two imperatives line 3 and line 8 are particularly high pitched compared to the surrounding discourse. Her defense of her right to be in Nahua territory in lines 4 through 6 exhibits the global low pitch pattern. This example of speech makes extensive use of breathy voice as well as some clipping of final vowels and syllables.

The breathy voice occurs in both the imperatives in this except, such as line 3 in figure 6.1. Breathy voicing can be measured acoustically using a Harmonics-to-Noise Ratio (HNR), which is provided for each of the vowels in the spectrogram below. Lower HNR values indicate greater degrees of breathiness. In this utterance we also see that the final vowel has been clipped in her rapid speech.

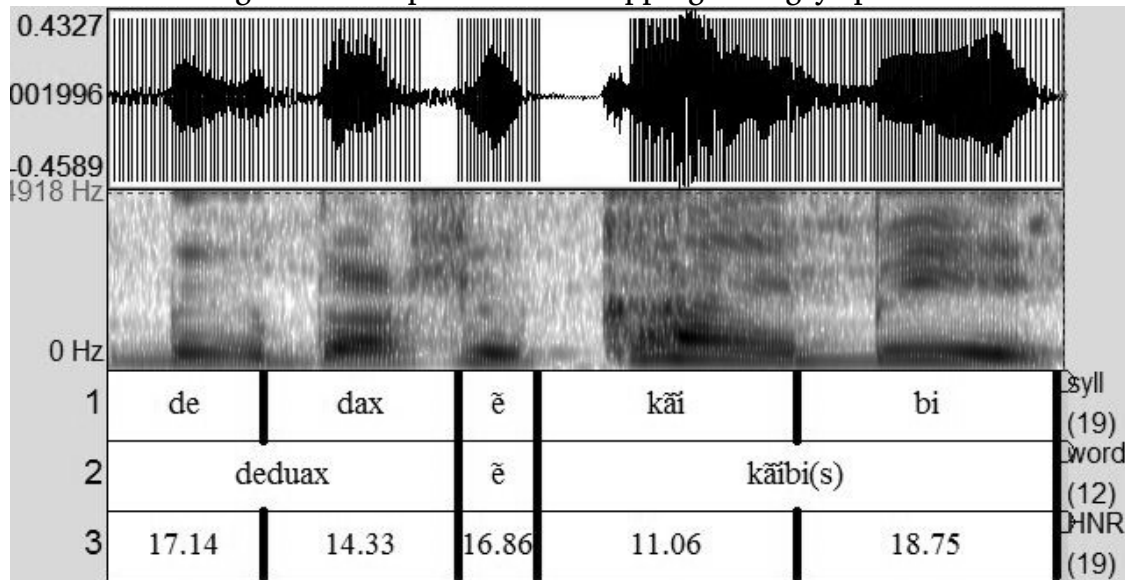
Figure 6.1: Breathy voice in an angry imperative



Later in line 5, represented in figure 6.2, where Teresa asserts her birthright to be on Nahua territory, we see another instance of clipping: here the final consonant /s/ from

*kāibis* ‘was born’ is clipped. The vowels do not have extremely low HNR values indicating breathiness, but there is significant aspiration after the initial /k/ of this same word, and some of this aspiration carries over to the vowel as breathiness and a lower HNR than the preceding or following vowels.

Figure 6.2: Aspiration and clipping in angry speech



### 6.2.2 Example: ‘I’m not making fun of you; that’s just how it is’

This example of insulting speech comes from *kapa ñūshīwu*, ‘the squirrel spirit’, a very beloved and epically-long traditional story. The storyteller of this version is María Ramírez (MRR). In this story, two adolescent sisters set off to gather food to feed themselves and their elderly mother. As they lament the difficulty of the task, they see a squirrel cheerfully chattering and leaping about, so they call to him and invite him to transform into a human man to become their husband. He does, and he proves himself to be very skilled at both agriculture and fishing.<sup>137</sup> Despite him being an ideal husband, one of the sisters begins an affair with another man. He finds out about it, catches them in the act. In the dark of night, as they make love, the squirrel spirit cuts off the man’s penis and disappears with it before his wife realizes what has happened. The next day, he “returns” from his hunting trip and prepares a *patarashca* (meat or fish tightly wrapped in leaves and cooked

<sup>137</sup>He performs many delightful feats throughout the story: draining a lake so completely that even the mermaids don’t escape, resuscitating his young brother-in-law who is burnt to ashes by re-making his body from clay and *yarina* palm, planting an enormous field of maize overnight and bringing it to harvest within a number of days, and transforming his mother-in-law back into a human after she turned into an eagle out of delight at seeing all the maize.

over fire) using the penis and some organ meat of a spider monkey. The cheating wife eats it, and it soon makes her very ill and she begins to waste away. Although she is very ill, her husband callously demands that she bring him water, and she complains that she is too sick and weak. At this point she does not know why she has become ill. The utterances in (90) occur just after the wife has implored him to stop making fun of her. He reveals what he has done and why she is ill, and tells her to leave the home.

(90) 1. *mĩwe ã kaxepaibakai wai* (.4)

*mĩ* = *we* *ẽ* *kaxe* -*pai* -*i* = *ba* = *kai* *wa*  
 2SG.NOM = COM 1SG.NOM make.fun -DESID -IPFV = NEG = CONTR do.TR  
 -*i*  
 -IPFV

‘But I’m not kidding you,’

2. *a- nã- nã- nãskarakĩ* (.2)

*nãskara* = *kĩ*  
 like.that.ANA = ASSERT

‘that’s how it is.’

3. *pu, nãskarakĩ wẽnẽ wuxki pia* (.1)

*pu* *nãskara* = *kĩ* *wede* = *N* *wuxki pi* -*a*  
 MIR like.that.ANA = ASSERT male = GEN penis eat -PFV

‘See, this is how it is, having eaten (your) man’s penis.’

4. *nãdu mã kaki* (.5)

*pu, nã* = *adu mã* *ka* -*ki*  
 MIR DEM.ANA = LOC already go -IMPER.INDIR

‘See, this is the part where you leave.’

5. *wẽnẽ wuxki pia, nãskarakĩ*

*wede* = *N* *wuxki pi* -*a* *nãskara* = *kĩ*  
 male = GEN penis eat -PFV like.that.ANA = ASSERT

‘(You) ate (your) man’s penis; that’s how it is.’

(TN.MRR.Kapa ñũshĩwu.0042)

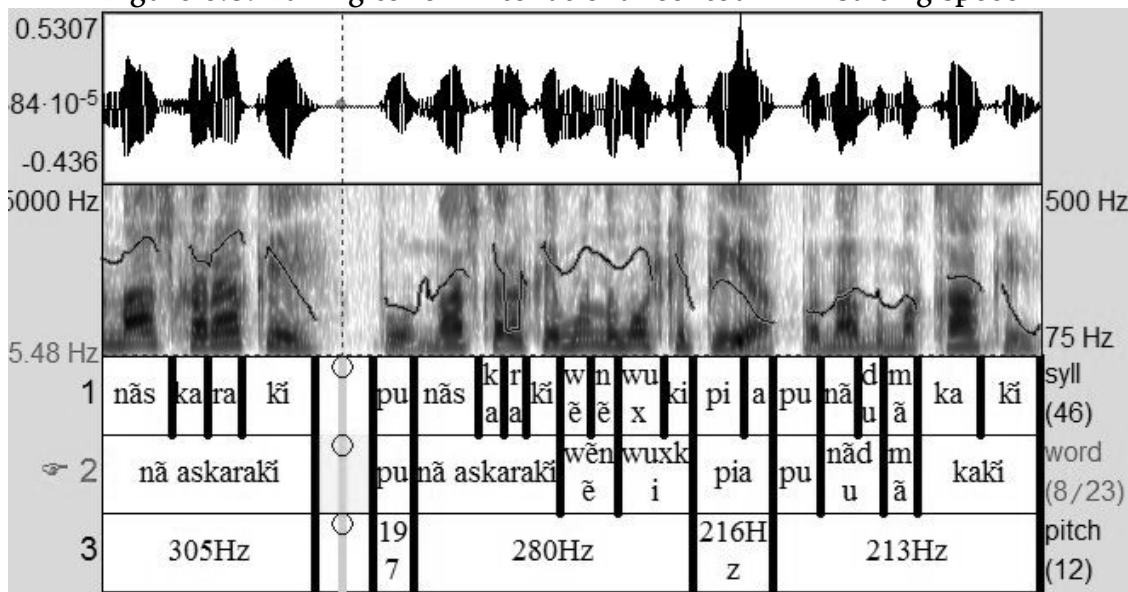


In this example we again see rapid speech rate and a falling to global low intonational contour as features of angry speech. This example has some creaky voicing toward the end of utterances where the intonational contour is expected to be at its lowest points, but there is otherwise not any marked use of non-modal voicing. This could be due to the fact that María is performing this speech as a dramatization.

María's speech rate starts off at 141ms per syllable in line 1, slows to 183ms per syllable in line 2 where she falters, then increases again to 152ms per syllable in lines 3 through 4, and the final insult in line 5 is delivered at a very rapid 132ms per syllable.

María's pitch starts off nearly 100Hz lower than the annoyed speech that we saw in the previous section. This may be because she is performing an imitation of a male voice. She uses the falling to global low pattern that we saw in previous examples. Figure 6.3 shows the pitch tracks for lines 2 through 4.

Figure 6.3: Falling to low intonational contour in insulting speech



The pitch starts off slightly above 300Hz in the utterance corresponding to line 2. The initial mirative interjection *pu* of line 3 is produced very low (197Hz), but the following material has an average pitch of 280Hz, which drops to just 216Hz in the final word of the utterance. The pitch remains low at 213Hz in line 4, where the squirrel spirit tells his wife ‘this is the part where you leave’. In the final utterance, in line 5, (not pictured in figure 6.3), the pitch rises again (to 268Hz) in the final repetition of the insult ‘you ate your man’s penis, that’s how it is’.

There are no morphological features involved in the construction of angry stance in this example; the intonational contour, rate, and increased volume relative to the surrounding discourse are sufficient to express the appropriate meaning.

### 6.2.3 Example: bothersome grandchildren

This clip was recorded while Pascual Gomez (PGF) was telling a traditional story. His small granddaughter (around 18 months old) was sitting just outside the house in the shaded patio, and had been throwing a tantrum for an extended period at this point. She



would not be calmed or consoled by anyone despite repeated efforts. Her older sister (around age 5) kept playing around, which further distressed the child. In his annoyance and frustration, Pascual produced the utterances in (91), which were directed toward me with the intent of the two girls overhearing and self-correcting their behavior.<sup>138</sup>

(91) 1. *ẽwẽ chata iska uri ãĩki molesta waki* (.4)

*ẽwẽ chata iska uri ãĩ = ki molesta = wa*  
 1SG.POSS grandchild like.this over.there see = SS.SIM bother = VBLZ.TR  
 = *ki*  
 = SS.SIM

‘My grandchild, like this, looking over there, she’s bothering (us).’

2. *bia ishangaã axii(ki), chakanã axii(ki)*

*bia ishanga = nã ak -xi -i = ki chaka = nã*  
 2SG.ACC stinging.nettle = INS AUX.TR -FUT.IPFV -IPFV = ASSERT bad = INS  
*ak -xi -i = ki*  
 AUX.TR -FUT.IPFV -IPFV = ASSERT

‘I’m gonna get you with *ishanga*,<sup>139</sup> I’m gonna get (you) with something bad!’  
 (CN.PGF.0586)




One of the most salient features of the example above is the rate of speech. In line 1 the rate averages 155ms per syllable and in line 2 the rate is slightly faster at 144ms per syllable. In contrast, the immediately following utterance has a rate of 252ms per syllable,<sup>140</sup> and Pascual’s average narration speech rate, sampled across multiple texts, is typically around 200-220ms per syllable. The clipping of the final syllable of line 2 is another characteristic of angry or annoyed speech (in contrast to final vowel lengthening seen in expressions of sadness and pity). The syllable rate of utterances (throughout this chapter) is calculated based on the number of syllables which were actually produced.

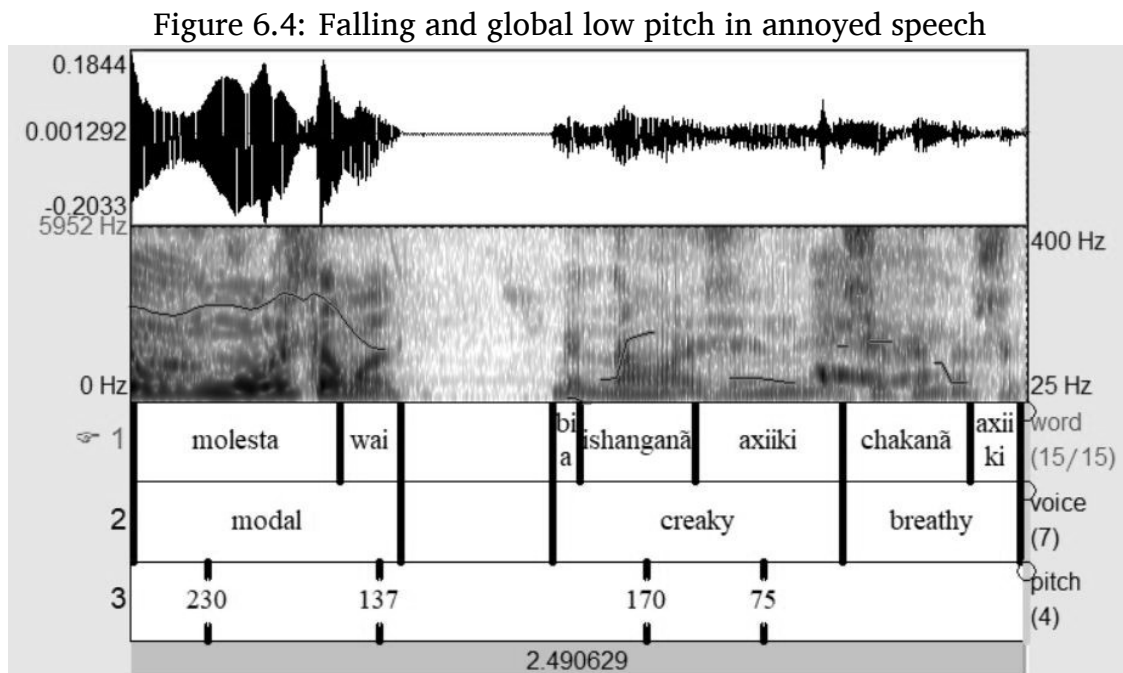
The intonational contour of the utterances is another characteristic of annoyed, complaining speech. The pitch starts high in line 1 when he first calls attention to the child, then drops at the end of the utterance where he expresses the complaint proper: that he’s being bothered. The speech volume in line 1 also begins high and then lowers at the end of the utterance. In line 2, Pascual criticizes his grandchild’s behavior and the pitch and volume are markedly lower than his first utterance. Accurate measurement of the pitch

<sup>138</sup>Note that Pascual was a bit flustered, had been code-switching in the preceding discourse about the child, and the utterances produced here are not fully grammatical.

<sup>139</sup>*Ishanga* is a stinging plant, which is used in many Amazonian cultures to punish children by lightly brushing one of its leaves against the lower leg. I have seldom witnessed Yaminawa use *ishanga* (and even then, only in cases where an older child did something exceptionally unacceptable, such as negligently endanger a younger child), though it is frequent that parents threaten to do so, and sometimes go so far as to brandish a leaf.

<sup>140</sup>Listen here: 

of most of the first utterance is not possible due to the crying child in the background of the recording, but figure 6.4 provides a spectrogram and pitch track for the final phrase *molesta waki* ‘is bothering’ and the utterance in line 2, which are comparatively free of background noise.



In figure 6.4, there is a marked drop in pitch over the final word (*wai*, a transitive verbalizer) which persists into the second utterance. The high pitch in the word *chakanã* ‘with something bad’ is due to the voice of the child in the background. This second utterance was produced at a volume that was only audible to me, and not to other participants in the interaction (Pascual’s wife and grandchildren outside the house), yet the second person pronoun used refers to any one of the grandchildren. In addition to low volume, the second utterance makes use of non-modal voicing types. Figures 6.5 and 6.6 show creaky and breathy voicing in detail.

The creaky voice in figure 6.5 is phonetically linked to the extreme low pitch of the utterance, and is unlikely to be related to the pitch-independent creak that is characteristic of sad and pitying speech. In figure 6.6 the pulses become less structured and increasingly less clear in the spectrogram as Pascual approaches the end of the utterance. The final vowel is hardly recognizable as such (recall that the underlying final syllable has been clipped). The initial affricate of the word *chakanã* ‘with something bad’ lacks a clear burst and has undergone lenition to a fricative.<sup>141</sup>

<sup>141</sup>It is possible that this lenition is due to other factors, such as Pascual’s use of dentures and/or the rapid rate of speech. See example for an instance of aspiration of voiceless stops, which does appear to be a feature linked to annoyed or angry speech.

Figure 6.5: Creaky voice in annoyed speech

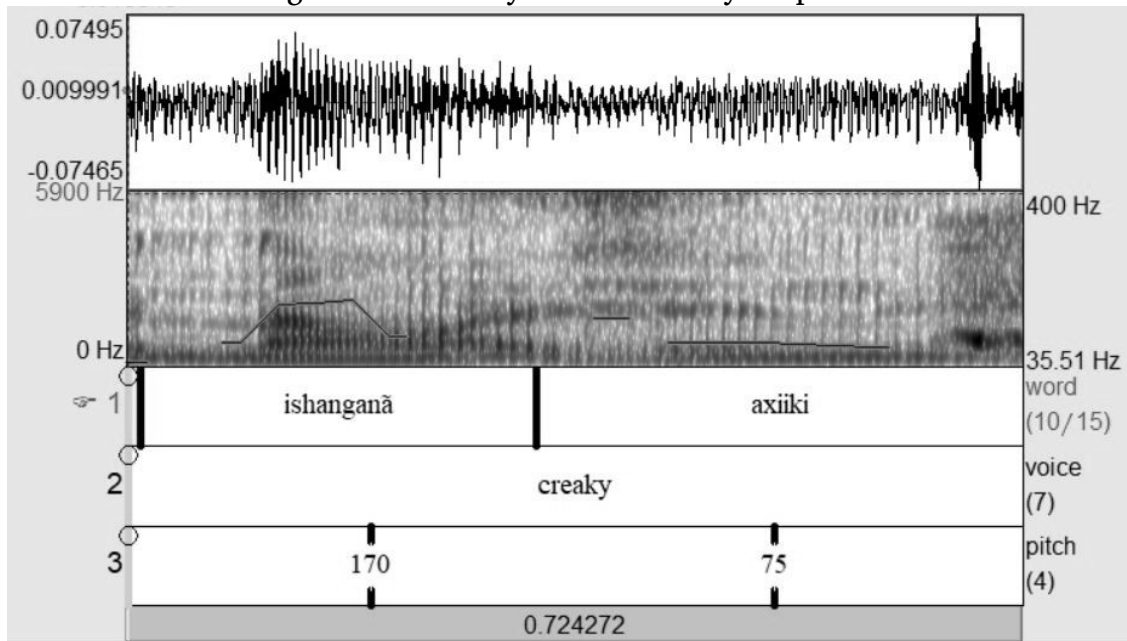
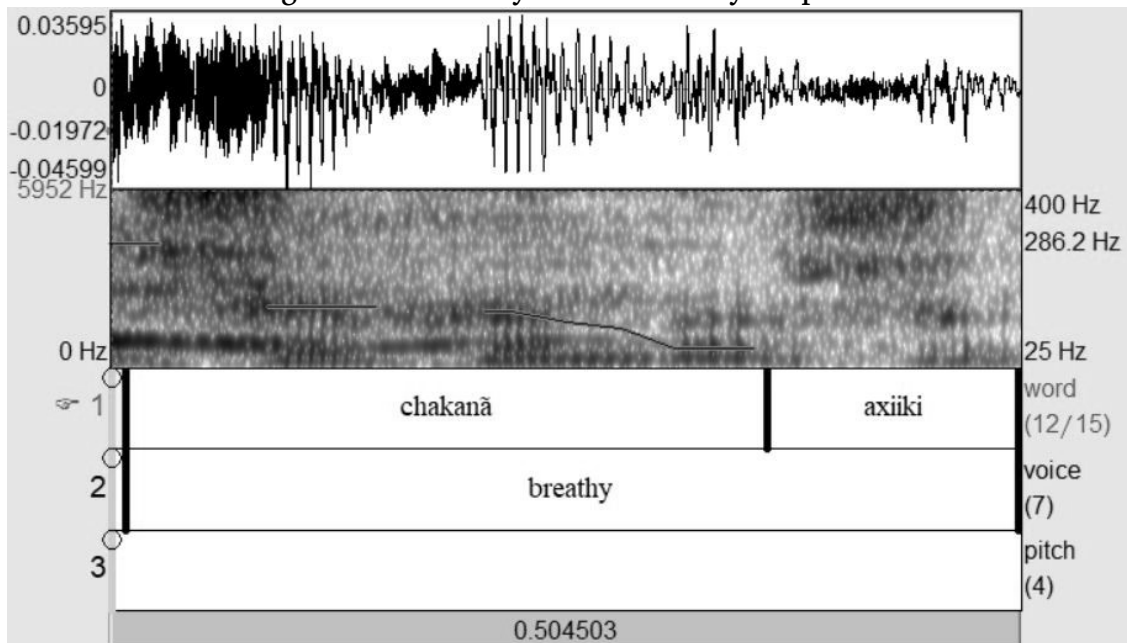


Figure 6.6: Breathy voice in annoyed speech



Pascual, who was born before the contact period, is a devoted and loving grandfather and great-grandfather to over 40 grandchildren and great-grandchildren in Barrio Centroamérica alone at the time of this writing. None of the grandchildren are currently fluent speakers of Yaminawa. His frustration at the crying child appeared compounded by two factors: that the grandchildren present were not able to understand him or his wife, and that the tantrum itself and the inattentiveness of the three older children were, according to his wife María Ramírez, not appropriate Yaminawa behaviors. He employs the Spanish word *molesta(r)* ‘to bother’ instead of the Yaminawa *wékàxwái* ‘to bother or annoy’, likely in an attempt to get his grandchildren to understand at least part of his meaning.<sup>142</sup>

### 6.2.4 Example: “you’re going out again?!”

In this example, which also took place in María Ramírez (MRR) and Pascual Gomez’s (PGF) home while recording texts, an adolescent great-grandchild came by to ask if his cousin (also a male adolescent grandchild) could take out the motocar as a favor. Pascual and María initially believe that the adolescent is just looking to go for a joyride. María complains about the frequency of their rides, but the adolescent doesn’t understand or know how to respond, so I explain (in Spanish) that he wants to use it for a work purpose, which Pascual then corroborates. María is still annoyed, however, and tells him to go wait because they can go later.

- (92) 1. MRR: awamẽ (unintelligible) nãwi iskai?

*awa =mẽ      nã                  =wi              iska      -i*  
 what =INTERR DEM.ANA =SUBJ.FOC like.this -IPFV

‘What is it? The very same one?’

2. PGF: awiãñã kaxepai (unintelligible) (.8)

*awiãñã kaxe -pai      -i*  
 again play -DESID -IPFV

‘He wants to go play again.’

3. MRR: awiãñã wukapaikadirukukai

*awiãñã wu      -ka                      -pai      -kad      -i      =ruku      =kai*  
 again go.PL -AM:go.doing -DESID -PL.IPFV -IPFV =CNTEXP =CONTR

‘But how is it that he wants to go out again!’

(Example continues on next page)

<sup>142</sup>Interestingly, the word *molestar* ‘to bother’ is used by many Yaminawa, but only to describe bothersome behaviors of children, while the native Yaminawa *wékàx* ‘annoyance’ has been maintained to refer to annoyances more generally (e.g., waiting in a long line, interacting with drunk people while sober, constant passing of motocars and trucks on the road.)

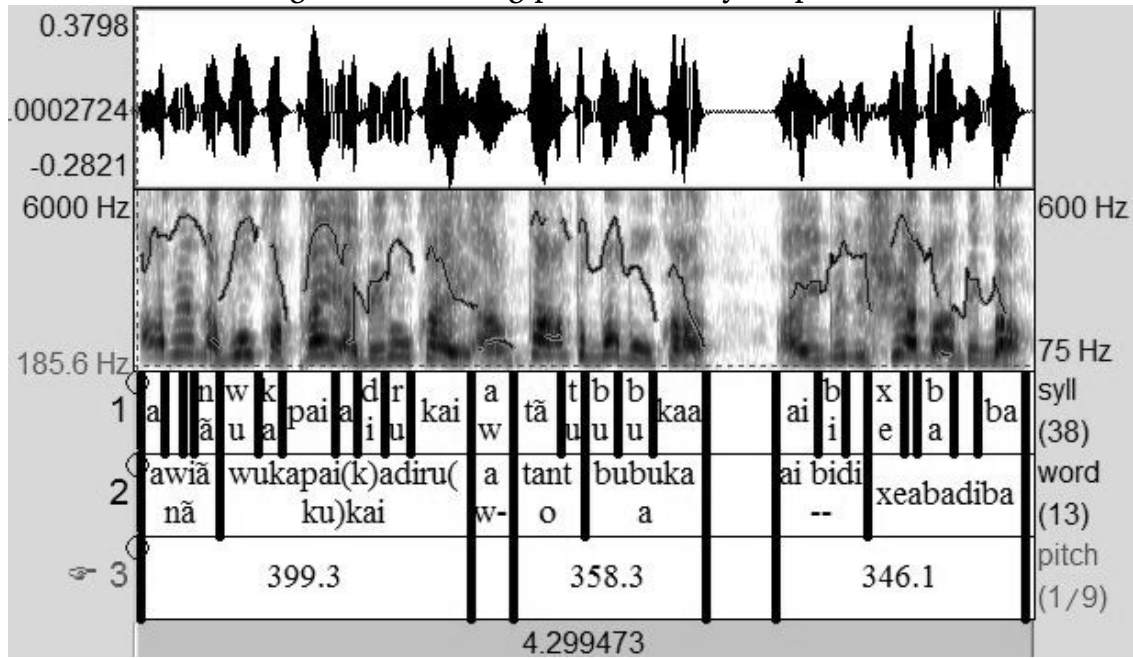
4. MRR: aw– *tanto* *bubu* *-ka* *-a* *xeabad* *-i* = *ba*  
 so.much play.in.water? -AM:go.doing -PFV fish.with.hook -IPFV = NEG  
 ‘He went to play in the water(?) so much, (but) he doesn’t fish.’
5. KCN: *no, va a hacer carrera* |*dice*|  
 A A  
 ‘No, he said he’s going to pay him (to transport firewood or agricultural products).’
6. PGF: |(unintelligible)| (1.0) *aa campo* (1.0) *punta campo* *ichubadikia*|*kai*|  
 A A B B  
*punta campo ichu -bad -i =kia =kai*  
 punta campo run -CAUS -IPFV = REP = CONTR  
 ‘Oh, so then (in that case) he says he’s going to run him to Punta Campo.’
7. MRR: |*ba*|*dayukāki* *wutāxakāki*  
 B B  
*bada -yu -kad -ki wu -tad -xa -kad*  
 wait -do.first -PL.NF -IMPER.INDIR go.PL -AM:go.do.and.return -LAPSE -PL.NF  
*-ki*  
 -LAPSE  
 ‘Wait first, then y’all can go out.’  
 (TN.MRR.0595)



In this example, I focus on María’s speech. In her first block of speech (lines 3 through 4) she is overtly criticizing her grandsons’ behavior, using many of the same features that we saw in the example discussed in section 6.2.3: rapid speech rate, falling intonation, and loud speech volume (compare the first line of (92) to any of María’s following lines). In the first block of annoyed speech, her speech rate is 159ms per syllable from the beginning of line 3 to the pause in the middle of line 4 and increases slightly to 149ms in the final block of speech after her pause at the end of line 4. Figure 6.7 shows the pitch track for the speech in lines 3 through 4. Her pitch starts off just under 400 Hz, then drops slightly to 350 Hz. The last two syllables average just 287 Hz.

In the final sentences of this example, line 7, María is still annoyed, but no longer criticizing the young man. Her speech rate here remains rapid at 161ms per syllable (compare to 149 to 159 ms in the preceding block of speech), but the pitch drops significantly, as a comparison of figure 6.7 and figure 6.8 reveal. The pitch in line 7 averages 274 Hz; a marked decrease from the pitch of her criticism of her grandson in line 3 through 4. The pitch of the verb root *wú* ‘go.PL’ in line 3 measures 436 Hz, which the pitch of the same verb root in line 7 is just 330 Hz. There are not any word prosodic factors to the difference in pitch and both instances are preceded by a low-tone vowel; the >100 Hz difference in pitch is entirely attributable to affective intonation.

Figure 6.7: Falling pitch in annoyed speech



In the final word of line 7 we find another example of final breathy voicing. Using the Harmonics to noise ratio (HNR) measurement built in to Praat, I calculated the values for each of the vowels in the final word *wutãxakãki* ‘y’all go out later’ by selecting the first 20 pulses from the second pulse of each vowel.<sup>143</sup> The values are provided in figure 6.9.

The first vowel in figure 6.9 is modal and has a high HNR value: 25.517dB. The values for the other three vowels are much lower (ranging from 9.367dB to 16.322dB), indicating that there is more noise in the production of the vowel and that it is more breathy, despite the fact that the pulses remain relatively clearly spaced. Recall that in Pascual’s annoyed speech the breathy vowels in figure 6.6 were visibly noisy (blurred) in the spectrogram.

María does not employ any morphological features of annoyed or angry speech in this example.

<sup>143</sup>I estimated the beginning of the vowel in the first syllable to the best of my ability using the spectrogram as a guide. No matter where I measured from, the HNR value remained between 24 and 26dB.

Figure 6.8: Global low pitch in annoyed, non-critical speech

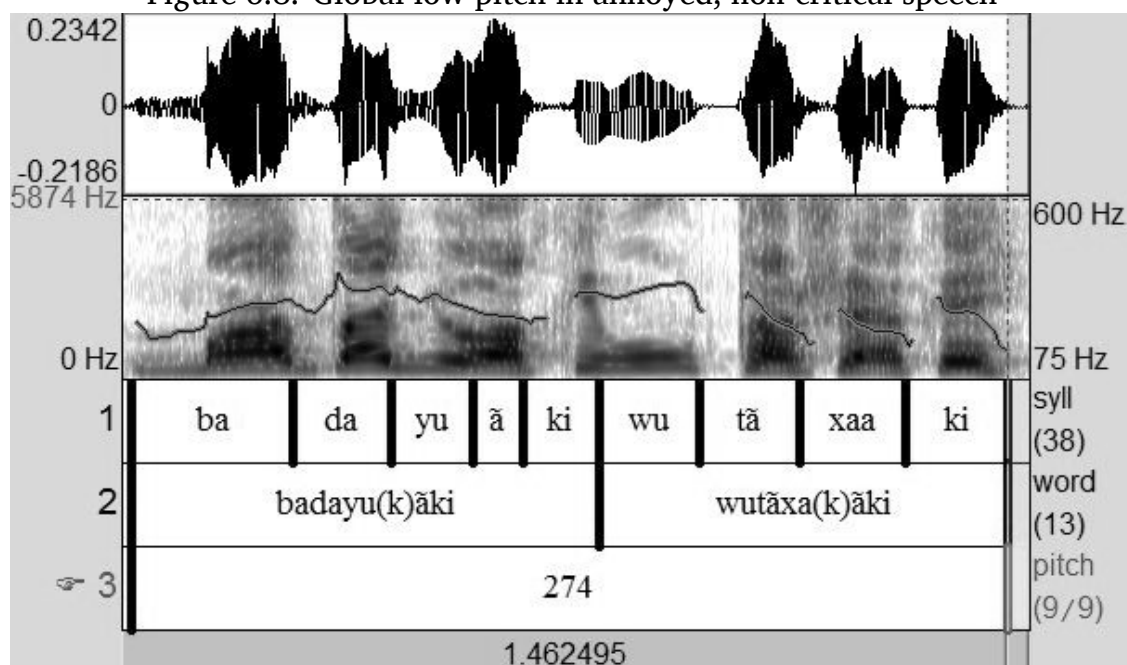
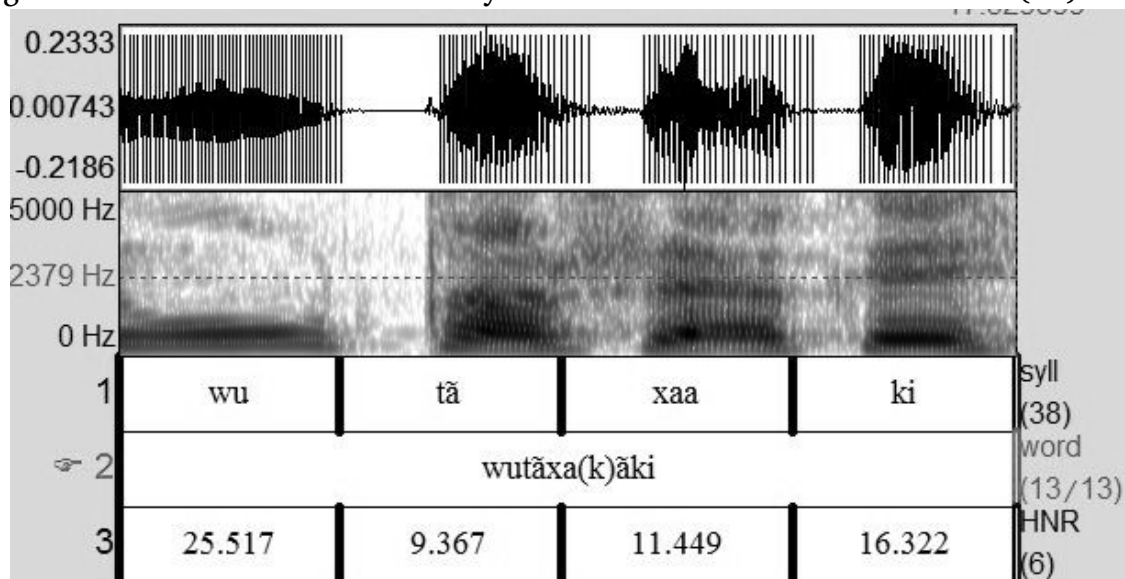


Figure 6.9: Breathiness calculated by HNR values for final four vowels of (92) line 7



## 6.3 Interactional features of *sídàì* ‘angry’ speech

In this section, I turn from the acoustic resources used to take *sídàì* ‘angry’ stance to examples of *sídàì* ‘angry’ speech in conversation. In addition to considering the acoustic and morphological stancetaking resources used, this section takes a closer look at the interactional features of ‘angry’ speech, specifically long turn duration, long pauses between lines and turns, and minimal and infrequent backchannels. These interactional features contrast sharply with those of *shínàì* ‘sad’ speech, which is characterized by lots of overlapping speech and structurally complex backchannels. *Sídàì* ‘angry’ speech has very little overlapping speech, unless one of the speech participants is taking a defensive stance in response to the *sídàì* ‘angry’ stance of another participant (an example of this is seen in section 6.3.1), or unless there is urgency (an example of this is seen in section 6.3.3).

This section considers three examples of *sídàì* ‘angry’ speech in conversation. Section 6.3.1 presents an example of a criticism of an individual who is not present. Section 6.3.2 presents an example of the speech of a neighbor who is frustrated about delayed agricultural plans. Finally, in section 6.3.3, I consider an example of frustrated speech in an urgent context: the speaker is trying to get the phone number of someone who will know more about the condition of a relative who has suffered a serious accident.

### 6.3.1 Example: ‘That ain’t right’

In this brief example, Julio Gomez Ramírez (JlGR) criticizes the behavior of a relative who did not follow through with a deal that had already been settled. In the immediately prior context, his wife, María Imaculada (MIP) has informed her husband that the relative in question refuses to provide cassava to her so she can make *masato* (cassava beer) for a community party, despite a third party having already contracted them. This has put María Imaculada in a tough position, since she is responsible for taking possession of the raw cassava and delivering the final product, but she doesn’t wish to create conflict within the residence group by berating the relative to deliver. Julio reinforces that the relative in question is in the wrong, and María Imaculada explains what happened when she went to ask him for the cassava. The subtext of Julio’s assertion seems to be that María Imaculada should have confronted the relative. In her narration of the course of events in the penultimate line, she indicates that she did.

In this excerpt, we see examples of two interactional features of *sídàì* ‘angry’ speech: a lack of backchannels, and notable pauses between lines.


(93) 1. JlGR: askara sharaba, María (.3)

*askara shara* = *ba María*  
like.that good = NEG María

‘That ain’t right, María.’

(*Example continues on next page*)



2. MIP: *por* |*eso* (unintelligible)|  
<sub>A</sub> <sub>A</sub>  
 ‘that’s why –’
3. JIGR: |*y además batu yudubada*| (.1)  
<sub>A</sub> <sub>A</sub>  
*y además batu yudu -bad -a*  
 and also 2PL.ACC work -CAUS -PFV  
 ‘And what’s more, they gave y’all work.’
4. JIGR: *awe mã yu* |*dua*|  
<sub>B</sub> <sub>B</sub>  
*a =we mã yudu -a*  
 3SG = COM 2PL.NOM work -PFV  
 ‘Y’all worked with them.’
5. MIP: |*yud*|*uxũ*, *yu-* *m-*, *chiku wayabai itiru*  
<sub>B</sub> <sub>B</sub>  
*yudu =xũ, chiku wa -yaba -i ik -tiru*  
 work = SS.PE.A/S > A after do.TR -NEG -IPFV AUX.ITR -POT  
 ‘After working, maybe he won’t do it after.’
6. MIP: *as- raturaya, bia n-, bia kaxũpaibawikĩ masato waaki ea waawu* |*kia*,  
<sub>C</sub>  
*ñũkãwada*|  
<sub>C</sub>  
*ratura =ya bia ka -xud -pai -i =ba =wi =kĩ masato*  
 any.one = POSS 2SG.ACC go -BEN -DESID IPFV = NEG = FOC? = FOC? masato  
*wa -ki ea wa -a =wu =kia ñũkã -wad -a*  
 make -NF 1SG.ACC say -PFV = PL = REP ask -AM:come.and.do -PFV  
 ‘with any one of these, even if he doesn’t want to go (do it) for you, they told me to make masato, I came and asked.’
7. MRR: |*aaay*|  
<sub>C</sub> <sub>C</sub>  
 ‘Oh, hell no!’  
 (Conv.MIP + MRR + JIGR + PGF.0155)  


One notable feature of this interaction is that, despite the presence of multiple interaction participants (including Julio’s mother (MRR), father, older sister, and several young adults and children who do not speak Yaminawa fluently), there is very little overlapping speech, a characteristic feature of *sídàì* ‘angry’ keyed interactions. The only significant overlap occurs after the .3s pause in Julio’s line 1, when María begins to explain the context in a low voice, but he continues his *sídàì* speech as she trails off. His pause at the end of line 3 is considerably shorter (.1) and his final line, in 4, is a repetition of the

content (that they work together) in his previous line. María's subsequent turn in line 5 has minimal overlap with the end of Julio's sentence, and she uses the same verb *yúdui* 'work', possibly to signal that what she is saying is a continuation of Julio's complaint and not a change of topic. This second bid for the turn is more successful and her resulting turn is quite long with no interruptions, save the affective interjection (*ayy!* 'oh hell no!') offered by her mother-in-law at the very end. The lack of backchannels is striking when compared to the high frequency and complexity of backchannel forms seen in *shínài* speech.

While no morphological features of *sídài* 'angry' affect are deployed in this example, the falling intonational pattern is evident in each of Julio's three lines, and the speech rhythm (6 to 9 syllables followed by a clear pause) creates parallel structure of the breath groups. This rhythm is similar to that of Squirrel's insults in example (90), though Julio's rate is more moderate. María's response in lines 5 and 6 does not have the same rhythmicity, but the overall falling intonational contour is evident in each of the lines. The lack of rhythmicity in María's response could be due to either a desire to get a word in edgewise past her husband, because she had already explained these matters to other co-present participants prior to Julio's arrival, because her idelect is strongly influenced by Sharanahua and Amahuaca,<sup>144</sup> or any combination of these factors.

### 6.3.2 Example: 'should have had a *cortamañana*'

In this example, Juan Gomez Ramírez (JnGR) is complaining to his brother-in-law José Manuel Ramírez (JMRS) that his (José Manuel's) wife should have organized a work party even though her husband was away. In this example, as in the previous one, the criticism of the interlocutor is never explicitly raised, instead Juan repeatedly reinforces his willingness to participate in the work party, once José Manuel and his wife organize one. The implication is that he is growing impatient with the delays and re-scheduling. The broader context is that this situation is out of the control of José Manuel's family, as the delays were caused by a bout of serious illness, and José Manuel had only recently returned home after receiving treatment.

In this example we see several interactional features of *sídài* 'angry' stance. Juan speaks slowly with long pauses, and José Manuel hardly speaks at all, contributing only minimal backchannels and not making any bids for a turn.

- (94) 1. JnGR: a- dedu nūwētā (.3) *cortamañana* waiba ikita

*dedu nū*                = *wētā*        *cortamañana* = *wa -i*        = *ba ik -ita*  
 here 1PL.NOM = COM.ERG work.party = do -IPFV = NEG say -PST3

'Here, she said a few days ago that there wouldn't be a *cortamañana* with us.'

(*Example continues on next page*)

<sup>144</sup>The expressive forms used in Sharanahua and Amahuaca are distinct from those employed in Yaminawa and Nahua and they merit study in their own right. My impressions from working with speakers of these languages is that both Sharanahua and Amahuaca are more affectively reserved than Yaminawa and Nahua.

2. JnGR: nã- nã nũ |yuiyuitãnũ|

nã            nũ            yui-                            yui -tad                            -nũ  
DEM.ANA 1PL.NOM REDUP.REPEAT tell -AM:go.do.and.return -OPT

‘Let’s go tell (everyone) that very thing (that we *will* have a work party).’

3. JMRS: |sí pues|

‘That’s right.’

4. JnGR: chipi adu nã nũ yuiyuita (2.2)

chipi                    =adu nã                    nũ                    yui-                            yui -ita  
older.sister =LOC DEM.ANA 1PL.NOM REDUP.REPEAT- tell -PST3

‘A few days ago we told them in your older sister’s neighborhood.’

5. JnGR: mm, *aunque sea- qué-* (.8)

‘Mm, even if it’s only– what–’

6. JnGR: piti westi iki nũ (.4) badatiru ka-, aska *con todas, que haiga* (.4)

piti    westi ik            -i    nũ            bada -tiru aska    con todas    que  
masato only AUX.ITER -IPFV 1PL.NOM wait -POT like.that with all.FEM that  
haga  
make.SUBJUNCT

‘Even if there is only masato, we can wait, in that way, that all the women make it (*masato*) together.’

7. *que hay-* (.3) awarashta nũ ayatiruru(ku) (.5)

que hay            awara            -shta nũ            aya    -tiru =ruku  
that there.are something -DIM 1PL.NOM drink -POT =CNTEXP

‘What there is– but we can drink any little thing.’

8. JnGR: nãwi nũ itiru yu- yuduki

na                    =wi                    nũ                    i                    -tiru yudu -ki  
DEM.ANA =SUBJ.FOC 1PL.NOM AUX.ITER -POT work -NF

‘That very thing we can drink while we work.’

(Conv.JnGR + JMRS.0541)



This example appears to consist of just two turn-constructive units. The first occurs across lines 1-4, where Juan lodges his complaint in slow, clearly articulated speech. Like Julio’s speech in the previous example, this example of *sídàì* ‘angry’ speech is broken up into relatively short intonational units typically under 10 syllables or three words. In

particular the intonational units in line 2 and its repetition in line 4 use falling contour as a resource for taking *sídàì* ‘angry’ stance, as was also evident in Julio’s speech in (93). His volume is somewhat elevated compared to other discourse in the same conversation (compare this example with some mundane agricultural talk from the same recording in example 372).<sup>145</sup> The repetition in lines 2 and 4 combines with the reduplicated verb form *yuiyui* ‘tell repeatedly’ to reinforce the amount of legwork Juan did to publicize the (subsequently delayed) work party in José Manuel’s absence. In the first turn, José Manuel offers only a minimal backchannel, in Spanish, in line 3. Following line 4, Juan takes a very long 2.2 second pause, followed by a false start in line 5 and another .8s pause. In line 6 and 7, Juan continues with a similar speech rhythm, this time punctuating most intonation groups with pauses ranging from .3s to .5s. There is just one instance of clipping evident in this example, at the end of the second breath group of line 7. Despite the long pauses, José Manuel does not make a bid for the floor at any point during this portion of the interaction.

### 6.3.3 Frustration in urgent contexts

In the following example, Lucy Atsahuadadiva (LAW), Mercedes Maynahuarute (MMS), and María Miranda (MML) are urgently trying to figure out who they can contact in order to find out more about the status of a relative who they have just learned has suffered a serious accident.<sup>146</sup> María is frustrated that Lucy, who is younger than her and more phone-savvy, doesn’t have the number of Estela, who would know more about the situation. This interaction is notable for the overt imperative that María issues in line 6 in the midst of her indirect criticism.

The interactional features of *sídàì* ‘angry’ stance employed in this example differ somewhat from the previous two examples. Here, there is plenty of overlapping speech, particularly between María and Lucy. Mercedes remains a relatively quiet bystander, similar to what was observed in example (93), where the non-involved parties suspended conversation during the *sídàì* ‘angry’ speech of JIGR. Another distinguishing feature in this example is that there are very few backchannels compared to the example of *shínàì* ‘sad’ speech analyzed in (83) in the previous chapter, and the backchannels that are present here are minimal (e.g., *mhm*). We do not see any parallelisms or complex backchannels.

- (95) 1. MMS: dikiri da<sub>A</sub> kuuakia<sub>A</sub>  
           dikiri           da           kuu           -a    = kia  
           toward.here DEM.PROX bring.forward -PFV = REP

‘They say they brought him over this way.’

(Example continues on next page)

<sup>145</sup>The increased background noise may be a contributing factor here as well.

<sup>146</sup>This excerpt follows the excerpt in example (83) in chapter 5.

2. MML: |chichishta dikasharabariwi| itiruki, |duwi, nũ dikai kanũ|  
<sub>A A B B</sub>  
*chichi -shta dika -shara -a =ba =ri =wi*  
 maternal.grandmother -DIM hear -GOOD -PFV =NEG =ADD =SUBJ.FOC  
*ik -tiru =ki du -wi nũ dika -i ka -nũ*  
 do.ITER -POT =FOC 1PL =FOC 1PL.NOM hear -IPFV go -OPT  
 ‘It’s possible that grandma didn’t hear/understand it right, us too, we should go hear about it (later).’
3. MMS: |ẽjẽ, duwi, nũ| di|kai kanũ iti|ru  
<sub>B B C C</sub>  
*ẽjẽ du -wi nũ dika -i ka -nũ ik -tiru*  
 yes 1PL =FOC 1PL.NOM hear -IPFV go -OPT AUX.ITER -POT  
 ‘Yes, us too, let’s go hear about it, we can’
4. MML: |mĩ celular| (.2) tiashta mĩ kedatirubamẽ, ñaña Este|lashta|  
<sub>C C D D</sub>  
*mĩ celular tia -shta mĩ keda -tiru =ba =mẽ ñaña*  
 2SG.POSS phone aunt -DIM 2SG.NOM call -POT =NEG =INTERR sister  
*Estela -shta*  
 Estela -DIM  
 ‘Your phone– can’t you call your aunt? My sister Estela?’
5. LAW: *yo no tengo de él su número*|o:|  
<sub>E E</sub>  
 ‘I don’t have his number.’
6. MML: |((short inhale))| ãñĩĩtsi|wiki (.1) wetsa wi:|xii ka|wẽ|  
<sub>E E F F G G</sub>  
*ãñĩĩ =tsi =wi =ki wetsa wi -xi -i ka -wẽ*  
 whichever =GUESS =SUBJ.FOC =FOC other get -FUT.IPFV -IPFV go -IMPER  
 ‘Well, whatever the number is, go get it again.’
7. LAW: |tãpĩaba su número de él|  
<sub>F F</sub>  
*tãpĩ -a =ba su número de él*  
 know -PFV =NEG 3SG.POSS number of him  
 ‘(I) don’t know his number.’
8. LAW: |voy de acá| en la tarde, ñũkãi kai, número de celular  
<sub>G G</sub>  
*voy de acá en la tarde ñũkãi -i ka -i número de celular*  
 I.go from here in the afternoon ask -IPFV go -IPFV number of cell.phone  
 ‘I’m going to go from here in the afternoon, I’m going to ask, I’m going to ask for the cellphone number.’  
 (Example continues on next page)

9. MMS: |mmh|  
H H

10. MML: |mhm| y- mã, este, tia ea ãnãpe, aduxũ mã awa|ra yu|itiru inũ (.6)  
H H I I

mã este tia ea ãnã -pe a =adu =xũ mã  
already umm aunt 1SG.ACC give -IMPER.POL 3SG =LOC =SRC.TR 2SG.NOM  
awara yui -tiru ik -nũ  
anything tell -POT AUX.ITER -OPT

‘Uhuh, now, um, give me your aunt(’s number), that way you can let me know about anything from now on.’

11. LAW: |mhm|  
I I

12. MML: wakeriwi tsuanã ikĩdaba, tii, nã tsãwẽ rãnãnẽ |atu ikĩda|  
J J

wake =riwi tsua =nã ik -kĩd -a =ba  
children =ADD no.one =GEN AUX.ITER -COM.APPL -PFV =NEG,  
tii nã tsawe rãnã =nẽ atu ik  
EXCLAM:dismay DEM.ANA female.cousin various =INS 3PL.ACC AUX.ITER  
-kid -a  
-COM.APPL -PFV

‘My kids, too, (I) don’t talk with anyone’s (number), ooh no, (I) only talked with them, my female cousins’ (numbers).’

13. LAW: |aka ea iskawaa|  
J J

aka ea iska -wa -a  
well.then 1SG.ACC like.this -VLZ.TR -PFV

‘Well, that’s how they told me (not by phone, but in person)’  
(Conv.LAW + MML + MMS.0538)



The first four lines of this excerpt consist of rapid, urgent speech with characteristics of *shĩnàì*-styled concern, such as the parallelism in Mechi’s backchannel in line 3. In line 4, Maríá asks Lucy if she has the phone number, to which Lucy responds in line 5 that she does not. In line 6, Maríá takes *sídàì* ‘angry’ stance. She audibly exhales, then issues a direct imperative for Lucy to go get the number again. Where Maríá’s previous lines had consisted of long breath groups of rapid speech, in line 6 she slows her rate of speech considerably, and the first breath group is characterized by low volume, low pitch, and some breathiness on the first two syllables: characteristics of *sídàì* ‘angry’ stance that express her frustration. After a brief (.1s) pause, she issues the command, maintaining the slow rate of speech, but increasing her pitch and volume emphatically. Overlapping this line, Lucy repeats that she doesn’t have the number in line 7, and nearly preempts

the command in line 8 by announcing her intent to go that very afternoon to ask around for the number. In line 10, María responds by engaging in a culturally important type of women's talk: *ñúsi*, where a (typically older or otherwise more experienced) woman instructs a junior woman on what she should say or do in a given circumstance by performing the speech and describing the action.<sup>147</sup> Because she is modeling what Lucy should say when she asks for the number, her affective stance changes to a *shínài* 'sad' request-making form (see section 5.4.1 for more on the use of this stance in requests). Lucy acknowledges the instruction with a backchannel 'mhm' in line 11, but does not attempt to take up a turn after María's .6s pause at the end of line 11. When Lucy doesn't take the turn, María goes on to lodge an additional complaint in line 12 about how not even her kids answer, only her female cousins. In this complaint, her speech is slow and low-pitch for the first breath group where she calls out her kids, then returns to her more typical rapid rate in the second breath group when she notes that she at least talks to her cousins. In the final line, Lucy defends herself once more by pointing out that she also found out the bad news in person, not via phone. In the discourse that follows, she takes this as an opportunity to change to subject back to Jairo's accident. Unlike the previous example where José Manuel received Juan's complaints without attempting to defend himself, Lucy is much quicker to make it clear that she's not responsible for knowing the phone number and her speech frequently has long overlaps where she is making bids for a turn to explain herself. Mechi, who is normally quick to take up turns and who often produces complex parallel backchannels when listening to others, is remarkably silent during María and Lucy's exchange regarding the number.

## 6.4 Conclusion

Yaminawa adults seldom directly scold or correct the behavior of other adults, or even older children, by direct means.<sup>148</sup> It is more common that 'incorrect' behavior is indirectly addressed, as discussed in sections 6.3.1 and 6.3.2. Less frequently, indirect criticisms via complaints may be accompanied by an actual command, as in the urgent context of the interaction described in section 6.3.3.

Anger and similar affects are judged by Yaminawa to be undesirable behaviors and some Yaminawa will even deny that they ever act or speak in angry ways, or, in the extreme, that they even experience those affects (see section 3.5.3). This cultural value of avoiding angry confrontation appears to be common among Amazonian people (see Overing and Passes 2000). Preliminary evidence from Yaminawa indicates that the types of features used in *sídài* 'angry' speech are calibrated by speakers to fit the interaction type, whether there are bystanders (such as a linguist or neighbor) present, and the speaker's social relationship (older/younger, kin/affine, etc.) to the interlocutor and the object of anger (which, as the examples in this example show, may be the same individual or dif-

<sup>147</sup>The *ñúsi* type of interaction, sometimes translated as *enseñar* 'teaching' by speakers, commonly appears in Yaminawa mythological folklore and other precontact oral traditions.

<sup>148</sup>Teresa's reported speech toward Mother Mercedes in example (89) strikes me as likely being a bit more direct and forceful than what Teresa would have actually said to her.

ferent individuals). Other affects such as *shǐnǎi* ‘sadness’ (previous chapter) or affection (next chapter) are more homogeneous in form, and do not appear to require the same degree of social and contextual calibration as *sídài* ‘angry’ affect. Whereas *shǐnǎi* ‘sad’ speech in the previous chapter appears to be more frequently performed by women, *sídài* ‘angry’ speech appears to be more frequently performed by men, though both sexes participate in the performance of each of these affects.

Some of the linguistic resources presented in this chapter for expressing *sídài* ‘angry’ affect are shared by other types of affective speech. Global low pitch and creaky voicing are two acoustic resources also used to take *shǐnǎi* ‘sad’ stance. Slow speech rate, the suffix *-chaka* ‘bad’, and initial voiceless stop aspiration are also seen in *bésèi* ‘fearful’ speech (see section 7.4).



## Chapter 7

# The expression of other affects in Yaminawa

### 7.1 Introduction

This chapter briefly describes the expression of three affective stances other than *shínàì* ‘sadness, concern’ and *sídàì* ‘anger, aggressive reactivity’. The affective stances documented here include affection (*dúi*), fear (*bésèì*), and surprise (*rátèì*). The Yaminawa affective repertoire is certainly not limited to just five affects (‘sadness’, ‘anger’, ‘affection’, ‘fear’, and ‘surprise’), but these do cover a broad sample of the types of affects that people express in their day-to-day lives (and that were captured in the corpus). Unlike chapters 5 and 6, which provide comprehensive descriptions of the acoustic, morphological, and interactional features of *shínàì* ‘sad’ and *sídàì* ‘angry’ affects respectively, this chapter aims only to provide a conservative overview of the most salient features of three less frequently encountered affective stances and how they compare.

This chapter starts with a discussion of affectionate speech in section 7.2, then surprise in section 7.3, and finally fear in section 7.4.

### 7.2 Affection, *dúi*

The most salient features of affectionate speech are high or rising pitch and the use of the diminutive suffix *-sh̥ta*. Unlike *shínàì* ‘sad’ speech, affectionate speech does not use creaky voice, and often the voice quality may be falsetto. Affectionate speech is commonly employed when interacting with pets or infants. When the object of affection is an adult, the context is usually in greetings, when looking at photos, or when paying a compliment.<sup>149</sup>

The Yaminawa term *dúi* ‘love’ corresponds loosely to ‘affection’, but the examples that

<sup>149</sup>In my personal experience interacting with Yaminawas, a compliment often, but not always, signals a pre-expansion working up to a request, e.g., being complimented on my hair, then asked what kind of shampoo I use, and finally a request for me to leave my remaining shampoo with the complimenter for them to “remember me by” when I leave the community.

I consider in this section are specifically also *ídibàì* ‘happy’ to provide maximum contrast between happy affectionate speech (this section) and sad affectionate speech (chapter 5).

The following examples demonstrate the use of affectionate affect in speech directed at a pet bird and in a greeting.

### 7.2.1 Example: Teresa feeds a parakeet

This example comes from Teresa Ramírez Saldaña (TYW) while feeding her pet parakeet (*chéré* in Yaminawa, *Brotogeris cynoptera*). Her speech is a change of topic from plans regarding agricultural work. The other main participants present in this interaction were myself (*Wadu*, KCN) and Teresa’s husband, Juan Gomez Ramírez (JnGR), who appears to consider Teresa’s ministrations toward the parakeet as an interruption of a more important topic: explaining their plans for the upcoming planting season.

- (96) 1. TYW: *ẽ pibashtanũ, pipishtapei pee*

*ẽ pi -bad -shta -nũ pi -pishta -pe pee*  
1SG.NOM eat -CAUS -DIM -OPT eat -DIM -IMPER.POL how.cute

‘I’m going to feed him, eat it! eat it! aww!’

2. JnGR: *nã, yuiki, wuawu* |(unintelligible)|  
<sub>A A</sub>

*nã yui =ki wu -a =wu*  
DEM.ANA tell =SS.SIM go.PL -PFV =PL

‘this is what I’m saying, they went...’

3. TYW: |*pia*|*i*|*tũ* *ũiki*, *wa*|*du*|*shta*|  
<sub>A AB C B C</sub>

*pi =ai =tũ ũĩ -ki, wadu -shta*  
eat =IPFV.SUB =A/S>O.IPFV see -IMPER.INDIR Wadu -DIM

‘Look at the one that’s eating, Wadu!’

4. JnGR: |((dental click)) *chũ*, *nã askawadu*|  
<sub>B B</sub>

*chũ nã aska -wa =a =du*  
oh.yeah DEM.ANA like.that -VBLZ.TR =PFV.SUB =DS

‘Ugh. Oh yeah! After doing that very thing...’

5. KCN: |*mhm*|  
<sub>C C</sub>

6. TYW: *pipishtaitaikai* (1.0) *puu*

*pi -pishta -i -tai =kai puu*  
eat -DIM -IPFV -do.always =CONTR MIR

‘How come he’s always eating, look.’

(Example continues on next page)

7. JnGR: nāskawatā (.6) nā bae keyuki adaititā

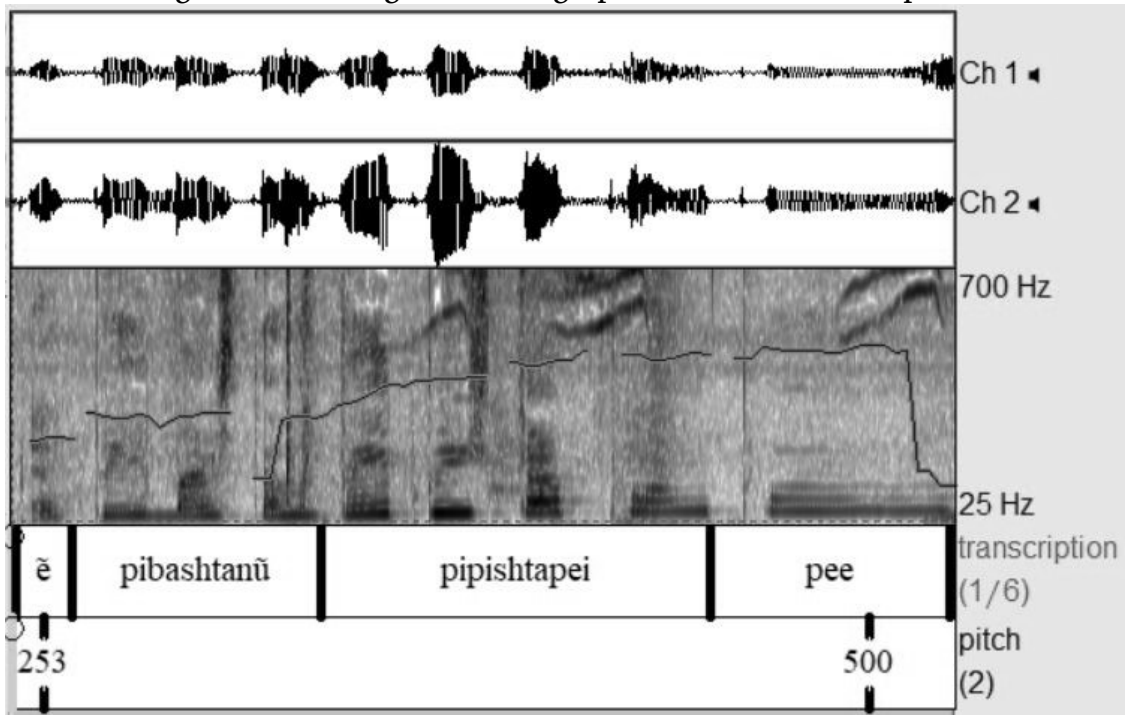
nāska -wa =tā nā bae keyu -ki adaiti =tā  
like.that.ANA -VBLZ.TR =IPE DEM.ANA field finish -NF finish =IPE

‘After doing just like this, once that same field has been completely finished...’  
(Conv.TYW + JnGR.0520)



Figure 7.1 provides the spectrogram and pitch track for line 1. Teresa’s speech begins at a mid-level pitch of around 250Hz and rises slightly to just under 300Hz when she announces her intent to feed the parakeet. In the second intonational unit of the line, her pitch continues to rise steadily through the first part of the word *pipishtapei* ‘eat it!’ before beginning to level off at the affectionate diminutive *-pishta* where her voice takes on a falsetto quality. Her pitch reaches a peak of 500Hz in the final affectionate interjection *peeé*. In line 2, Juan, who is more fond of dogs than birds, attempts to continue

Figure 7.1: Rising to ultra-high pitch in affectionate speech



narrating how he has arrived at his agricultural plans. Teresa ignores him, and in line 3 she interrupts him and invites me (*Wādū*) to pay attention to the bird rather than her husband. In this line, her pitch has returned to a moderate level, though still higher than the first intonation group of her speech in line 1. Due to significant amounts of simultaneous

speech, a clear measurement of her exact pitch is not possible. Her use of the diminutive in line 3 expresses affect toward *Wādù*, not the parakeet. In line 4, simultaneous to Teresa's ongoing interruption, Juan produces a dental click, indicating his annoyance at Teresa's preoccupation with the bird, and then the interjection *chũ* 'oh, yeah!' (realization/remembering) to call attention back to his narration. In line 6, Teresa comments once more on the parakeet's eating, once again using the affectionate diminutive, but this time her pitch has returned to around 270Hz and her volume is much lower. After a long 1s pause, Teresa adds a mirative interjection before Juan returns to his narration in line 7.

## 7.2.2 Example: Lucy's affectionate greeting speech

This example shows the use of affectionate speech in greetings. This example is not entirely natural: Lucy Atsahuadadiva (LAW), Rebeca Seido, and Rebeca's mother Marina Thaihui (MTT) had all already met at my house and been eating breakfast with me for around 20 minutes before this greeting speech took place. Lucy and Marina had already chatted a bit, but mostly the topic of conversation prior to this exchange related to the breakfast, the fact that they were going to be recorded, and the illness of Rebeca's young daughter. Marina does not live in Sepahua; she is a very traditional Nahua woman around 60 years of age who speaks only a little Spanish and who only occasionally visits her adult children in Sepahua. Lucy, who is also Nahua, was aware that Marina had come to visit Rebeca prior to meeting at my house, but she had not, to my knowledge, talked to Marina about her arrival or visit prior to the exchange in the following example. The immediately preceding discourse context was the illness of Rebeca's daughter, and Lucy initiated this conversation with Marina as a way of changing the topic (see section 5.3.2 for more on the motivation for the topic change). In addition to providing an ideal example of affectionate speech, the above conversation illustrates the use of features of *shĩnàì* 'sad' stance to index advanced age (see section 5.4.2) in Marina's speech.

- (97) 1. LAW: *abuela*, *deri* *wisti mĩ* *uitamẽ*, *chichi* (1.1)

*abuela*            *deri*            *wisti mĩ*            *u*            *ita*            = *mẽ*  
grandmother over.here one 2SG.NOM come -PST3 =INTERR  
*chichi*  
maternal.grandmother

'Grandma, did you come alone, grandma?'

2. MTT: *uri* *da* *rawi*

*uri*            *da*            *rawi*  
over.there DEM.PROX co.sister.in.law

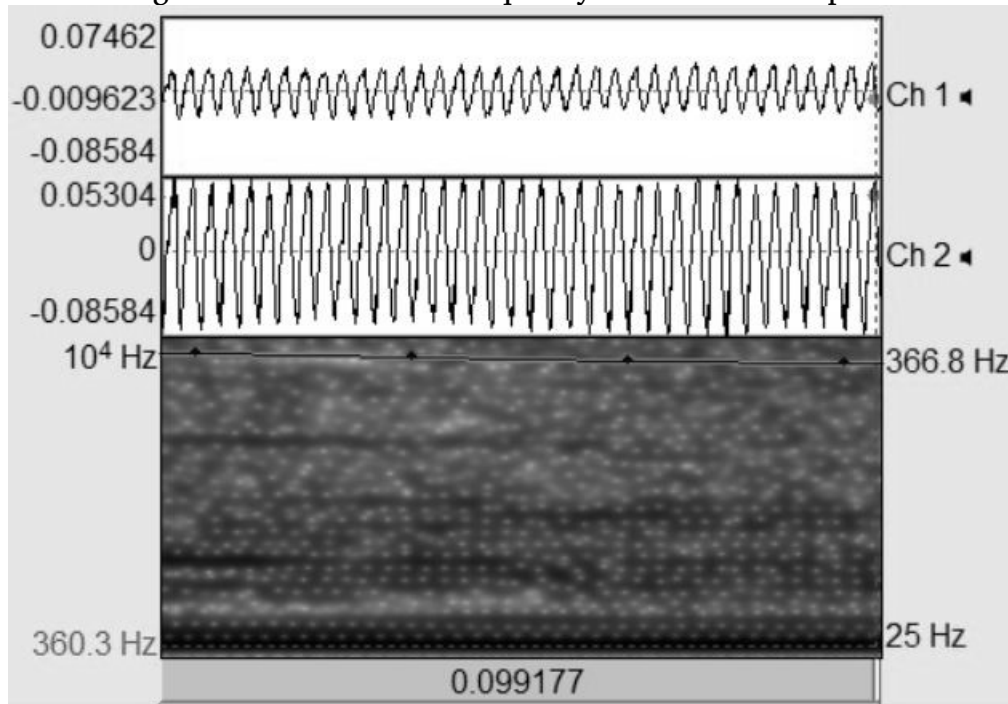
'With the co-sister-in-law over there.'

3. LAW: *mhm* (1.5)

(Example continues on next page)



Figure 7.2: Falsetto voice quality in affectionate speech



because she was still mentally calibrating the appropriate kinship term in Yaminawa, or if she simply was experiencing a priming effect from Spanish. At any rate, at the end of line 1, Lucy uses the Yaminawa term *chíchí* ‘maternal grandmother’. While the current corpus does not have a great enough variety of speaker dyads to generate robust generalizations about the use of kin terms in Yaminawa, I have gathered, through experience, that there is often an affective or evaluative component involved in the choice of kinship term used. In any affectionate speech, there is a preference to use a consanguineal (not affinal) kinship term of some kind. In traditional Yaminawa culture, where cross-cousin marriages are considered ideal, brothers-in-law or sisters-in-law are, naturally, typically cross-cousins, and co-brothers-in-law and co-sisters-in-law are typically parallel cousins, at least classificatorily. In a small-scale society, this means that it is very common that any one individual is able to draw more than one consanguineal and/or affinal kinship relationship to another individual in the community. Consanguineal relationships can be used to index feelings of affection and closeness, particularly along the maternal line, and affinal relationships, or relationships through the paternal line create social and affective distance.<sup>151</sup> Given these general conventions of Yaminawa traditional culture, *chíchí* was

<sup>151</sup>For example, in 2016 I witnessed a man who was both brother-in-law and cross-cousin to his neighbor come ask him to borrow his tape measure, using the genetic kinship term *chái* ‘male same-sex cross-cousin’ (invoking their blood relationship to encourage sharing). Unfortunately, the tape measure was damaged during use, and when the ‘cousin’ returned it he apologized to the owner, but this time used the term *wákápà* ‘sister’s husband’, invoking their affinal relationship in order to preemptively avoid conflict.

judged by Lucy to be the most socially and affectively appropriate way to address Marina in a polite and affectionate way.

Marina permits a long pause before responding to Lucy's question in line 2, as well as after Lucy's backchannel in the subsequent line. In line 4, Marina elaborates that she is waiting on her co-sister-in-law before going to find her son. In line 5, Lucy continues with her falsetto, high pitched speech, asking affectionately how many others came with Marina (from Santa Rosa de Serjali). In line 6, Marina, who also seems a bit unsure of the complex kin relationship to Lucy, answers that a man who was probably one of Lucy's grandfathers came in the same boat. Here, too, Marina makes use of the maternal line term *chátá* 'maternal grandfather', though she tempers it with the dubitative suffix. In the final line, Lucy offers just a minimal backchannel, instead of asking for more identifying information about the grandfather, the subtext being that she doesn't think it's a close relative and doesn't plan to bother to seek him out.

### 7.3 Surprise, *rátèi*

Expressions of surprise in Yaminawa are short in duration and typically minimal. Often surprise is expressed simply with the use of the mirative enclitic *=pu*, and does not result in a more extended position. Increased speech volume and elevated pitch are two acoustic features associated with expressions of surprise in Yaminawa.

The Yaminawa term *rátèi* 'astounded' does not correspond neatly to the types of affect that I discuss here (I feel it would be hyperbolic to say that Pascual is 'astounded' by being bit by a mosquito in the second example), but it is the closest native Yaminawa term to describe the type of affect that is expressed by the features described in this section.

In this section, I present two examples where the expression of surprise is realized over a few lines of interaction – the most maximal realizations that I was able to encounter in the corpus. The first example concerns the expression of surprise regarding the price of a newly-purchased motocar, and the second concerns a particularly large and juicy mosquito that was squished.<sup>152</sup>

#### 7.3.1 Example: the new motocar

In this example, José Manuel Ramirez (JMRS) is asking his brother-in-law Juan Gomez (JnGR) about his recent purchase of a motocar (a moto-rickshaw similar to the 'tuk-tuk' of Thailand or South Asia). At the time of the recording, few Yaminawa had motocars, and the purchase was considered a significant investment. José Manuel would later end

<sup>152</sup>Both of these spontaneously-occurring instances involve some degree of negative evaluation. The high price of the motocar is the source of negative evaluation in the first, and the general unpleasantness of mosquito bites in the second. Even in elicited narration about surprise, it was difficult to isolate positive surprise (like finding some money or winning bingo) because speakers tended to focus on other imagined aspects of the event (like trying to return the money or sharing the prize). From my daily interactions with Yaminawas, I have gained the distinct impression that they do not generally enjoy surprising events or information, as they have potential to have negative outcomes.

up buying his own and becoming quite adept at operating and maintaining it, but at the time of this recording, he had virtually no experience with them.

(98) 1. JMRS: awetira soles?

*aweti* = *ra* *soles*  
how.many = DUB soles

‘How many (Peruvian Nuevos) soles?’

2. JnGR: ětsa (1.1) *tres, este, tres mil soles* ruku wisti, *moto* ikitanũ

*ětsa* *tres* *este* *tres* *mil* *soles* = *ruku* *wisti* *moto* *ik*  
I.don’t.know three umm three thousand soles = CNTEXP only moto AUX.ITR  
*-ita* = *nũ*  
-PST3 = NEW

‘I dunno, three, umm, just three thousand soles, the moto was (this price).’

3. JMRS: *tres* |*mil soles*| (1.1)

‘three thousand soles?!’

4. JnGR: |*ee- ějě*|

*ějě*  
yes

‘ee- yes.’

5. JMRS: puuu ((1.5s duration of vowel))

‘woooow!’

6. JnGR: a, ((gestures toward the two motocars parked in the patio)) *nãti* *atu* *ĩnãitakia* (1.8)

*nã* = *tĩ* *atu* *ĩnã* *-ita* = *kia*  
DEM.ANA = all 3SG.ACC give -PST3 = REP

‘They said they sold all this to them.’

7. JMRS: *mil quinientos* |*cada uno?*|

‘fifteen hundred each?’

8. JnGR: |*aa, mil*| *quinientos cada uno* (1.2) *ějě* (2.7)

*ějě*  
yes

‘aa, fifteen hundred each, that’s right.’

(Example continues on next page)

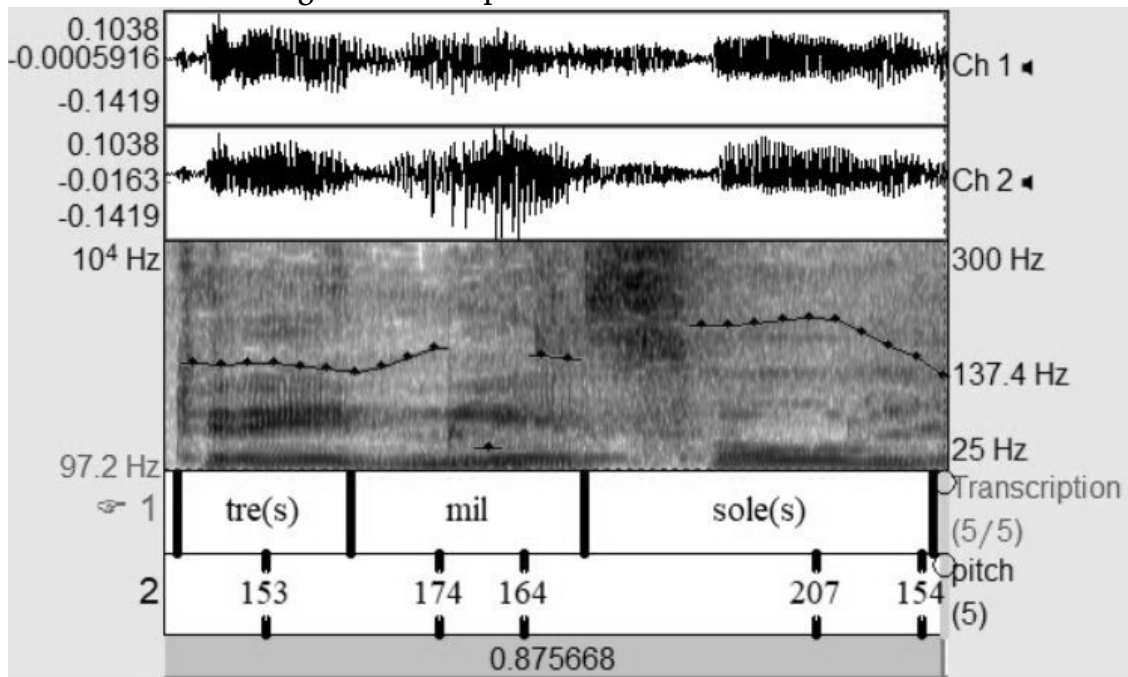


9. JMRS: *pero* wedakaibakia |*motocar*|  
<sub>C</sub> <sub>C</sub>  
*pero weda* = *kai* = *ba* = *kia motocar*  
 but new = CONTR = NEG = REP motocar  
 ‘But there’s no way the motocar is new, they say.’
10. JnGR: |weda|ba, wedaba (.5)  
<sub>C</sub> <sub>C</sub>  
*weda* = *ba* *weda* = *ba*  
 new = NEG new = NEG  
 ‘it’s not new, it’s not new.’
11. JMRS: shidish|ta:|  
<sub>D</sub> <sub>D</sub>  
*shidi -shta*  
 old -DIM  
 ‘it’s a little old’
12. JnGR: |mm|  
<sub>D</sub> <sub>D</sub>  
 (Conv.JMRS + JnGR.0541)
- 🔊

In line 1, José Manuel asks, in an affectively neutral tone, what the price of the motocar was, and Juan responds in line 2 that it was three thousand Peruvian Nuevos Soles (the equivalent of a little over three months wages from formal labor for the oil and gas companies). In line 1, José Manuel’s speech volume is low and his pitch is around 135Hz over the course of the utterance. In line 3, his affective stance changes to one of surprise when he repeats back the price of the motocar to Juan. Here his volume is increased, and his pitch starts off at around 150Hz and rises to a peak of just over 200Hz in the first syllable of *soles* ‘Peruvian Nuevos Soles’, before falling over the second syllable to around 160Hz, as shown in Figure 7.3.

In line 4, Juan confirms the figure, and José Manuel produces an exceptionally long token of the mirative interjection *puu*. This token has a vowel duration of 1.5 seconds and a pitch averaging around 188Hz (high for José Manuel’s range). Realizing that José Manuel finds the price to be very high, Juan clarifies by indicating that both of the motocars in the patio were purchased for the price of 3000 soles in line 6. José Manuel asks for confirmation that they were then 1500 a piece in line 7, his pitch having returned to an average of 140Hz. Juan confirms the price in line 8, and Jose Manuel asks, indirectly, in line 9 how it could be possible that the motocars are new at that low price. In this line, his pitch on the word *wedakaibakia* ‘it can’t be that it’s new, they say’ is slightly elevated and averages around 155Hz, expressing mild surprise should it be the case that Juan got such a good deal. In line 10, Juan confirms that the motocars are not new, and in his final turn, Jose Manuel’s affective stance shifts to *shínâi* ‘sadness’, specifically affectionate pity when he describes the motocars as *shidishta* [old-DIM]. The use of the diminutive here

Figure 7.3: Surprised intonational contour



tempers the description of the motocars as ‘old’ by expressing affection, and also serves to communicate that he doesn’t evaluate the cars to be very old and worn out. By using features of *shínài* sad stance with an affectionate diminutive, it is clear that his evaluation is not intended as an insult.

### 7.3.2 Example: nasty mosquito

In this example, Pascual Gomez (PGF) is narrating an open-ended recollection of his life during the 1970s: getting together with his wife, working his first jobs with mestizos so he could buy his wife a tin of kerosene, leaving the Purús river and living off the highway outside Pucallpa, and ultimately ending up in Sepahua. At the point of the narrative where the discourse in (99) occurs, he had been relating a (somewhat mundane) disagreement he had with a woman, when something bothers him and he smacks (audibly) at his forehead to remove it. He abandons the narration to express surprise at the large size of what turned out to be a mosquito biting him, then casually returns to his story. His shift from narration of a negatively-evaluated event (the disagreement, with elements of *sídài* ‘angry’ speech) to spontaneous surprise, then back to the narrative style, provides a striking example of the features of surprised speech in Yaminawa.

- (99) 1. PGF: *ẽ bia awaki, bia, da ãwĩwu keskara, bia waki*

*ẽ bia ak -wa =ki bia*  
 1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC AUX.TR -AM:come.and.do.TR =SS.SIM 2SG.ACC  
*da ãwĩwu keskara bia wa =ki*  
 DEM.PROX woman like 2SG.ACC tell =SS.SIM

‘(I was telling her) ‘I came here to tell you’ to the one who looked like this woman, ‘as I’m telling you,’

2. PGF: *ẽ bia wapishtawibaki* ((smacks mosquito on forehead)) (.5)

*ẽ bia wa -pishta -wi -i =ba =ki*  
 1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC tell -DIM -FRUST -IPFV =NEG =ASSERT

‘As if I wasn’t even telling you...’

3. PGF: *ea, ea, ((looking at hand)) ea ãñã- ((realizing what the bug is)) wĩ chaakĩ ũĩpu:* (.5)

*ea ea ea ãñã wĩ chaka =kĩ ũĩ -pu*  
 1SG.ACC 1SG.ACC 1SG.ACC again mosquito bad =ASSERT see -MIR

‘to me, me, to me again– ooh, look! It’s a damned mosquito!’

4. PGF: *ũũ awetiũwã chaa* (unintelligible) *ũĩ|pu|* (.5)

*awetiu -wã chaka ũĩ -pu*  
 what.size -AUG bad see -MIR

‘Oohh, what a big bad one, look!’

5. KCN: *|ugh|*

6. PGF: *zancudo:* (.8) *oohmmhmm* (.9)

‘Mosquito! oohmmhmm’

7. PGF: *askawamẽ...*

*aska -wa -a =mẽ*  
 like.that =VBLZ.TR -PFV =GIVEN

(continuing narration) ‘So when I had told her that...’  
 (CN.PGF.0586)

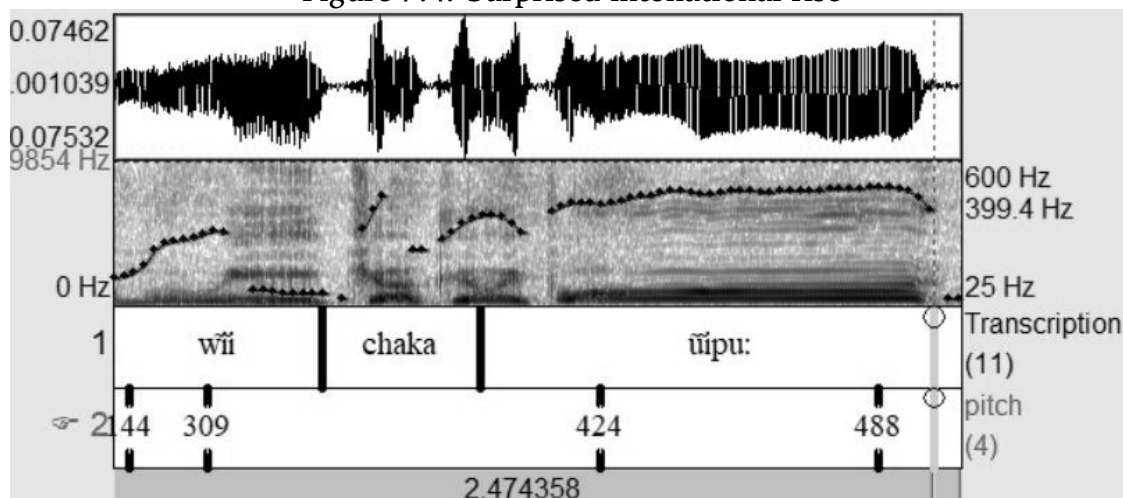


In the first two lines, Pascual is narrating a disagreement he had with a woman many years ago. Pascual’s personal narrative style is very low pitch and extremely creaky.<sup>153</sup>

<sup>153</sup>Pascual’s speech is the lowest and creakiest of any of the Yaminawa or Nahua that I have recorded. His off-recording speech is typically not as low and creaky as his recorded narrative speech, but he is still known and teased for having a very cranky old man way of speaking. See section 5.4.2 on the use of creak to index advanced age and authorial authority in narration.

His pitch in the first two lines stays within 55Hz and 75Hz, after he smacks the mosquito at the end of line 2, and realizes what it is in line 3, his voice quality and pitch change dramatically, as shown in figure 7.4.

Figure 7.4: Surprised intonational rise

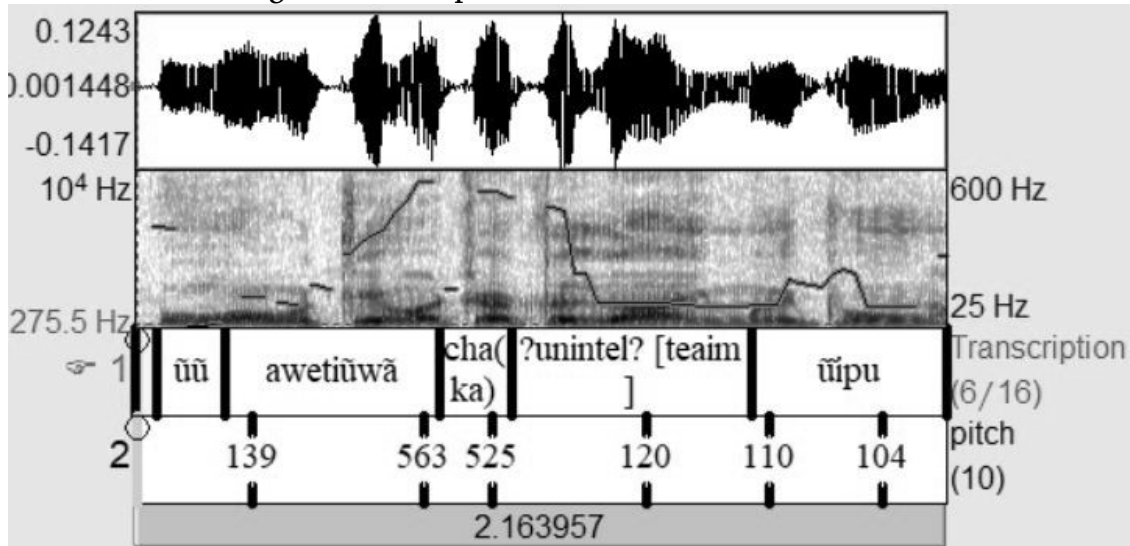


In the beginning of the intonational group presented in figure 7.4, the initial /w/ has rising pitch (from around 144Hz to 309Hz), but the following long vowel /ĩ/ is very creaky and low, possibly a realization of negative evaluation. Pascual uses the adjective *chákà* ‘bad’ as an overt marker of the negative evaluation. Unlike a typical negative evaluation, like those discussed in chapter 6, there is also surprised affective stance, and the pitch rises over the word *chákà* and plateaus in the final vowel of the verb *ũĩpu* ‘take a look!’, which only has a slight rise from 424Hz to a peak of 488Hz. A negative evaluation without a dominating affective stance would be expected to have falling or global low pitch, not a rise and a shift from creaky to modal voicing as seen in this example.

The spectrogram in figure 7.5, shows how Pascual’s surprised speech in line 4 rises and falls. Here, low pitch and creaky voice are evident in both the initial interjection and in his unintelligible speech just before the mirative imperative *ũĩpu* ‘take a look!’, however, in his evaluation of the size of the mosquito, *awetiũwā chaka* ‘how big and bad’, his pitch has the same characteristic rise then fall seen in José Manuel’s reaction to his first hearing of the motocar price in the previous section (compare to figure 7.3).

Following my reaction of mild disgust in line 7, Pascual uses modal voice once more to exclaim in Spanish *zancudo* ‘mosquito’ before uttering a groan, then shifting back to his low, creaky narrative speech style in line 9 as he resumes his story.

Figure 7.5: Surprised intonational rise and fall



## 7.4 Fear, *bésèi*

Fear is an infrequently expressed affect in Yaminawa culture. When speakers express fear or concern for others, they typically elect to use features associated with *shínàì* ‘sad’ stance. Men sometimes claim to have not experienced fear, and men and women alike are more apt to provide pantomimes or descriptions of fear rather than expressions of fear when I attempted to elicit narratives relating to this affect. One speaker, María Miranda Llergo, uses a very salient speech rhythm combined with low pitch and metrical delayed stop release to express fear in the following example. At this time, I have not identified similar patterns in the *bésèi* ‘fearful’ speech of other speakers.

In this section I consider two examples of this pattern in María’s speech; first a very clear example in section 7.4.1 where María describes her first childbirth, and second a less clear example describing a fever that her granddaughter had 7.4.2. In this second example, there are also some features of *shínàì* ‘sad’ speech as she expresses concern about her granddaughter’s health.

### 7.4.1 Example: María’s first birth

The following example of María’s *bésèi* ‘fearful’ stance comes from a narrative about her first birth. The event took place pre-contact when María was probably only in her mid-teens. In the context preceding the example below, María describes how her labor started while she was gathering fish, how she pretended to not feel the pain but her cousins

suspected her labor and took her home, and how the first afternoon and night of her labor was unproductive.

- (100) 1. *shĩnã* -i *ia* *ik* -*xud* -*shta* -*wẽ* *bia* *yuitiwa* -*shid* (.4)

think -IPFV 1SG.ACC AUX. ITR -BEN -DIM -IMPER 2SG.ACC criticize -CIRC:night  
-*tiru* = *wu* = *ki* *mĩ* *rãwĩ* -*i* *mĩ* *ea* *ik* -*kiki*  
-POT = PL = ? 2SG.NOM be.ashamed -IPFV 2SG.NOM cry AUX. ITR = PROHIB

‘(I was) thinking (to myself), when they’re criticizing you all night, saying ‘be like this for me’, you’re [ not ] going to be ashamed, you’re not going to cry.’

2. *ẽ* (.7) *mẽ* *ũĩ* *beeaskadi* (.5) *ẽwẽ* *bapu* *xada* *tipuiki* (1.0)

*mã* *ẽ* *ũĩ* -*i* *bee* = *aska* -*di* *ẽwẽ* *bapu* *xada*  
already 1SG.NOM see -IPFV touch -do.like.so -PST6 1SG.POSS head hot  
*tipu* -*i* = *ki*  
rise(steam/smoke) -IPFV = ASSERT

‘Feeling around like this I saw it, while a wave of heat rose up in my head.’

3. *primero* *ẽwẽ* *wake* *iki* (.6)

*primero* *ẽwẽ* *wake* *ik* -*i*  
first 1SG.POSS child AUX. ITR -IPFV

‘I was having my first baby.’

4. *mã* *iki* “to’ to’ to’ to’” (1.4)

*mã* *ik* -*i* *totototo*  
already AUX. ITR -IPFV IDEO:birthing

‘Now it was going “to’ to’ to’ to’” (as the baby’s head started coming).’

5. *mã* *ares* “xoo” (.9) *ãwẽ* *ede* *tushatadi*

*mã* *a* -*res* *xoo* *ãwẽ* *ede* *tusha* = *tã*  
already 3SG -only IDEO:liquid.spilling 3SG.POSS water split.open = IPE

‘Then, all by itself, it went “xoo” as the water spilled out (as the head came out).’

(CN.MML.0444)



In line 1 María describes what she was thinking to herself – parallelisms to the coaching of her mother and aunt that are described in the immediately prior context. Here her affect is not overtly *shĩnãĩ* ‘concerned’, but it does retain some of the affective stance of the prior speech that it is modeled after. In line 2, she describes the sensation of her

baby finally entering the birth canal, and she expresses her intense fear using a very distinctive rhythm where stop consonants are held up to .5s before being released, even in word-medial positions. Figures 7.6 and 7.7 provide spectrograms and measurements of the delayed releases of the word-medial stops in the first and second breath groups of line 2.

Figure 7.6: *bésèl* ‘fearful’ rhythmic delayed-stop release, part 1

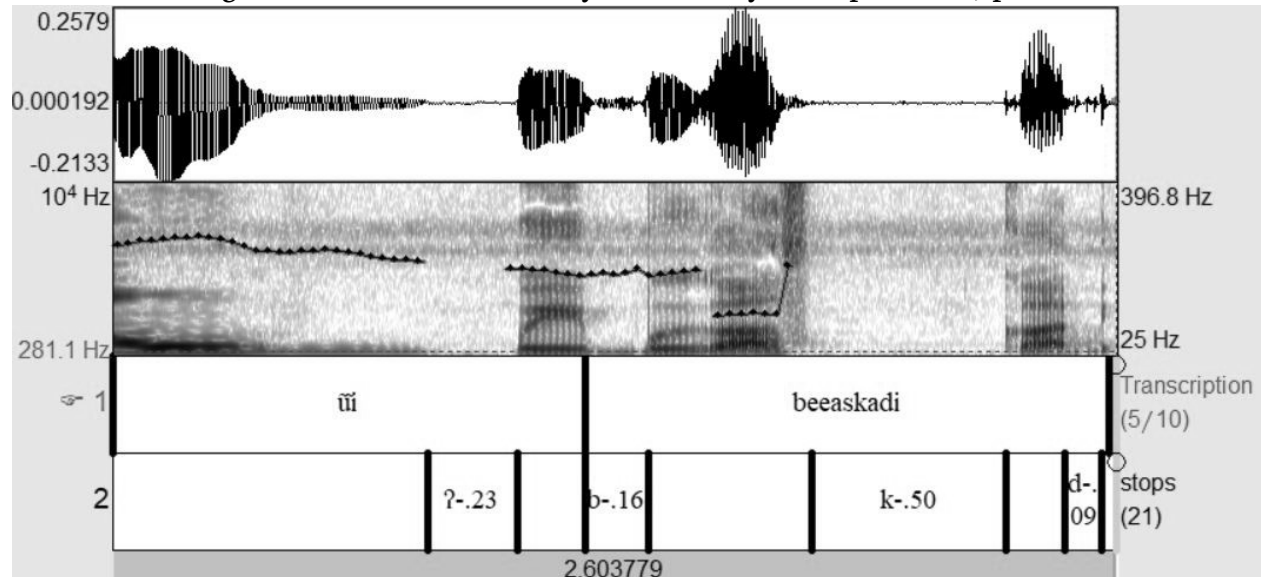
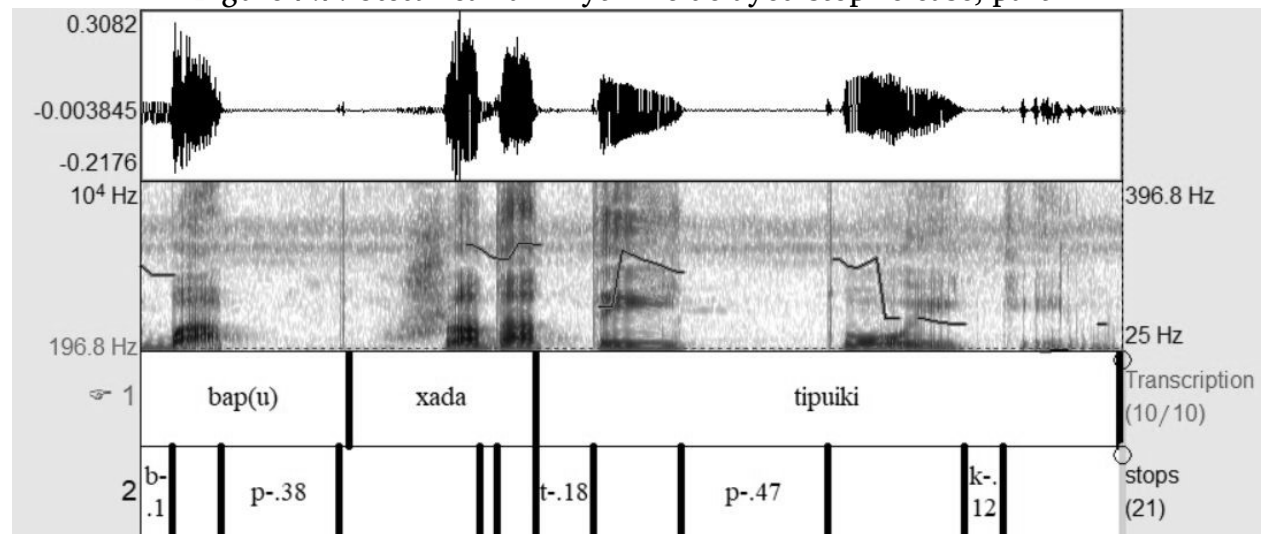


Figure 7.7: *bésèl* ‘fearful’ rhythmic delayed-stop release, part 2



In Figure 7.6, there are two word-medial stops with delayed releases. In the first word,

*ũũ* ‘am seeing’, the initial /u/ trails off entirely, and then, after .23s of silence there is an abrupt release before the final /i/, adding a stop-like delay of release where no obstruent consonant exists segmentally. In the second word, *beeaskadi* ‘feeling/touching like this’, the /k/ is held for a full half second before release. In figure 7.7, the rhythmic nature of this pattern becomes more apparent: the word medial /p/ of *bapu* ‘head’ has a delayed release (.38s), the /d/ of *xada* ‘hot’ has a normal (<.1s) release, then the word medial /p/ of *tipuiki* ‘rising like steam’ is also delayed (.47). The medial stop of every other foot of the metrical structure has a delayed stop, while the initial stops and medial stops of other metrical feet are unaffected.

While the metrical delayed stop release is likely the most salient feature of this line to a non-native speaker/listener of Yaminawa, there are a number of other important affective features that María employs. Her pitch is low for her range - around 200 to 250Hz over the course of line 2. While full-clipping of the *sídàì* ‘angry’ stance type is not seen here, the final vowels of *beeaskadi* and *bapu* have no real formant structure or duration, despite being recoverable. The final vowel of *tipuiki* likewise lacks robust formant structure, but it does have duration. Creaky voicing is evident, particularly in the second breath group of line 2, and contributes to the lack of clear formant structure for the final vowel.

In line 3, María resumes her narration without using any salient features of *bésèì* ‘fearful’ speech or negative affect. After her ideophonic description of the sounds of the actual birth in line 4 and the first breath group of line 5, she provides a narrative version of what the ideophones have described (the water spilling out as the baby’s head came out), and here, too, she uses the distinctive rhythmic delayed stop release as a stancetaking resource. In this use of affective stancetaking, the speaker is not using stancetaking resources to express her current affective state, rather they serve to express the fear that she experienced decades ago as a first-time mother.

## 7.4.2 Example: Jharilín’s fever

In this example, María is describing the how a bad fever kept her granddaughter Jharilín from attending school or eating well for a few days earlier that week, and how María got medicine to make her feel better. In this example, the characteristic metrical delayed stop release is not carried through entire lines, rather it is isolated to individual words, specifically *yúddài* ‘have a fever’ in lines 1 and 3.

(101) 1. *ẽwẽ wawa nãdu yudai*

*ẽwẽ            wawa            nã            =adu yuda -i*  
1SG.POSS grandchild DEM.ANA =LOC fever -IPFV

‘My grandchild here had a fever.’

(Example continues on next page)



2. Jharilín raba kaa, *escuela* mēřã kaa, *dos días* kaaba

*Jharilín raba ka -a escuela mēřã ka -a dos días ka -a =ba*  
 Jharilín recent go -PFV school in go -PFV two days go -PFV =NEG

‘Jharilín recently went, she went to school, for two days she didn’t go.’

3. yudai, eaiki, eaiki, askaitũ

*yuda -i ea ik -i ea ik -i aska =ai*  
 fever -IPFV cry AUX. ITR -IPFV cry AUX. ITR -IPFV do.like.that =IPFV.SUB  
 =tũ  
 =A/S > O.IPFV

‘She had a fever, she cried and she cried, like that.’

4. xeati ñũkãkabaxũ abaita

*xeati ñũkã -ka -ba =xũ ak -ba -ita*  
 medicine ask.for -AM:go.and.do -? =SS.PE.A/S > A AUX.TR -CAUS -PST3

‘I went and asked for medicine the other day to give to make her take.’



María’s pitch starts off moderate at a little over 250Hz in the first line, but by the third line, where her *bésèi* ‘fearful’ speech is most acoustically salient, it has dropped to around 215Hz. As we saw in chapters 5 and 6, here, too, low pitch is used for negative evaluations or descriptions of unfavorable circumstances. María first signals *bésèi* ‘fearful’ stance in the last word of line 1, where she uses delayed stop release in the word *yúdài* ‘have a fever’. In line 2, she skips ahead to the present (post-fever) and reveals that her granddaughter is back at school, indicating that she is feeling better, but notes that she did not attend for two days. In line three, when María describes the state of events when Jharilín was sick, her speech rate slows considerably and we hear delayed stop release again, this time more saliently, on the /d/ of *yúdài* ‘have a fever’. María’s voice quality is also noteworthy in the beginning of this line; there is a hint of a quaver in her voice particularly in the first syllable of *yúdài*. In the final line, as she describes how she solved the problem of the fever, her pitch returns to a more moderate level and her speech rate increases, signaling that her fear, along with the fever, was now resolved.

## 7.5 Summary

In this section I have shown that, while the features of affectionate, fearful, and surprised speech use some resources that are also associated with *shínài* ‘sad’ and *sídài* ‘angry’ affective stances, they also have some unique features. For affectionate speech, these features are falsetto voicing and global high pitch. In surprised speech, increased speech volume

and rising (or rising-falling) intonation combined with the use of the mirative =*pu*. Finally, or fearful speech, María Miranda's demonstrated a remarkable metrically-calibrated delayed stop release rhythm.

The affective forms presented in this chapter are just a small sample of the expressive variety in Yaminawa. Affective stances are also not limited to pure types with only one affective category expressed per utterance or phrase; affective resources can be combined and used in much more complex and subtle ways than fits within the scope of this dissertation. As the development of a Yaminawa conversational corpus continues, I have no doubt that new affective resources, ways of speaking, and stances will be identified, and that the categories and forms discussed in this dissertation will be brought into sharper focus.

## Chapter 8

### Conclusion

The primary goal of this dissertation is to provide a broad survey of the linguistic resources used to express affective stance in Yaminawa. In my view, the most significant contribution of this dissertation is that it provides an extensive survey of the affective stancetaking resources of the Yaminawa language across multiple levels of analysis and using varied methodological approaches. To my knowledge, no such account exists for any minority language, and accounts of these features in national languages are typically distributed across many different papers by different authors in different disciplines. By gathering all of these stancetaking resources into a single publication, I hope to provide a model for future fieldworkers and corpus researchers who would aim to create similarly comprehensive descriptions for other languages.

Both descriptive and expressive resources for affective stancetaking were described in this work. Yaminawa has a rich variety of expressive resources to draw from: morphological, intonational, voice-quality, speech volume, speech rate, timing, segment timing, and interactional. The methodological approaches used to arrive at the generalizations presented in chapters 2-7 are also varied: participant observation, interview, cognitive anthropological, corpus analytical, and ethnographically informed conversational analytical approaches. It is my hope that this dissertation will encourage linguistic fieldworkers who are interested in affect to look for novel expressive resources using novel methodological means.

I also hope that the rich, contextualized data presented in this dissertation inspires linguists and anthropologists alike to look beyond categories, morphosyntax, and isolated aspects of prosody, to combine these elements and consider the complex ecology in which human language exists. In describing and analyzing multiple levels of linguistic analysis as they come together in coherent, conventionalized patterns of use, I hope to provide a model for other scholars to similarly describe such features in rich context, as opposed to scattering sub-elements of their realization across multiple papers or chapters of a grammar.

In the introduction to this dissertation, I identified two primary goals: to describe the linguistic resources available to Yaminawa speakers in the construction of affective stance, as described above; and the analysis of how these features are employed to perform affective stances in natural, spontaneous, everyday interactions. In chapter 1, I justified

the adoption of stancetaking, specifically, as a framework for understanding speakers' expressive choices in interaction. I argued that affective emotive expressivity in Yaminawa is not the result of physiological responses to emotion affecting the form of language, but rather that speakers are constantly making conscious choices about their affective expression that are calibrated to the cultural, social, and discursive context of a given interaction or topic.

In Chapter 2, I provided an ethnographic foundation for understanding the social, material, and ecological landscape in which Yaminawa language was recorded. This chapter also served to establish the traumatic history of the contact of the Yaminawa and the Nahua in the 1960s and 1980s, respectively, that forms part of the cultural basis for the frequent performance of *shínài* 'sad' speech in both dialects.

Chapter 3 provided evidence from ethnographic interviews and cognitive anthropological pile sort methods that the affective landscape of Yaminawa speakers is not identical to that of Euramericans; Yaminawa affective categories are distinct from those found in European languages, as are the cultural evaluations of these affects, and the social and performative categories that are associated with them. One of the findings in this chapter was that *shínài* 'sadness' is very positively evaluated by Yaminawa speakers, whereas *sídài* 'anger' is negatively evaluated to the point that some speakers denied experiencing that affective category. Emotion categories in Yaminawa appear to be categorized along lines of prosociality vs antisociality, with *shínài* being a prototypical prosocial emotion and *sídài* being a prototypical antisocial one. These generalizations are reflected in the interactional features of Yaminawa speech in chapters 5 and 6 on *shínài* 'sad' speech and *sídài* 'angry' speech: *shínài* speech is characterized by high levels of participation (via turns and backchannels) by all parties present, but *sídài* speech tends to be dominated by a single speaker or two speakers in disagreement, with very few backchannels from other parties present.

Chapter 4 examined the use of affective bound morphology in Yaminawa, considering both highly frequent morphemes with a wide range of expressive meanings like the diminutive *-shítá*, as well as very infrequent morphemes with highly specific semantics like the 'pity' suffix *-nābe*. This chapter showed the Yaminawa has a very elaborated inventory of affective morphology, including some resources that encode affect in addition to having core morphosyntactic functions, namely the distinction between the benefactive *-xud* and the malefactive *-ã*. In this chapter, I found that some of the affective morphology in Yaminawa appears to be cross-linguistically rare, specifically morphemes used to express sadness, such as *-betsa* 'with effort' and *-nābe* 'pity'. Compared to other Panoan languages, the number of morphological resources for expressing affect in Yaminawa is not unusual, but it is notable that there appear to be few cognates among affective morphemes in Panoan languages, hinting that these systems may have developed in parallel due to areal and contact effects.

In chapters 5 through 7, I presented the acoustic and interactional features of different affective stances – sad, angry, affectionate, fearful, and surprised – and the ways that these five affects compare and contrast with respect to their use of different types of affective stancetaking resources. These three chapters demonstrate that speakers' linguis-

tic choices vis-a-vis affective stance are highly context dependent. Affective stances do not only reflect currently held affective states; they may also be used to convey affective states that the speaker experienced at some point in the past, or that one may experience in the future, given a hypothetical circumstance. In these chapters, I showed that the acoustic and interactional features of the expression of different affects are highly varied. Acoustic features that I identified included pitch, voice quality, speech volume, speech rate and rhythm, and the modification of both consonant and vowel timing and quality (e.g., final vowel lengthening, aspiration of initial voiceless stops, delayed stop release). Interactional features included the duration of turns, the timing between turns, the frequency of backchannels, and the complexity of backchannels. In Chapters 5 through 7, I showed that any one feature is not sufficient to identify an affective way of speaking; rather these features co-occur in clusters drawn from a shared pool of resources to express meanings that are subtly calibrated to the precise context.

Each language and culture has much to contribute to our understanding of the typology of affective domains/categories and the affective resources used to communicate them. In particular, understudied indigenous and minority languages and their speakers have potential to present us with many new perspectives on human sociality and cognition. With most current research on affective categories and affective expression focusing narrowly on majority colonial languages of Europe, in particular English, our scientific understanding of affect is extremely limited.

Beyond the protocol aspects of the methodologies used in this dissertation, it is my desire that other fieldworkers with a linguistic-anthropological orientation adopt the methodological and ethical philosophies that underpin the present work. First and foremost, this study would not have been possible without dedicating myself first to achieving conversational and cultural competence in Yaminawa interactions. While this is a goal that is not always possible given considerations such as funding, visa status, or personal concerns, lived experiences as a participant in the culture and language have deeply enriched my insights into the social and interactional dimensions of the use of Yaminawa language. I am grateful to the Yaminawa and Nahua of Sepahua for taking the time and effort, and having the extraordinary patience, to teach me their language. Secondly, my personal and professional orientation as an intersectional feminist has guided this work into directions that I may not have otherwise considered. A core principle of intersectional feminism is to listen to, and seriously consider, the ideas, experiences, and feelings of others and to actively investigate one's own prejudices, biases, and privilege. In listening to and trusting the perspectives and insights of indigenous people, particularly Yaminawa and Nahua women, I have had to challenge deeply ingrained biases and other socio-cultural constructs that formed part of my socialization as a white, educated woman from a middle-class family in the first world. Educated white people, including ones who self-identify as allies or advocates, are all too often quick to discount the ideas of illiterate indigenous people. I am deeply indebted to all of the individuals of all walks of life who have shared their perspectives and ideas with me. Indeed, the very topic of this dissertation was selected based on the insistence of the Yaminawa community where I carried out my field work. I hope that this dissertation demonstrates the deep respect and ad-

miration that I have for Yaminawa culture and language, and that it will one day serve the Yaminawa community as a record of how people communicate the most important meanings of human social life.

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# Appendix A

## Transcription conventions

### Orthographic conventions

Yaminawa and Nahua words are provided in *italic* typeface. Examples and other data coming from my own research are given in the official normalized Yaminawa alphabet (see appendix B). Language data cited from other publications are given in the orthography used by the authors of those publications.

Transcriptions from elicitation are generally marked for surface tone (high and low), but transcriptions from spontaneous speech are not due to the difficulty in transcribing it correctly against background noise and other speakers. In the description of segmental phonology in section C.3, I use the International Phonetic Alphabet.

Spanish words are provided in *slanted* typeface. Though many Spanish terms in this dissertation are regional, I largely adhere to standard Spanish orthography, with the addition of the grapheme <sh> which corresponds to the sound /ʃ/ found in some regional terms. Latinate species names are also provided in *slanted* type. This typeface is admittedly rather difficult to visually distinguish from italics, so an additional way to distinguish Spanish terms from Yaminawa in the in-line text is that each Yaminawa vowel is marked for either high or low tone, whereas Spanish words only bear a maximum of a single diacritic (indicating stress) in the entire word.

In-line glosses and translations for both Yaminawa and Spanish terms are given in English inside single quotes, e.g., 'gloss'. Double quotes are used for material quoted from other publications or for my translations of direct quotes from Yaminawa and Nahua individuals.

### Example format

In this section I use constructed examples to best demonstrate the formatting and features of the example format and conventions that I use in this dissertation. Examples of Yaminawa speech are numbered with Arabic numerals, e.g., (1), (2), (3). Lowercase letters a through z are used to to enumerate individual data points in elicited data.

Examples have either a two-line or four-line format. The two-line format, exemplified in (999a), is used for data that is not morphologically complex, or where the morphological composition is not in focus (such as when discussing segmental phonology). Two-line examples provide the form in the first line and the gloss or translation in the second line. Four-line examples, such as (999b), are used where there is morphological complexity that is relevant to the discussion. I use dashes (-) to indicate affixes, and equals signs (=) to indicate clitics. In four-line examples, the first line is the transcription, the second line is the morphological segmentation (including any non-surface morphemes), the third line provides morpheme glosses (see Abbreviations), and the final line provides the translation. In a very small number of cases, I provide both my own English translation and the Spanish translation offered by a Yaminawa-Spanish bilingual consultant, and I label these as ‘ENGLISH’ and ‘SPANISH’ respectively.

- (999) a. yùà  
           ‘yuca’, ‘cassava’ (*manihot esculenta*)
- b. é yùà pî  
     é           yùà pí -ì  
     1SG.NOM yuca eat -IPFV  
     ‘I’m eating yuca.’  
     (E.KCN.0000)

Examples of dialogic or multi-party speech in Yaminawa are also provided in sequentially numbered examples, but Arabic numerals are used to enumerate line numbers, as in (999’). Initials are used to identify speakers (such as ABC and XYZ in the example below). Gestures and other key non-audio context is provided in double parentheses, e.g., ((points)). Salient pauses are indicated in tenths of a second inside single parentheses, e.g., (.3). I also use single parentheses to provide ‘recoverable’ clipped segmental material, such as for the clipping seen as a feature of *sídàì* ‘angry’ speech in chapter 6. Individual words or short phrases in Spanish that are embedded in Yaminawa utterances are given general glosses in the interlinear lines of the glosses, as in line 3 or line 6 of the example below. Utterances that are entirely in Spanish are not interlinearized; they are only transcribed and translated, as in line 5. Minimal backchannel forms that consist only of minimal linguistic content (e.g., ‘mm’, ‘mhm’, etc.) are not provided with glosses and appear in a single transcription line, as in line 7.

- (999’) 1. ABC: waki mĩ kaimẽ  
           waki mĩ           ka -i       = mẽ  
           where 2SG.NOM go -IPFV = INTERR  
           ‘Where are you going?’  
           (Example continues on next page)

2. XYZ: *ẽ pueblo* adu kai ((gestures with arm toward the town center)) (.3)

*ẽ* *pueblo* = *adu ka -i*  
1SG.NOM town = LOC go -IPFV

‘I’m going to town.’

3. ABC *mĩ motocarropã* |*kaimẽ*|

*mĩ* *motocarro* = *pã ka -i* = *mẽ*  
2SG.NOM motocar = INS go -IPFV = INTERR

‘Are you going in a motocar?’

4. XYZ: |*baa*| *ẽ* *tãẽ* kai

*baa ẽ* *tãe* = *N ka -i*  
no 1SG.NOM foot = INS go -IPFV

‘No, I’m going on foot.’

5. LMN: *dónde dice está yendo, ñaño*

‘Where did she say she’s going, brother?’

6. ABC: *al pueblo* |*kai*| *waa*

*al pueblo ka -i* *ea* *wa -a*  
to.town go -IPFV 1SG.ACC say -PFV

‘She told me she’s going to town.’

7. LMN: |*mm*|

(Conv.ABC + XYZ + LMN.0000)

For reasons of economy of page space and in order to facilitate the representation data where there is overlapping speech from three or more participants, I use pipes with subscripts to indicate overlapping segments of speech (|word|) in the transcription line. These pairs of demarcations are labeled using capital letters (A through Z). Transcribed material inside of a pair of these demarcations overlaps with any material transcribed inside identically labeled pairs. Where three or more participants are involved, there may be complete or partial nesting of overlapping material. In the above example, there are two instances of overlap: the end of line 3 and beginning of line 4 (overlap ‘A’), and a portion of line 6 with the backchannel consisting line 7 (overlap ‘B’).

The segmentation of naturally occurring speech, whether monologic or multilogic, into lines is a rather subjective endeavor. In general, I have used five ranked principles in deciding how to segment speech into lines:

1. speaker judgments - in first determining how to segment lines I have consulted with the participating speakers on what they consider to be intelligible macro-units of speech, particularly when transcribing monologic narrative

2. turn structure - ideally a single turn corresponds to a single line, except where turns are particularly long
3. utterance structure - where turns are particularly long, I have attempted to segment them into coherent, complete grammatical sentences, where possible
4. pauses - where utterances do not clearly correspond to coherent, complete grammatical sentences, I rely on relative pause length to guide line segmentation
5. intelligibility to the reader - in some cases it is necessary to group or split material, particularly where there are many overlapping parts, in order to present the data in a form that is intelligible in written form.

## Punctuation and translation

In transcription lines, I use a dash (-) to indicate false starts, and I use the comma (,) to demarcate speech that would not be grammatical in isolation, such as the repetition of the third person possessive pronoun in line 1 below at the beginning of the utterance, or the locative phrase *pueblo adu* ‘to town’ which is tagged onto the end of the utterance in line 3.<sup>154</sup> I refrain from using utterance terminating punctuation such as periods, question marks, or exclamation marks in the transcription lines. I do, however, make use of the ellipsis (...) to indicate that an analytically irrelevant portion of the speech has been omitted.<sup>155</sup>

(999'') 1. ABC: *ã- ãwẽ, ãwẽ awaratsi*

*ãwẽ        ãwẽ        awara        = tsi*  
3SG.POSS 3SG.POSS something = GUESS

‘his, his whatchamacallit?’

2. XYZ: *ãwẽ bicicleta*

*ãwẽ        bicicleta*  
3SG.POSS bicycle

‘His bicycle?’

3. ABC: *ẽjẽ, ãwẽ bicicletapã kaa, pueblo adu*

*ẽjẽ ãwẽ        bicicleta =pã ka -a pueblo =adu*  
yes 3SG.POSS bicycle =INS go -PFV town =LOC

‘Yeah, he went on his bicycle, to town.’

(Conv.ABC + XYZ.0000)


<sup>154</sup>This material on the right edge of line 3 would be most grammatical between the instrumental phrase *ãwẽ bicicletapã* ‘on his bicycle’ and the verb *kaa* ‘went’: i.e., *ãwẽ bicicletapã pueblo adu kaa*.

<sup>155</sup>The most frequent use of this convention in this dissertation is to facilitate the discussion of data in subordinate clauses without presenting the entire grammatical utterance. Yaminawa clause chains can be quite long, as described in section C.9.

My translation philosophy for this dissertation is to balance faithfulness to the structure and form of Yaminawa with faithfulness to the affective meanings of those structures and forms. Where literal meaning requires explanation beyond the interlinearization, I provide this in parentheses. Where additional contextualizing information is relevant, this too is presented in parentheses in the translation line. For many examples in the grammar sketch in appendix C, as well as in the discussion of affective morphology in chapter 4, I also provide a block of immediate discourse context, labeled with ‘CONTEXT’ immediately above the transcription line.

In my translations of Yaminawa into English, I have tried to stay faithful to the information structure of the Yaminawa sentences, and I use a mix of lexical choice, expressives, and sentence-final punctuation (.,?,!) to approximate the affective meanings of the Yaminawa forms as closely as possible. In producing my translations, I have relied heavily on the various affectively expressive translations into Peruvian Amazonian Spanish that have been provided for me by the participants themselves as well as other consulting speakers. Integral to this is the fact that I command a full expressive repertoire in both Peruvian Amazonian Spanish and my native dialects of English (Standard American and Southern/East Texas); beyond just knowing how affective forms in these dialects sound and what they mean, I also understand how they *feel* when employed in interaction. While my command of Yaminawa pales in comparison to my Spanish or English, I have also attempted to triangulate the most affectively accurate translation using my scholarly-academic knowledge of Yaminawa, my understanding of these forms via native speaker translations into Spanish, and my own lived experiences as an emotional being and interaction participant in the Yaminawa community over a period of over 5 years.

## Data citation

Examples of natural speech in this dissertation are all accompanied by embedded mp3 audio that may be accessed by clicking on the speaker icon  with the multimedia pdf version of this document open in Adobe Acrobat.<sup>156</sup>

Additionally, examples are provided with codes that permit the identification of the source data type, the participants present, and the recording number. These codes are given in parentheses after the final line of the example. The first part of the code identifies the type of data: elicitation (E), traditional narrative (TN), contemporary narrative (CN), and conversation (Conv). This is followed by a period (.) and then the initials of the participants, separated by plus signs (+). The participant initials are followed by a period and then the original recording number which consists of four digits. For example, the data citation for example (A) is “(Conv.ABC + XYZ + LMN.0000)”. This fictional example could be translated as: ‘a conversation between participants ABC, XYZ, and LMN on recording number 0000’. For data from monologic narratives that have been fully transcribed, translated, and reviewed with speakers, I also provide line numbers (although

<sup>156</sup>Unfortunately, the official version of this dissertation must be filed as a regular-format PDF in order to conform to University of California, Berkeley dissertation filing norms and archival standards. I encourage interested readers to contact me for a copy of the multimedia version of this document.

these are subject to change as the Yaminawa Language Documentation Project continues the work of improving these annotations). For data that consists of single word forms in Yaminawa, I do not provide example citations.

In rare cases where data is potentially sensitive, but for which participants have still consented to use in this dissertation, I have redacted names or other identifying information from both the transcripts and embedded clips, and provide more restricted citation information. I welcome anyone who is interested in the primary data in this work, or about Yaminawa and Nahua more generally, to contact me.

## Appendix B

### Yaminawa practical orthography

The Yaminawa orthography used in this dissertation is based on the official, normalized Yaminawa (Yabidawa) alphabet approved by consensus of Yaminawa communities in November 2016 and granted legal standing by the Peruvian Ministry of Education in Ministerial Resolution N° 138-2017-MINEDU in February 2017. Table B.1 provides the correspondences between each grapheme and the phoneme or allophone that it represents in the International Phonetic Alphabet. The alphabets used by the Summer Institute of Linguistics for Yaminawa and Sharanahua are also provided for comparison. The rows of the table are ordered by the official order of the graphemes in Ministerial Resolution N° 138-2017-MINEDU.

The Nahua alphabet was officialized by community consensus in November 2017 and granted legal standing by the Ministry of Education in Ministerial resolution N° 139-2018-MINEDU in March 2018. The Nahua alphabet is identical to the Yaminawa alphabet, with the exception of the use of <h> in Nahua in place of <j> in Yaminawa for the phoneme /h/.

Normalized orthographic conventions for the use of this alphabet have not yet been approved by the Yaminawa communities or codified by the Ministry of Education. A preliminary consensus in November 2016 uses the tilde (as in ã) above vowels to indicate nasality. Nasal graphemes <m, n, ñ> are used in nasal morphemes; their oral counterparts <b, d, y> are used in oral contexts. <y> is only used in syllable initial position, not in cases where /i/ is produced as a glide (such as following /a/). Similarly, <w> is used only for /w/ and not where /u/ has been reduced to a glide. I use the acute accent (e.g., á) to indicate high tone and the grave accent (e.g., à) to indicate low tone. There is currently no community consensus on how or if tone should be represented in writing. I only indicate tone on elicited forms, as it is difficult for me to correctly transcribe tone in narratives and conversation recordings.

These writing conventions differ from the conventions used with the SIL alphabets for Yaminawa and Sharanahua. In the SIL Yaminawa orthography, the tilde is used on the final nasalized vowel of a word, and the nasality is assumed to spread leftward throughout the entire word.<sup>157</sup> In Sharanahua the grapheme <n> is used after the final nasalized

<sup>157</sup>This is the case for many words with nasalized morphemes, but not all. See section C.4.4 for more on



Table B.1: The official Yaminawa alphabet and comparisons to SIL alphabets

IPA	Official Yaminawa	SIL Yaminawa	SIL Sharanahua
/a/	a	a	a
/b/([b])	b	m	m
/tʃ/	ch	ch	ch
/d/([d])	d	n	n
/i/	e	e	u
/i/	i	i	i
/h/	j	j	jw̥ > w̥
	j	f	f
/k/	k	k	c, qu
/b/([m])	m	m	m
/d/([n])	n	n	n
/j/([j])	ñ	y	y
/p/	p	p	p
/r/	r	r	r
/s/	s	s	s
/ʃ/	sh	sh	sh
/t/	t	t	t
/ts/	ts	ts	ts
/u/	u	o	o
/w/	w	f	hu
/ɬ/	x	x	sh
/j/	y	y	y

vowel to indicate nasality. In both SIL alphabets, <m, n, y> are used in both nasal and oral contexts. Neither SIL alphabet marks tone. Anthropologists, such as Graham Townsley, have sometimes used <ë> to transcribe /i/ and <f> for both voiced and voiceless /w/.

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nasality.

# Appendix C

## Sketch of Yaminawa grammar

### C.1 Overview

This appendix serves to provide a general introduction to the phonology, morphology, and syntax of the Yaminawa language. Notes on significant points of dialectal and sociolinguistic variation are provided sporadically in this sketch, and a lack of such notes in any given section should not be taken to indicate a lack of (attested) variation. The aspects of Yaminawa language covered in this appendix represent those topics which I deem to be the most useful for understanding the data presented in the preceding chapters.

This sketch begins with a typological overview in section C.2. Section C.3 provides an inventory of the consonant and vowel phonemes of Yaminawa and a description of some of the most salient segmental phonological processes. Section C.4 describes the phonotactics, prosody, metrical phonology, and morphophonology. In section C.5, I introduce the primary word classes in Yaminawa. Section C.6 describes the verbal morphology and some aspects of verb phrase syntax that do not concern verbal arguments. Section C.7 describes the nominal morphology and noun phrase internal syntax. Section C.8 describes clause-level syntax, including multi-clausal syntax in section C.9.

### C.2 Typological Overview

Phonologically, Yaminawa has a small consonant inventory ( $n=13$ ) and a small vowel inventory ( $n=4$ ). These inventories are slightly larger if ideophones are included; adding two additional vowel qualities and one additional consonant (see section C.5.4.4 for more on ideophones). Maddieson (2013a) identifies Amazonia as having a notable concentration of languages with small consonant inventories, and Maddieson (2013b) identifies four vowel systems as being common in indigenous languages of the Americas. The consonant inventory of Yaminawa is notable for having three sibilants, but no other fricatives (see section C.3.1 for more on the phonemic inventory of Yaminawa). Yaminawa canonical syllable structure is (C)V(C), with only sibilants permitted in coda position. Yaminawa has several metrical phonological processes that are dependent on foot structure (see sec-

tion C.4.3).

The prosodic system of Yaminawa combines stress, tone, and nasality. Primary stress is almost always word-initial, with iterative trochaic footing assigned left-to-right. There are two tone levels, high (H) and low (L), and three tonal melodies, high (H), low (L), and high-low (HL). Syllables may be either underlyingly specified or unspecified for tone, with tonally unspecified syllables being assigned a default L tone (see section C.4.5). The tone system appears to be typical of tone systems in Amazonia, as described in Hyman (2010).<sup>158</sup> The tone and stress systems do not appear to interact. Nasality is a property of the morpheme, not the segment, in Yaminawa (see section C.4.4). Nasality may spread leftward from morphemes bearing a nasal feature. Deletion of [d] (underlyingly /n/) in morpheme-final contexts may produce phonological nasality that is distinct from morphological nasality. Morphological nasality, but not phonological nasality, is associated with a left-aligned HL contour tone that has distinct behavior from the HL contour tone found in oral contexts.

Morphologically, Yaminawa is an agglutinating and almost exclusively suffixing language. There is a small, closed set of body part prefixes which occur on verbs and, less frequently, nouns. These prefixes have limited productivity, and, with the exception of combinations with a few verb roots, they appear to largely form unproductive, lexicalized stems (see section C.6.3). Reduplication is the only fully-productive prefixing process in the language, and is able to be performed on any class or form of verbal stem. Yaminawa has some morphemes that are fusional – most are cases where morphemes exhibit morphologically-conditioned allomorphy sensitive to plural number and/or transitivity (see section C.6 for more on verbal morphology where fusional morphemes are the most frequent). Ergative case and plural number are combined in a single fusional form that does not involve allomorphic alternation (see section C.7 on nominal morphology). In both the noun phrase and the clause, Yaminawa is dependent-marking (i.e., it the possessor is marked and the possessed is unmarked, arguments are marked for case, and the verb is unmarked for agreement).

Yaminawa does not have grammatical gender or noun class, and only distinguishes two grammatical numbers: singular and plural. Morphologically, Yaminawa exhibits split ergativity with full noun phrases and third person pronouns marked along ergative-absolutive lines, and first and second person pronouns marked nominative-accusative. Syntactically, Yaminawa is nominative-accusative. The basic word order is SOV. Demonstratives precede nouns, but other modifiers, including numerals and relative clauses, follow the noun. Complement clauses may either follow or precede the verb.<sup>159</sup> Switch-reference clauses typically precede the main clause, and their order is typically iconic of the chronology of the events described by them.

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<sup>158</sup>Tone is likely to be highly under-recognized and understudied in Amazonian languages.

<sup>159</sup>Syntactically or prosodically complex or lengthy (“heavy”) clauses generally follow the verb, but “light” clauses may either precede or follow.

## C.3 Segmental phonology

### C.3.1 Phonemic inventory

Different dialects of Yaminawa have different numbers of phonemes. This grammar sketch is concerned primarily with the two southernmost dialects, Nahua and Yaminawa of Río Sepahua and Río Las Piedras (hereafter simply referred to as “Yaminawa”, unless I contrast “Nahua” with “Southern Yaminawa” specifically), which have the fewest phonemes. The consonant phonemes are given in table C.1.

Table C.1: Consonant phonemes in Yaminawa (Río Sepahua and Nahua dialects)

	<b>bilabial</b>	<b>alveolar</b>	<b>post- alveolar</b>	<b>retroflex</b>	<b>palatal</b>	<b>velar</b>	<b>glottal</b>
<b>plosive</b>	p	t				k	
<b>nasal plosive</b>	m	n					
<b>affricate</b>		ts	tʃ				
<b>fricative</b>		s	ʃ	ɣ			(h)
<b>flap/tap</b>		r					
<b>approximant</b>	w (ɰ)				j		

In other dialects of Yaminawa there are a greater number of phonemes. Sharanahua and Northern Yaminawa notably have the phoneme /β/ (which has a variety of different phonetic realizations including /ɰ/ and /v/ depending on the speaker and dialect), which has fully merged with /w/ in Southern Yaminawa and Nahua. Yaminawa dialects in Brazil such as Yawanawa and Saynawa appear to have maintained /h/ as a phoneme (Paula 2004 and Couto 2010), whereas in Southern Yaminawa it only occurs in ideophones, onomatopoetic animal terms, and the word [ʔi.h̃i] <ējē> ‘yes’. There is only one morpheme in Yaminawa, the causative suffix *-bad*, that appears to have a distinct phoneme /d/ that is not an oral reflex of /n/ (see sections C.4.3.2 on the metrical consonant deletion process that demonstrates this, and C.6.2.2 for more on the set of valency-changing suffixes that participate in this process).

In all dialects of Yaminawa, there are four vowel phonemes, which are given in table C.2.

Table C.2: Vowel phonemes in Yaminawa

	<b>front</b>	<b>central</b>	<b>back</b>
<b>high</b>	i	ɨ	u
<b>low</b>		a	

The vowel phonemes given in table C.2 appear to be the same in all dialects of Yaminawa, with the exception of Saynawa which is reported to have a mid central unrounded vowel in place of the high central unrounded vowel in other varieties (Couto 2010).

The practical orthography is presented in appendix B. The official Yaminawa alphabet includes four graphemes which do not correspond to phonemes in Southern Yaminawa: <j>, <b>, <d>, and <ñ>. <j> is used in the word <éjè> [ʔ̥.h̥i] ‘yes’, certain ideophonic and onomatopoeic words, and for words maintaining the phoneme /β/ in Northern (Yurúa) Yaminawa. The graphemes <b> and <d> are used where the phonemes /m/ and /n/ respectively occur in oral syllables, and <ñ> is used where the phoneme /j/ occurs in nasalized syllables (see section C.4.4). Vowels in nasalized syllables are written with tildes: ã, ã, ã, ã. The specific writing conventions that govern the use of this alphabet have not, at the time of this writing, been officialized by the Peruvian Ministry of Education in collaboration with the communities which are legally identified as “Yaminahua” in Peru (which are located predominantly on the Sepahua, Yurua, and Inuya rivers). There is currently no officialized system for the representation of tone in Yaminawa. I use the acute accent (´) for high tone and the grave accent (`) for low tone, the two surface tones in Yaminawa (see section C.4.5 for more on tone). The specific writing conventions that I adopt in this dissertation are also described in appendix B.

### C.3.2 Segmental phonological processes

The segmental phonological processes found in Southern Yaminawa and Nahua are relatively few. Much of the phonological processes of the language are metrical, prosodic, and/or morphophonological (see section C.4). In this section, I present all forms in the International Phonetic Alphabet.

#### C.3.2.1 Vowel lowering

The vowel /u/ is frequently in free variation with [o]. However, if /u/ is realized as [o] earlier in a word, it cannot be realized as [u] later in the word, as seen in (102).

- (102) a. [údu]  
 b. [údó]  
 c. [ódó]  
 d. \*[odu]  
 ‘sajino’

Word-final /u/ is almost always lowered to [o] in natural speech. Vowel lowering also occurs in elicitation (and possibly other correction contexts) when speakers are attempting to make a tonal distinction more clear, as in the contrast between the minimal pair /údu/ [údú] ‘sajino’ and /ùdu/ [òdò] ‘over there’. Word-final /i/ may also sometimes be lowered to [e], (as in [píchàtè] /píchàtì/ ‘kitchen’) but this only occurs sporadically in the speech of some elderly speakers.

### C.3.2.2 /k/ to [ʔ]

In the speech of elderly Southern Yaminawa speakers (but not often in the speech of female Nahua speakers), intervocalic /k/ may be realized as a glottal stop, especially where it occurs as the onset of an unstressed syllable, as in (103).

- (103) a. ['tí.kì.tí]  
b. ['tí.ʔì.tí]  
          ‘shotgun’  
  
c. ['wá.kà.pà]  
d. ['wá.ʔà.pà]  
          ‘brother-in-law’

In rapid speech, the glottal stop is sometimes deleted entirely. In Sharanahua, the reduction of /k/ to glottal stop appears to occur in all cases where it occurs intervocalically as an onset of an unstressed syllable, and in Northern Yaminawa /k/ is realized as glottal stop in nearly all intervocalic environments (with the exception of loans and possibly some marginal word classes). This phonological process is particularly salient to speakers of all dialects. Some Southern Yaminawa deny that they ever pronounce /k/ as glottal stop, as this is a characteristic feature of Sharanahua and Northern Yaminawa.

### C.3.2.3 The bilabial approximant

The phoneme /w/ is realized as [h] before word-initial /u/ by Nahua speakers, and as a voiceless labiovelar approximant by many Southern Yaminawa speakers. Elsewhere, it is usually realized as /w/ in Yaminawa and Nahua. This is another feature that is salient to speakers and which varies by dialect, as shown in (104).

- (104) a. [múú](Southern Yaminawa)  
b. [húú](Nahua and Northern Yaminawa)  
c. [ɸúú](Sharanahua)  
          ‘hair’  
  
d. [íwápà](Southern Yaminawa, Nahua, and Northern Yaminawa)  
e. [íβápà](Sharanahua)  
          ‘big’

In Sharanahua and Northern Yaminawa /w/ and /β/ or /h/ are two separate phonemes; compare the Sharanahua minimal pair [βáwá] ‘grandchild’ with [βáβá] ‘parrot’. In Southern Yaminawa and Nahua these phonemes have merged: [wáwá] ‘grandchild’ or ‘parrot’.

### C.3.2.4 Vowel coalescence and reduction

When the perfective *-a* /a/ or the imperfective *-i* /i/ occur word-finally, they coalesce with a preceding identical vowel, as in (105a-b). When /i/ follows /a/, it may be reduced to a glide, as in (105c).

- |       |               |              |                      |
|-------|---------------|--------------|----------------------|
| (105) | a. [rákà ]    | b. [dájì ]   | c. [pátsàj]          |
|       | /rákà -a/     | /nájì -i/    | /pátsà -i/           |
|       | lie.down -PFV | bathe -IPFV  | wash.clothes -IPFV   |
|       | ‘laid down’   | ‘is bathing’ | ‘is washing clothes’ |

### C.3.2.5 [j] insertion

Nahua speakers frequently insert an approximant ranging in quality from a palatal [j] to a velar [ɰ] between /i/ and /a/, as in (106).

- |       |                |              |                               |
|-------|----------------|--------------|-------------------------------|
| (106) | a. [wáʂ.tì.yà] | b. [wí.ɰà]   | c. [dì.ɰà]                    |
|       | /wáʂtì -a/     | /wí -a/      | /nà/                          |
|       | tear -PFV      | bring -PFV   | ‘trompetero bird’             |
|       | ‘(it) tore’    | ‘brought it’ | ( <i>Psophia leucoptera</i> ) |

### C.3.2.6 Coda deletion

As I will discuss in section C.4.1, the only codas permitted in Yaminawa are sibilants. There are a small number of bound morphemes that terminate in [d] (/n/), which is deleted when it occurs before another consonant (i.e., where it would occur in coda position). This deletion causes the morpheme to be nasalized, as shown in (107).

- |       |                         |   |
|-------|-------------------------|---|
| (107) | a. [wíkãwĩ]             | c. [ájáwáwãĩnũ]                                       |
|       | /wík -kan -wĩ/          | /ájá -wáwáĩn -nũ/                                     |
|       | come.PL -PL.IPFV -IMPER | drink -CONT.TR -OPT                                   |
|       | ‘Come!’ (to various)    | ‘(I/we) will drink (it) everyday, throughout the day’ |
|       | b. [áʂùtìrù]            |   |
|       | /ák -ʂun -tìru/         |   |
|       | AUX.TR -BEN -POT        |   |
|       | ‘can do it for (him)’   |   |

Morphemes exhibiting this behavior include several classes of verbal suffixes: valency-changing, associated motion, circadian temporal indicators, and the third person imperfective plural.

The final [d] of the causative suffix /-bad/ is deleted in coda position, but does not cause nasalization of the preceding vowel, as in (108), evidence that this [d] may be a distinct phoneme /d/ underlyingly. See section C.4.3.2 for a related metrical phonological deletion process targeting the final consonants of the valency-changing verbal suffixes.

(108) [pí:bákàdì]

*pí: -bád -kad -i*  
eat -CAUS -PL.IPFV -IPFV

‘they are feeding him’

Aside from the causative, the only morphemes that delete consonants other than /n/ where they would occur in coda position are the semantically bleached verbs *ákì* /ák/ ‘do (transitive)’ and *íkì* /ík/ ‘do (intransitive)’. This deletion is illustrated in (109).

(109) a. [ákà]

/ák -a/  
do.TR -PFV

‘(s/he) did’

b. [íkà]

*ík -a*  
do.ITER -PFV

‘(s/he) was/said/lived’

c. [áwĩ]

/ák -wĩ/  
do.TR -IMPER

‘do it!’

d. [ínũ]

/ík -nũ/  
do.ITER -OPT

‘may I/you/we/he/she/they be/say’

Section C.4.4 discusses nasal spread in more detail as a morphophonological and prosodic process. Section C.4.3 discusses metrically-conditioned consonant deletion in detail.

## C.4 Phonotactics, prosody, metrical phonology, and morphophonology

While the segmental phonology of Yaminawa involves comparatively few processes, the prosodic and metrical phonology and the morphophonology involves many. This section aims only to provide a broad overview of the most prevalent processes. In this section, I represent segments, nasality, and tone with the practical orthography, and use International Phonetic Alphabet conventions for representing syllable breaks (.), and primary (ˈ) and secondary (ˌ) stress.



### C.4.1 The syllable, the root, the stem, and the word

This section provides information on the minimal and maximal structure of the syllable, the root, the stem (relevant for certain phonological processes in the verbal domain), and the word.

The syllable is an important unit in Yaminawa as there are several morphophonological processes in the language which are dependent on syllabification and metrical structure. The minimal syllable in Yaminawa is a single short vowel, as in (110).

- |       |    |                       |    |                      |
|-------|----|-----------------------|----|----------------------|
| (110) | a. | [ <sup>l</sup> ú.tsá] | b. | [ <sup>l</sup> à.dù] |
|       |    | /útsá/                |    | /anu/                |
|       |    | ‘rabbit’              |    | ‘lowland paca’       |
|       | c. | [ <sup>l</sup> pà.ì]  | d. | [ <sup>l</sup> í.sì] |
|       |    | /pai/                 |    | /ísì/                |
|       |    | ‘pain, flu’           |    | ‘illness, pain’      |

CV syllables are permitted, with any consonant permitted as the onset, as in (111).

- |       |    |                                      |    |                        |
|-------|----|--------------------------------------|----|------------------------|
| (111) | a. | [ <sup>l</sup> kà.pà]                | b. | [ <sup>l</sup> já.wá]  |
|       |    | /kapa/                               |    | /jáwá/                 |
|       |    | ‘squirrel’                           |    | ‘collared peccary’     |
|       | c. | [ <sup>l</sup> dì.sà]                | d. | [ <sup>l</sup> rí.wí]  |
|       |    | /disa/                               |    | /ríwí/                 |
|       |    | ‘yellow spotted Amazon river turtle’ |    | ‘dove’                 |
|       | e. | [ <sup>l</sup> ʂà.wì]                | f. | [ <sup>l</sup> tjà.rù] |
|       |    | /ʂawi/                               |    | /tʂaru/                |
|       |    | ‘tortoise’                           |    | ‘flower’               |

Consonants occurring intervocalically are syllabified as the onset of the following syllable. Complex onsets are not permitted and only the sibilants /s, ʃ, ʂ/ (<s>, <sh>, and <x>, respectively) are permitted as codas, as in (112).

- |       |    |                          |    |                        |
|-------|----|--------------------------|----|------------------------|
| (112) | a. | [ <sup>l</sup> wáʂ.tì.à] | b. | [ <sup>l</sup> rá.jùs] |
|       |    | /wáʂtì -a/               |    | ‘son-in-law’           |
|       |    | tear.ITR -PFV            |    |                        |
|       |    | ‘it tore’                | c. | [ <sup>l</sup> íʃ.kì]  |
|       |    |                          |    | ‘carachama’            |

The minimal root in Yaminawa must be bimoraic, and monosyllabic roots, which are all verbal, undergo vowel lengthening to meet this minimum bimoraic requirement, as in (113).

- (113) a. [ˈdɑː.tì.rù]  
           /ná -tíru/  
           die -POT  
           ‘may die’
- b. [ˈúː.píʃ.tâj]  
           /ú -píʃtá -i/  
           come.SG -DIM -IPFV  
           ‘is coming (with affection)’
- c. [ˈkáː.wì]  
           /ká -wì/  
           go.SG -IMPER  
           ‘go!’

The longest attested native Yaminawa roots for nouns, verbs, and adverbs (the open word classes) appear to be tetrasyllabic (see section C.4.5.1 for some examples of three- and four-syllable noun roots, and section C.4.5.2 for some examples of three- and four-syllable verb roots).

The form of the nominal stem does not appear to be relevant to any phonological processes in Yaminawa, but the form of the verb stem is important for reduplication. The morphological verbal stem consists only of the root plus any word-class derivational or lexical-class derivational suffixes; this stem is what determines the transitivity class of the verb (see section C.6.2 for more on the morphological stem). The phonological stem, which is the form of the stem used in reduplication, includes the body part prefixes, the root, word-class derivation, lexical-class derivation (i.e., valency-changing suffixes), affective morphology, and associated motion morphology (see section C.6 for more details on the morphological structure of the verbal word). The reduplicant can copy phonological material from any of those categories, as long as it is contained within the first three syllables of the phonological stem, as in (114).

- (114) a. [bí.tʃú.kù.bí.tʃú.kù.bìj]  
           /mítʃúkù- mí- tʃúkùmì -i/  
           REDUP.REPEAT- hand- rub.together.REFL -IPFV  
           ‘is washing (his/her) hands’ (lit. ‘rubbing hands together’)
- b. [pí.â.ǵǵ.pí.â.ǵǵ.dì]  
           /píǵǵǵ- pí -â -wan -ni/  
           REUP.REPEAT- eat -MAL -AM:come.and.do -PST6  
           ‘repeatedly came to eat (long ago)’

c. [dí.ká.rì.dí.ká.rì.bìs.wù]

/níkárì- níká -rì -mis =wu/  
REDUP.REPEAT- hear -ITER -HABIT = PL

‘we had always heard about it (over and over)’

The reduplicant never copies phonological material from other categories (i.e., inflectional categories) like T/A/M or number marking, even when that material is present in the first three syllables, as seen in (115). Note that any segmental material of the root that is syllabified with segmental material from outside the phonological stem is not copied as part of the reduplicant, even where it would otherwise be anticipated that it be phonotactically acceptable to do so, as in (115b).

(115) a. [pí.rì.pí.rì.bìs]

/pírì- pí -rì -mis/  
REDUP.REPEAT eat -ITER -HABIT

‘used to eat (it) every time’

b. [wá.kì.wá.kì.ʃì]

/wákì- wákìʃ -I/  
REDUP.REPEAT- be.dark -IPFV

‘It was getting cloudy, then sunny, cloudy, then sunny’

As discussed in section C.4.3, there are some metrical phonological processes that involve morphemes occurring in the first two metrical feet of the verbal phonological stem.

The minimal word in Yaminawa is disyllabic (except for a limited number of words from closed classes: pronouns, interjections/ideophones, and some adverbs). All noun roots are minimally disyllabic, and all verb roots (which may be as minimal as a bimoraic monosyllable) must bear at least one inflectional suffix, forming a disyllabic word. Yaminawa is morphologically rich, and it is not unusual for speakers to produce words of ten syllables or more in natural speech. The longest word (in terms of number of syllables) in the traditional narrative corpus has fourteen syllables, and is provided in (116).

(116) *dawa reteakewũwãwãwãwĩwĩwudu...*<sup>160</sup>

*dawa rete -ake -wuwad -wawaid -wi*  
other.people kill -AM:circular -AM:go.about.doing.TR -CONT -FRUST  
= *ai* = *wu* = *du*  
= IPFV.SUB = PL = DS

‘Even though they went around in all directions killing people continuously...’  
(TN.MRR.Xukuxuku Ñũshĩwu.0141.line 52)

<sup>160</sup>I do not mark tone on examples coming from naturally occurring speech, as it is difficult for me to reliably transcribe it as produced by the speaker due to the often noisy conditions of the storytelling and conversational contexts.

## C.4.2 Stress

Primary stress in Yaminawa is word-initial. Metrical feet are left-aligned and iteratively trochaic, with no degenerate feet. Stress in Yaminawa is realized as an increase in vowel duration (vowels in stressed syllables are around 10-20 percent longer than vowels in unstressed syllables, as compared to long vowels (see section C.4.1 on lengthening of vowels in monosyllabic roots to meet the root bimoraicity requirement, which are around 50 percent longer than unstressed vowels).

- (117) a. ('bà.dì)  
/mani/  
'leaf'
- b. ('mǎ.ní)ǎ  
/mǎníǎ/  
'plantain'
- c. ('bá.ǵá)rú  
/mǎǵárú/  
'jaguar'
- d. ('á.wá)(ǵ.wì.dà)  
/áwáwìdà/  
'butterfly'
- e. ('ù.ǵà)(ǵ.í.dà)  
/ùǵà -ǵin -a/  
sleep -CIRC:night -PFV  
'slept all night'
- f. ('í.kìǵ)(ǵ.tì.rù)wù  
/íkìǵ -tìru =wu/  
sew -POT =PL  
'they may sew'
- g. ('wǐ.nǎ)(ǵ.mǎ.rìǵ)(ǵ.tá.kú)ì  
/wǐnǎmǎrì -ǵtá -kúì/  
in.the.morning -DIM -INTENS  
'really early in the morning'

Example (117f) demonstrates that initial stress is not weight-sensitive in Yaminawa. Example (117g) demonstrates that secondary stress is also weight-insensitive. It is not possible to demonstrate that long vowels do not attract stress as these vowels only occur word-initially, and always receive initial stress. Section C.4.3 discusses phonological processes sensitive to foot structure.<sup>161</sup>

A small number of nouns in Yaminawa have atypical stress patterns that are not predictable. All of these roots are three or more syllables and appear to be either loans or onomatopoeic forms.

<sup>161</sup>While there exists a class of verbal body-part prefixes, these never combine with any of the small set of monosyllabic verb roots.

- (118) a. [ká.pí.rí.'bà]  
           ‘boquichico’ (fish sp.) (likely loan from Yine)<sup>162</sup>  
       b. [tá.ká.'rá]  
           chicken (possibly onomatopoeic)

Stress in verb forms with reduplication has not been systematically studied at this time, but my impressionistic observation is that verbs with tri-syllabic reduplicants also have an irregular stress pattern, with primary stress on the first syllable (as predicted), but secondary stress falling on the fourth syllable (the first syllable of the verbal phonological stem), as in (119).

- (119) ('bí.tʃú)kù(,bí.tʃú)(,kù.bì)j  
       /mítʃúkù-        mí-    tʃúkùmì        -i/  
       REDUP.REPEAT- hand- rub.together.REFL -IPFV  
       ‘is washing (his/her) hands’ (lit. ‘rubbing hands together’)

### C.4.3 Metrically-conditioned processes

There are four salient metrically-conditioned phonological or morphophonological processes in Yaminawa. There is one process, truncation of certain trisyllabic roots (section C.4.3.1), that applies in the nominal domain. There are three processes that apply to the verbal domain: segment deletion (section C.4.3.2), vowel epenthesis (section C.4.3.3), and metrical alternations in the forms of certain verbal suffixes (section C.4.3.4).

#### C.4.3.1 Truncation of certain trisyllabic noun roots

In the nominal domain, there are a significant number of roots which surface as trisyllabic in ergative or instrumental case and with the augmentative suffix, but which surface as disyllabic in all other environments, as in (120). These forms can be recognized in their disyllabic form by the fact that they have HL tone, as opposed to the level tone of non-alternating disyllabic roots.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>(120) a. ('á.wà)<br/>                 /áwápà/<br/>                 tapir</p> | <p>a'. ('á.wá)pà<br/>                 /áwápà = N/<br/>                 tapir    = ERG</p>       |
| <p>b. ('ká.pì)<br/>                 /kápítà/<br/>                 alligator</p> | <p>b'. ('ká.pí)tà<br/>                 /kápítà    = N/<br/>                 alligator = ERG</p> |

<sup>162</sup>The Yine word for boquichico is <kapiripa> according to Nies (1986).

c. ('tʃáʂ.kà) /tʃáʂkápa/ achiote	c'. ('tʃáʂ.ká)pà /tʃáʂkápa = N/ achiote = INS
d. ('rá.jùs) /rájúsi/ son.in.law	d'. ('rá.jú)sì /rájúsi = N/ son.in.law = ERG
e. ('tʃá.pì) /tʃápíʃi/ kingfisher	e'. ('tʃá.pí)ʃì /tʃápíʃi = N/ kingfisher = ERG
f. ('wá.kùʂ) /wákúʂù/ foam	f'. ('wá.kú)ʂù /wákúʂù = N/ foam = INS
g. ('ná.ì) /náìnì/ tamandua	g'. ('ná.ì)nì /náìnì = N/ tamandua = ERG
h. ('ǎ.mì) /ǎmìnù/ capybara	h'. ('ǎ.mì)nù /ǎmìnù = N/ capybara = ERG
i. ('wǎ.rà) /wǎràrà/ pumpkin	i'. ('wǎ.rà)mà /wǎràrà = N/ pumpkin = INS

In roots belonging to this class, the final syllable of the tri-syllabic form is not predictable, so the final syllable must be part of the underlying representation which is truncated in absolutive case and other contexts. The nasalization of the final syllable of oral roots (but not the rest of the root) likely comes from the ergative case or augmentative suffix, and I do not analyze it as part of the underlying form of the root itself. For forms which occur frequently in ergative case, such as /rájúsi/ 'son-in-law' the truncated syllable is stable for all speakers. For forms where the ergative case is less common there may be some variation. For example, the root 'alligator' is /kápítà/ for most speakers, but /kápítù/ and, more rarely, /kápípà/ are also sometimes produced. For highly infrequent forms, or forms that speakers recognize from other dialects but report that they do not use themselves, speakers often guess /pa/ for the final syllable of oral roots and /mã/ for nasal roots. Language shift appears to be a significant factor in the morphological

leveling of the final syllables to /pa/ and /mã/, as younger Southern Yaminawa speakers tend to use these syllables for a wider range of roots, particularly less frequent ones, in elicitation contexts.<sup>163</sup>

Beyond the specific class of nouns described above, other nominal-patterning elements, specifically adjectives and numerals (see section C.5 on word classes in Yaminawa), also exhibit the resurgence of an underlying or epenthetic syllable in nasalization contexts (e.g., when modified by the augmentative suffix, or in ergative/instrumental case).<sup>164</sup> Some examples of adjectives and numerals that exhibit truncation are provided in example (121).

- |                  |                 |
|------------------|-----------------|
| (121) a. ('ú.fĩ) | a'. ('ú.fĩ)nĩ   |
| /úfĩnĩ/          | /úfĩnĩ = N̂/    |
| red              | red = ERG       |
| b. ('wís.tì)     | b'. ('wís.tí)tĩ |
| /wístítĩ/        | /wístítĩ = N̂/  |
| one              | one = ERG       |
| c. ('rá.wì)      | c'. ('rá.wí)tã  |
| /ráwítà/         | /ráwítà = N̂/   |
| two              | two = ERG       |

Truncated roots are a unique class among Yaminawa roots in that the oral roots are not nasalized by suffixes bearing nasal features (see section C.4.4 on nasal harmony). In addition to these nominal-patterning roots, some nominal suffixes also have latent or epenthetic syllables that only appear in nasalization contexts such as ergative or instrumental case. These include the instrumental nominalizer *-tĩ*, the augmentative *-wã*, and the intensifier *-kũũ*, as shown in (122).

- |                      |                                |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|
| (122) a. ('tí.kì)tí  | a'. ('tí.kì)(tí.nĩ)            |
| /tíkì -tí/           | /tíkì -tí -ni = N̂/            |
| break. ITR -NMLZ.INS | break. ITR -NMLZ.INS -EP = INS |
| ‘shotgun’            | ‘with a/the shotgun’           |

<sup>163</sup>I have not yet investigated this variation in the third syllables of truncating roots in natural speech in a systematic way, and it is possible that there is also variability in these syllables across different dialects.

<sup>164</sup>At this point in time, my impression is that the additional syllable which appears in these forms is likely underlyingly associated with each root, but this topic merits further study and I do not wish, at this time, to rule out the possibility that these syllables are predictable on the basis of some combination of lexical and phonological factors.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>b. ('á.wà)(pá.ǵà)<br/>         /awapa -wâ/<br/>         tapir -AUG<br/>         'big tapir (absolutive form)'</p>                   | <p>b'. ('á.wà)(pá.ǵà)nǵ<br/>         /awapa -wâ -ni = N̂/<br/>         tapir -AUG -EP = ERG<br/>         'big tapir (ergative form)'</p>              |
| <p>c. ('dú.kú)(wǵ.dǵ)(kú.ǵ)<br/>         /núkúwǵnǵ -kúǵ/<br/>         man -INTENS<br/>         'real man' (e.g., not a spirit man)</p> | <p>c'. ('dú.kú)(wǵ.dǵ)(kú.ǵ)tǵǵ<br/>         /núkúwǵnǵ -kúǵ -tǵi = N̂/<br/>         man -INTENS -EP = ERG<br/>         'real man (ergative form)'</p> |

#### C.4.3.2 Metrically-conditioned segment deletion

Yaminawa has metrically-conditioned deletion of both consonants and vowels. The most productive metrically conditioned deletion process is the deletion of the final /n/ of certain valency-increasing suffixes where it occurs in positions that would cause it to be the onset of a syllable in a different metrical foot than the rest of the morpheme. The suffixes that are subject to this process are the benefactive applicative /-ʃun/ <-xud>, the comitative applicative /-kin/ <-kid>, and the causative /-mad/ <-bad>. Deletion of /n/ causes phonological nasalization of the vowel in the benefactive and comitative applicative, but not in the causative -bad.<sup>165</sup>

Example (123) shows the alternation of the form of the benefactive -xud in verb stems of varying lengths. Note that the root-final /k/ in examples (123a) and (123e) is deleted due to its occurrence in coda position (see section C.3.2.6).

- (123) a. ('á.ʃǵ)à  
           /ák -ʃun -a/  
           do.TR -BEN -PFV  
           'did it for someone'
- b. ('pǵ.tǵà)(ʃǵ.dà)  
           /pǵtǵà -ʃun -a/  
           cook -BEN -PFV  
           'cooked it for someone'

<sup>165</sup>The causative -bad is the only morpheme that is not subject to nasalization due to deletion of <d> (see section C.4.4 on nasality and nasal harmony). This appears to be evidence that there is a phoneme /d/ distinct from the more widely encountered /n/ in Yaminawa, with the causative being the only apparent (attested) instance of the phoneme /d/ in the language. González (2005b) presents an alternate hypothesis that this may be metrically-conditioned epenthesis of [d].



- c. ('pí.bá)(,şù.dà)  
 /pí -mad -şun -a/  
 eat -CAUS -BEN -PFV  
 'made them eat for someone' (i.e., served food on someone's behalf)
- d. ('á.já)(,bà.şũ)ã  
 /ájá -mad -şun -a/  
 drink -CAUS -BEN -PFV  
 'made them drink for someone' (i.e., served beverage on someone's behalf)
- e. ('á.şũ)(,í.tà)  
 /ák -şun -ítà/  
 do.TR -BEN -PST3  
 'did it for someone a few days ago'
- f. ('á.já)(,bà.şũ)(,í.tà)  
 /ájá -mad -şun -ítà/  
 drink -CAUS -BEN -PST3  
 'made them drink for someone a few days ago'

In (123a) the /n/ is deleted because it would occur as the onset of an extrametrical syllable. In (123b-c) the /n/ is *not* deleted, as it occurs in the same metrical foot as the rest of the segments in the benefactive suffix *-xud*. In (123d-f) the /n/ is deleted because it would be syllabified as the onset of a syllable that is not part of the same metrical foot as the rest of the suffix.

Vowel deletion is less frequently encountered than the /n/ deletion process, and is only attested in the formation of verb stems from a body part prefix and a disyllabic verb root beginning with a sibilant. The vowel of the first syllable of the root is deleted and the sibilant onset becomes the coda of the first syllable of the stem, such that the resulting stem is a well-formed metrical foot, as in (124).

- (124) a. ('şá.tí)à  
 /şátí -a/  
 cut -PFV  
 'cut (it)' (without a body part prefix, vowel intact)
- b. ('úş.tí)à  
 /ú- şátì -a/  
 foot- cut -PFV  
 'cut (off) (its) foot'

- c. ('bís.tí)à  
 /mí- sáti -a/  
 hand- cut -PFV  
 'cut (off) (its) hand'
- d. ('tís.tí)à  
 /tí- sáti -a/  
 neck- cut -PFV  
 'cut off (its) head' or 'cut (its) neck'

The verb root used in the above example, *xátêi* 'cut (off)' is the only known verb root for which the majority of body part prefixes can be applied (see section C.6.3 for more on body part prefixes, including an inventory of forms). The only other possible example of this metrical vowel deletion process that I have identified is given in example (125). In these forms, the root has become fixed in its reduced form /stí/ and never occurs without one of the body part prefixes, as shown below. There are no other roots attested that have forms that begin with consonant clusters (which are not permitted as onsets), so it is possible that this root was previously /sVti/, but the vowel is not longer recoverable to speakers and it only occurs infrequently in the language, and only with the three body part prefixes shown in the example below.

- (125) a. ('wís.tí)à  
 /wí- sVtí -a/  
 forehead/eye- cut.hair -PFV  
 'cut his bangs'
- b. ('bás.tí)à  
 /má- sVtí -a/  
 head- cut.hair -PFV  
 'cut the hair on his crown (making a tonsure)'
- c. ('tís.tí)à  
 /tí- sVtí -a/  
 neck- cut.hair -PFV  
 'cut the hair on the back of his neck'

#### C.4.3.3 Metrically-conditioned vowel epenthesis

There is also a metrically conditioned vowel epenthesis process in Yaminawa that only applies to two roots: the semantically bleached intransitive verb /ík/ (*íkì*) and the semantically bleached transitive verb /ák/ (*ákì*). In this process, the vowel /a/ is epenthesized

after the /k/ of the root when it is followed by a disyllabic stem-forming suffix (such as /-mitsa/ <-betsa> ‘effort’ or /-námì/ <-nábè> ‘pity’), to form a stem that consists of two well-formed metrical feet, as in (126a-b). Vowel epenthesis does not occur when the semantically bleached roots /ík/ and /ák/ are combined with inflectional morphology, as exemplified in (126c-d).

- (126) a. ('á.kà)(bì.tsà)  
           /ák -a -mitsa -a/  
           do.TR -EV -EFFORT -PFV  
           ‘did (it) (painstakingly)’
- b. ('í.kà)(ná.mì)à  
           /ík -a -námì -a/  
           do.ITR -EV -PITY -PFV  
           ‘said/was (a certain way) (that inspired pity)’
- c. ('á.tì)rù  
           /ák -tiru/  
           do.TR -POT  
           ‘can do (it)’
- d. ('í.tì)rù  
           /ík -tiru/  
           do.ITR -POT  
           ‘can be/say’

The appearance of the vowel /a/ in the above examples is considered to be an epenthesis process, not a deletion process, because the vowel only appears in contexts where the stem consists of two well formed feet after epenthesis, and does not appear in contexts where epenthesis would create a single well-formed foot (i.e., it does not occur in words like (126c-d), where epenthesis would create a stem that is also a well-formed metrical foot). This process only applies to combinations of the semantically bleached verbs *íkì* (intransitive) and *ákì* (transitive) with disyllabic stem-forming suffixes. It does not occur with other monosyllabic roots, monosyllabic stem-forming suffixes, or the stem-forming suffixes that alternate between one and two syllables (see section C.4.3.4).

#### C.4.3.4 Other metrically-conditioned processes

Some disyllabic verbal stem-forming morphemes, such as the associated motion suffix /-pákì/ (-pákè) ‘downward’ and the affectionate diminutive /-píjtá/ (-písh-tá), delete one of the syllables of the suffix in order to form a stem of either a single well-formed metrical

foot or two well-formed metrical feet. In the case of the suffix /-tuʃi/~/-tiʃu/ (-*tushi*) ‘upon arrival’, the vowels of the suffix metathesize in different metrical positions.

For *-pákè* ‘downward’ the full form of the suffix appears when it follows a well-formed metrical foot, as in (127a). When it does not follow a well-formed foot, as in (127b), the second syllable is deleted. This process only appears to apply when the suffix occurs at the boundary of the first and second metrical feet; as seen in (127c), the deletion of the second syllable does not occur at the boundary of the second and third metrical feet.<sup>166</sup>

- (127) a. ('á.já)(,pá.kì)ì  
           /ájá -pákì                   -i/  
           drink -AM:downward -IPFV  
           ‘is drinking as (s/he) descends (i.e., a hill, a river, a tree trunk)’
- b. ('ká.pà)ì  
           /ká -pákì                   -i/  
           go.SG -AM:downward -IPFV  
           ‘is going descending’
- c. ('şú.ì)(,şù.pá)(,kì.kì)  
           /şùì -şun -pákì                   =ki/  
           grill -BEN -AM:downward =SS.SIM  
           ‘as (she) grilled (them) one-by-one for (them)’

In the case of the suffix /-píʃtá/ (-*pishtá*), the affectionate diminutive, the opposite pattern is seen: the first syllable is deleted following a well-formed foot, as in (128a), and the first syllable is preserved when it follows a mono-syllabic root, as in (128b-c). This syllable is also preserved when the suffix follows a three-syllable stem, as in (128d). The generalization for the appearance of the initial syllable /pí(ʃ)/ is that it may only occur in even-numbered or ‘weak’ metrical positions and is otherwise deleted.

- (128) a. ('á.jáʃ)(,tá.ì)  
           /ájá -píʃtá -i/  
           drink -DIM -IPFV  
           ‘(the dear one) was drinking’

<sup>166</sup>Note that other metrical deletion processes, specifically the deletion of intervocalic /n/, does occur at the boundary between the second and third metrical feet, as discussed in section C.4.3.2, showing that footing is iterative and not limited to two metrical feet.

- b. ('á.píʃ)(,tá.ì)  
 /ák -píʃtá -i/  
 do.TR -DIM -IPFV  
 ‘(the dear one) was doing (it)’
- c. ('ú.píʃ)(,tá.ì)  
 /ú -píʃtá -i/  
 come.SG -DIM -IPFV  
 ‘(the dear one) is coming’
- d. ('í.kì)(,bà.píʃ)(,tá.wè)  
 /íkì -mad -píʃtá -we/  
 enter -CAUS -DIM -IMPER  
 ‘please let (me) in’

The associated motion suffix /-tuʃi/~/-/tiʃu/ (-*tushi*) ‘upon arrival’ does not undergo metrical syllable deletion, rather the vowels of the first and second syllables metathesize in different metrical positions. When the suffix follows a well-formed foot, as in (129a), it takes the form /-tuʃi/. When it follows a mono-syllabic root, it takes the form /-tiʃu/, as in (129b). In example (129c), we see that, like the ‘downward’ associated motion suffix -*pákè*, the metrical alternation is limited to the boundary of the first two metrical feet, and does not occur at the boundary of the second and third metrical feet.

- (129) a. ('rá.kà)(,tò.ʃì)à  
 /rákà -tuʃi -a/  
 lie.down -AM:do.upon.arrival -PFV  
 ‘laid down upon arrival’
- b. ('wá.tì)(,ʃù.dì)  
 /wá -tushi -ni/  
 tell -AM:do.upon.arrival -PST6  
 ‘told upon arrival (long ago)’
- c. ('jú.í)(,ʃù.tò)(,ʃì.dì)  
 /júí -ʃun -tushi -ni/  
 tell -BEN -AM:do.upon.arrival -PST6  
 ‘told it for her on arrival’

Using data from Eaken (1991), Faust and Loos (2002), and Loos (2006), González suggests that the alternation of /-tuʃi/ and /-tiʃu/ may be due to a preference for the

more sonorous vowel [o] to occur in a prominent (head) syllable of the foot (Gonzalez2005a:p.157). This would be consistent with the deletion of the sequence /pi/ from the diminutive suffix *-písh tá* where /pi/ would occur in the prominent syllable. However, this generalization does not account for the fact that vowel metathesis in *-tushi* ‘on arrival’ and second-syllable deletion in *-pákè* ‘downward’ only occurs when these morphemes are entirely contained by the first two metrical feet, yet the metrical deletion of /pi/ in *-písh tá* and the metrical deletion of /n/ (see section C.4.3.2) may occur beyond this two-foot window.

#### C.4.4 Nasality and nasal harmony

Loos (2006) presents an analysis of nasal spread (also called nasal harmony) in the Río Yurúa variety of Yaminawa that claims that nasalization is due to a syllable-final nasal consonant, on the basis that there is no nasal vowel that can be shown to bear nasality independent of a (synchronically or diachronically) deleted nasal consonant. In the Río Sepahua and Nahua varieties, nasality and nasal harmony can usually be shown to involve an underlying nasal consonant which has been deleted in the surface form in the nominal domain, but this is seldom the case in the verbal domain. Additionally, the Río Sepahua and Nahua varieties do not involve discontinuous spread like that described by Loos.<sup>167</sup>

In Yaminawa, nasality is a feature of morphemes, not just segments (as this section will discuss, the segments /n/ and /m/ also have nasal features, but these are non-spreading). The majority of morphemes are either entirely nasal or entirely oral, as in (130).

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>(130) a. [dàì]</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">/nai/</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">‘sky’</p>  | <p>b. [wárí]</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">/wárí/</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">‘sun’</p>   |
| <p>c. [náĩ]</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">/náĩnì<sup>N</sup>/</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">‘arboreal anteater’</p>                                | <p>d. [wǎrà]</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">/wǎrà<sup>N</sup>mà<sup>N</sup>/</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">‘pumpkin’</p>                                     |
| <p>e. [ídàì]</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">/ínà -i/</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">climb -IPFV</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">‘is climbing’</p> | <p>f. [ínàì]</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">/ínà<sup>N</sup> -i/</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">give -IPFV</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">‘is giving’</p> |

Morphemes bearing a nasal feature may spread nasality leftward to other morphemes, as in (131). In this section, I represent morphemes that bear a nasal feature with the superscript (◌<sup>N</sup>) following the morpheme in the interlinearization. I also indicate the HL tone

<sup>167</sup>According to Paula (2004), it appears that there are no oral reflexes of the consonants /m/ and /n/ in Yawanawá, though it appears that only coda /n/ causes nasalization of the preceding vowel. There is considerable variability in the realization of nasality in the languages of the Yaminawa dialect complex.

characteristic of these morphemes with the caret (◌̂) on the phonemic representations of monosyllabic or non-syllabic nasal morphemes in this section and in the following section on tone.<sup>168</sup> Example (131b) demonstrates that voiceless consonants are transparent segments to nasal spread. All vowels and voiced consonants (/m, n, j, w/) are nasalizable.<sup>169</sup>

- (131) a. [wírũw̃à]  
           /wíru -wâ<sup>N</sup>/  
           eye -AUG  
           ‘big eye’
- b. [pístĩw̃à]  
           /pisti -wâ<sup>N</sup>/  
           horsefly -AUG  
           ‘big horsefly’
- c. [mĩnàkàdì]  
           /míí -nâ<sup>N</sup> -kan -i/  
           hit -RECIP -PL.IPFV -IPFV  
           ‘they’re fighting’
- d. [pímánàkàdì]  
           /pí -mad -nâ<sup>N</sup> -kan -i/  
           eat -CAUS -RECIP -PL.IPFV -IPFV  
           ‘they’re feeding each other’

Some roots are only partially nasalized by a suffix bearing a nasal feature; these roots all belong to a single class of noun roots, discussed in section (C.4.3.1). These roots have latent syllables that only appear in certain morphological contexts, such as ergative/instrumental case or with the augmentative suffix, and only the final latent syllable is nasalized by suffixes with nasal features, as in (132).

- (132) a. [áwà] → [áwàpáw̃à]  
           /áwápà/      /áwápà -wâ<sup>N</sup>/  
           tapir            tapir -AUG  
           ‘tapir’           ‘big tapir’

<sup>168</sup>Nearly all nasal roots bear a HL contour tone, but there are a small set of noun roots that have L tone (see section C.4.5.1). Most nasal bound morphemes also bear HL tone if they are disyllabic; bound morphemes that spread nasality also alter the tone of the root. See section C.4.5 for more on tone.

<sup>169</sup>I have not yet been able to confirm if the tap /ɾ/ nasalizes.

- b. [kápi] → [kápitáwã]  
 /kápità/ /kápità -wâ<sup>N</sup>/  
 alligator alligator -AUG  
 ‘alligator’ ‘big alligator’
- c. [títì] → [títìpáwã]  
 /títípà/ /títípà -wâ<sup>N</sup>/  
 hawk hawk -AUG  
 ‘hawk’ ‘big hawk’

A number of morphemes in Yaminawa are frequently realized as nasalization only. These include ergative/instrumental case, the verbal malefactive, and a verbal causative of limited productivity.

- (133) a. [wĩnĩ]  
 /winĩ = Ñ̂/  
 husband -ERG
- b. [núpĩ]  
 /nupĩ = Ñ̂/  
 machete -INS
- c. [rítĩãwù]  
 /rítĩ -Ñ̂ -a = wù/  
 kill -MAL -PFV -PL  
 ‘They killed (it) to (his/her) detriment.’
- d. [ùşã̃]  
 /ùşã̃ -Ñ̂ -a/  
 sleep -CAUS -PFV  
 ‘(S/he) put (him/her) to sleep.’

Not all morphemes that surface as nasal bear a nasal feature that can cause leftward nasal harmony. Nasality may also arise from the deletion of /n/ in coda position, as in (134a-b), or in certain metrical positions, as in (134c-d) (for more on deletion in coda position see section C.3.2.6; for more on metrical deletion see section C.4.3.2). The nasality produced by these processes is purely segmental and only affects the preceding vowel, and does not spread leftward across other morphemes.



- (134) a. [wíkàwĩ̀]  
           /wí        -kan        -wĩ/  
           come.PL -3PL.IPFV -IMPER  
           ‘Come!’ (to various)
- b. [áṣùtìrù̀]  
           /ák        -ṣun -tìru/  
           AUX.TR -BEN -POT  
           ‘can do it for (him)’
- c. [(‘á.ṣù̀)à̃]  
           /ák        -ṣun -a/  
           do.TR -BEN -PFV  
           ‘did it for someone’
- d. [(‘á.ṣù̀)(ì.tà̀)]  
           /ák        -ṣun -ítà/  
           do.TR -BEN -PST3  
           ‘did it for someone a few days ago’

Both morphological and segmental nasality may propagate rightward to a following vowel due to coarticulation, as in examples (133c) and (134c-d) above, but nasality does not spread rightward over consonants. There are also several morphemes that are invariably nasal, but which do not cause nasal harmony. Morphemes with non-spreading nasality include the intensifier *-kúĩ̀*, the pity suffix *-náḃè* and several verbal inflectional suffixes such as the hortative *-nũ̀*, the ‘weeks to months from now’ future (FUT2) *-nú̀pùkùì*, and the imperative *-wè̀*, as shown in example (135).<sup>170</sup>

- (135) a. [ájákúĩ̀]  
           /ájá        -kúĩ        -i/  
           drink -INTENS -IPFV  
           ‘is drinking well’

<sup>170</sup>The pity suffix *-náḃè* is often produced with only the first syllable nasalized and the second oral. This infrequent morpheme, along with the verbal ‘weeks to months’ future suffix *-nú̀pùkùì* are the only two bound morphemes that I have identified at this time that are not fully nasal or fully oral. The imperative *-wè̀* is sometimes realized without nasality; it is not understood at this time what conditions nasal versus oral realization of this suffix.

- b. [ájánábìj]  
 /ájá -námì -i/  
 drink -INTENS -IPFV  
 ‘poor thing is drinking’
- c. [ájánù]  
 /ájá -nũ/  
 drink -OPT  
 ‘may (he) drink’
- d. [ájánúpùkùì]  
 /ájá -núpùkùì/  
 drink -FUT2  
 ‘will drink (weeks or months from now, maybe)’
- e. [ájáwè]  
 /ájá -wẽ/  
 drink -IMPER  
 ‘drink!’

Morphological nasality may arise from the deletion of a coda /n/ (or /m/) segment, as claimed by Loos (2006) for Río Yurúa Yaminawa, and as suggested by Paula (2004) and Souza and Mamadou Yacoubou (2019) for Yawanawá. In Río Sepahua Yaminawa and in Nahua, this coda consonant is evident for cases of segmental, i.e., non-spreading, nasality, but it is seldom (if ever) observed for morphemes bearing a nasal feature that can trigger nasal harmony. In some lexicalized phrases, such as the one in (136a), the final /n/ of some nasal morphemes is still evident in the speech of all speakers. Rarely, in careful speech, some speakers will produce a final /n/ between a nasal verb root and a following vowel, as in (136b).

- (136) a. [ísì] → [ísìníkì]  
 /ísì<sup>N</sup>/      /ísì<sup>N</sup> ík      -i/  
 pain      pain AUX. ITR -IPFV  
 ‘pain’      ‘is sick’
- b. [úì<sup>N</sup>à](versus more common [úì<sup>N</sup>à])  
 /úì<sup>N</sup> -a/  
 see -PFV  
 ‘saw (it)’ (speaker RGR)

Non-truncating trisyllabic noun roots are not targets for nasal harmony. When they form a word with a suffix or enclitic bearing a nasal feature, the syllable *nẽ* is epenthesized between the root and the suffix, as demonstrated by the forms in (137). Notice that in the augmentative forms, the HL contour tone of the augmentative is realized across the two syllables of the epenthetic syllable and the augmentative suffix (see section C.4.5.1 for more on tone in the nominal domain).

(137) a. [báʃárú]	a'. [báʃárúnĩ]	a''. [báʃárúníwǎ]
/máʃárú/	/máʃárú -nĩ = Ñ̂/	/máʃárú -nĩ -wǎ <sup>N</sup> /
jaguar	jaguar -EP = ERG	jaguar -EP -AUG
‘jaguar’	‘jaguar.ERG’	‘big jaguar’
b. [ʃákùtʃù]	b'. [ʃákùtʃùnĩ]	b''. [ʃákùtʃúníwǎ]
/ʃákùtʃù/	/ʃákùtʃù -nĩ = Ñ̂/	/ʃákùtʃù -nĩ -wǎ <sup>N</sup> /
millipede	millipede -EP = ERG	millipede -EP -AUG
‘millipede’	‘millipede.ERG’	‘big millipede’
c. [bàrùpà]	c'. [bàrùpànĩ]	c''. [bàrùpàníwǎ]
/bàrùpà/	/bàrùpà -nĩ = Ñ̂/	/bàrùpà -nĩ -wǎ <sup>N</sup> /
bean	bean -EP = INS	bean -EP -AUG
‘large bean variety’	‘with a bean’	‘big bean’

There are very few roots in Yaminawa which are four syllables long. In the nominal domain, these types of roots mostly behave as if they were compounds, with the second metrical foot of the root undergoing nasalization and the accompanying change to HL tone, as in example (138).

(138) a. [áwáwida]	a'. [áwáwĩnǎ]	a''. [áwáwĩnǎwǎ]
/áwáwìnǎ/	/áwáwìnǎ = Ñ̂/	/áwáwìnǎ -wǎ <sup>N</sup> /
butterfly	butterfly = INS	butterfly -AUG
‘butterfly’	‘with a butterfly’	‘big butterfly’
b. [kápíríbà]	b'. [kápírímǎ]	b''. [kápírímǎwǎ]
/kápírímǎ/	/kápírímǎ = Ñ̂/	/kápírímǎ -wǎ <sup>N</sup> /
boquichico	boquichico = ERG	boquichico -AUG
‘boquichico’ ( <i>Prochilodus nigricans</i> )	‘boquichico.ERG’	‘big boquichico’

Noun stems that are derived from verbs using the instrumental nominalizer *-tí* take the syllable *nĩ* in nasalizing contexts, as in (139).

(139)

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>[dídíťí]</p> <p>a. /níní -ťí/<br/>pull -NMLZ.INS<br/>‘cotton’</p> <p>b. [ťíkìťí]<br/>/ťíkì -ťí/<br/>break. ITR -NMLZ.INS<br/>‘shotgun’</p> | <p>a'. [dídíťínĩ]</p> <p>/níní -ťí -nĩ = Ň/<br/>pull -NMLZ.INS -EP = INS<br/>‘with cotton’</p> <p>b'. [ťíkìťínĩ]</p> <p>/ťíkì -ťí -nĩ = Ň/<br/>break. ITR -NMLZ.INS -EP = INS<br/>‘with a shotgun’</p> |
|---|--|

The plural suffix *-wù* takes a suppletive form in ergative case, *-wáwě*, as seen in (140). A small set of singular human nouns (e.g., *áwìwù* ‘woman’, *ádíwù* ‘old man’) are formed with the plural in frozen forms also mutate the syllable [wù] to [wáwě] in ergative case, as seen in (140c-d). Nasality does not spread to the root.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>(140) a. [pástáwù]<br/>/pástá = wu/<br/>dog = PL<br/>‘dogs’</p> <p>b. [wàkìwù]<br/>/waki = wu/<br/>child = PL<br/>‘children’</p> <p>c. [ádíwù]<br/>/áníwù/<br/>old.man<br/>‘old man’</p> <p>d. [áwìwù]<br/>/áwìwù/<br/>woman<br/>‘woman’</p> | <p>a'. [pástáwáwě]<br/>/pástá = wáwě/<br/>dog = PL.ERG<br/>‘dogs.ERG’</p> <p>b'. [wàkìwáwě]<br/>/waki = wáwě/<br/>child = PL.ERG<br/>‘children.ERG’</p> <p>c'. [ádíwáwě]<br/>/áníwáwě/<br/>old.man.ERG<br/>‘old man.ERG’</p> <p>d'. [áwìwáwě]<br/>/áwìwáwě/<br/>woman.ERG<br/>‘woman.ERG’</p> |
|---|---|

#### C.4.5 Tone

The tone bearing unit in Yaminawa is the syllable (i.e., long vowels may not be realized with a contour tone). Yaminawa syllables may be either specified or unspecified for the

underlying tonal melodies H (high), L (low), or HL (high-low). Underspecified syllables are assigned a surface L tone. There is no evidence for interactions between tone and stress. There are few tonal minimal pairs in Yaminawa, and the ones that do exist are often morphologically distinguishable due to membership in different lexical subclasses, for example, transitive vs. intransitive verbs, or truncating vs. non-truncating nouns. A full description of the tonal system is beyond the scope of this sketch and is a topic which merits more research. Tonal phenomena are also quite variable from dialect to dialect, particularly in the verbal domain, with the most variation concerning the tonal patterns of roots with default low tone. This section provides an introduction to key tonal processes, with an emphasis on those which are relevant to affective morphemes and overall word prosody. Whereas previous sections describing the phonology and morphophonology of Yaminawa used the International Phonetic Alphabet, this section resumes use of the Yaminawa practical orthography, with the addition of tone marking.

#### C.4.5.1 Tone in nouns

Most nominal roots in Yaminawa are disyllabic in absolutive case, and show one of three surface tonal patterns: HH, HL, or LL, (underlyingly H, HL, and underspecified) as demonstrated by the minimal triplet in example (141).

- (141) a. *bápú*  
           *bapu<sup>H</sup>*  
           ‘head’
- b. *bápù*  
           *bapupa<sup>HL</sup>*  
           ‘clay’
- c. *bàpù*  
           *bapu*  
           ‘ash, dust’

Roots that are disyllabic in absolutive case can be categorized into five classes based on their surface forms, provided in (142), with examples of each. There are no nasal roots with HH tone. There are no surface LH contours among noun roots.

- (142) 1. HH; invariably oral (no surface nasality), may have a coda in the first syllable, but not the final syllable

*kárí*                      *páxtá*      *pídú*                      *chíí*      *ádé*  
           ‘sweet potato’    ‘dog’      ‘hummingbird’    ‘fire’      ‘flavor’

2. LL - oral; may have a coda in the first syllable, but not the final syllable

*kàrù*                      *kàxkè*      *pàdì*                      *kùù*      *ìdà*  
           ‘firewood’    ‘half’      ‘hammock’    ‘pus’      ‘tail’

3. LL - nasal; very infrequent type

*chàmì*                      *màpì*                      *nàpè*  
           ‘pineapple’    ‘shrimp’    ‘housefly’

4. HL - oral; truncated form, HHL in full form, with or without a coda in the second syllable

<i>áwà</i>	<i>kápè</i>	<i>chápìsh</i>	<i>cháxkà</i>	<i>yúà</i>
‘tapir’	‘alligator’	‘kingfisher’	‘achiote’	‘cassava’

5. HL - nasal; truncated form, HLL in full form, no coda in the second syllable

<i>nâi</i>	<i>ámè</i>	<i>wárà</i>	<i>îà</i>	<i>ísù</i>
‘tamandua’	‘capybara’	‘pumpkin’	‘lake’	‘urine’

Non-truncating roots with three syllables may have any of the tonal patterns shown in (143) when they are in absolutive case.

- (143) 1. HHH: *báshárú* ‘jaguar’, *áwáwá* ‘centipede sp.’, *bétútí* ‘finger’  
 2. HHL: *mǎníà* ‘plantain’, *rúpútù* ‘midge’ (*Lutzomyia* sp.), *wíshátà* ‘white-lipped peccary’ (*Tayassu pecari*)  
 3. HLL: *káràtà* ‘kidney’, *xákùchù* ‘milipede’, *báchàpà* ‘molar’  
 4. LLL: *bàrùpà* ‘bean variety’, *èchìwì* ‘sapote’ (*Quararibea cordata*), *wààrà* ‘giant nutria’ *Pteronura brasiliensis*

This class of roots is much less common than tri-syllabic truncating roots or disyllabic roots, making it difficult at this time to make generalizations about how phonotactics (specifically syllable codas and nasality) interact with tone in non-truncating tri-syllabic roots. All currently attested non-truncating nasal tri-syllabic roots have HHL surface tone, in contrast to truncating nasal tri-syllabic roots, which have HLL tone when they appear in their full forms on the surface.<sup>171</sup>

There are very few roots that are over three syllables that do not appear to be compounds or otherwise morphologically complex. A variety of tonal patterns are attested for these roots, some examples are given in (144). Four syllable roots are the only type where a LH contour is attested for nouns.

- (144) 1. HHHH: *wárikúdí* ‘armadillo’  
 2. HHHL: *kápírìbà* ‘boquichico’ (*Prochilodus nigricans*)  
 3. HLHL: *míràsîà* ‘watermelon’  
 4. HLLL: *áwàwèdà* ‘butterfly’  
 5. LLHH: *ùkètséré* ‘grasshopper’

<sup>171</sup>Note that some speakers pronounce the word for plantain with HLL tone, [mǎníà], particularly in isolation. Some speakers also pronounce the word for ‘jaguar’ (usually [báshárú]) with nasalization and HLL tone: [mǎshàrù].

At this point in time, improved lexical documentation is needed to expand the inventory of non-truncating three-syllable and four-syllable roots in order to study their tonal (as well as nasal spreading) behavior systematically. The remainder of this section focuses on the tonal processes attested for nominal words built from disyllabic or truncating tri-syllabic noun roots, which are the most common classes.

Surface tonal melodies for nominal suffixes and enclitics are also H, HL, and L. Table C.3 summarizes the underlying melodies and surface realizations of tones for some common nominal suffixes and enclitics. While there is no evidence of tone spread or sandhi effects from roots to bound morphemes in Yaminawa, there are some bound morphemes that can alter the tone of the root they are bound to; these effects on the root tone are also summarized in table C.3.

Table C.3: Summary of tone and sandhi effects of nominal bound morphology

gloss	form	surface tone	underlying melody	effect on root
<b>nominal suffixes</b>				
INTENS	<i>-kúú</i>	HL	HL	none
DIM	<i>-shtá</i>	H	H	spread H to root(?)
AUG	<i>-wá</i>	L	HL	spread HL contour to root
<b>noun phrase enclitics</b>				
ERG/INS GEN VOC	<i>=Ň</i>	n/a	HL	spread HL contour to root
ADD	<i>=rí</i>	H	H	none
SUBJ.FOC	<i>=wí</i>	H	H	none
PL	<i>=wù</i>	L	∅	none
COM	<i>=wè</i>	L	∅	none
PL.ERG	<i>=wáwě</i>	HL	HL	none

Example (145) demonstrates that there is no spread of H tone from roots to tonally underspecified bound morphemes.<sup>172</sup> The assignment of surface L tone to the underspecified syllables is a result of default L assignment.

- (145) a. kéwúwù  
           *kéwú*       = *wu*  
           *pucacunga* = PL  
           ‘pucacungas’ (*Penelope jacquacu*)

<sup>172</sup>Note that there are very few morphemes which appear to be nominal suffixes, not enclitics, in Yaminawa. See section C.7 on nominal morphology.

- b. káríwù  
     *kárí*               = *wu*  
     sweet.potato = PL  
     ‘sweet potatoes’
- c. pídúwù  
     *pídú*               = *wu*  
     hummingbird = PL  
     ‘hummingbirds’
- d. úchíwè  
     *úchí*               = *we*  
     older.brother = COM  
     ‘with (his/her/your/our) older brother’
- e. chípíwè  
     *chípí*               = *we*  
     older.sister = COM  
     ‘with (his/her/your/our) older sister’

Some nominal suffixes and enclitics with HL tone, specifically those which bear a morphological nasal feature, change the tone of H tone and toneless roots and cause them to become nasalized (see section C.4.4), as shown in (146) with the augmentative suffix *-wâ* and (147) with the ergative enclitic =*Ń*. The HL tone de-links from the suffix or enclitic and links to the left edge of the word, with the H tone assigned to the first syllable and L tone assigned to the second syllable and spreading rightward through the word. With HL tone roots, these suffixes cause detraction and partial nasalization (see sections C.4.3.1 and C.4.4).

- (146) a. wákèwà  
         *wake -wâ*  
         child -AUG  
         ‘big child’
- b. wérùwà  
         *weru -wâ*  
         eye -AUG  
         ‘big eye’
- c. káříwà  
         *kárí -wâ*  
         sweet.potato -AUG  
         ‘big sweet potato’
- d. xíkìwà  
         *xíkí -wâ*  
         maize -AUG  
         ‘big corn’



- (147) a. wákě̀<sub>HL</sub>  
           wake = *N̂*  
           child = ERG  
           ‘child.ERG’
- b. rúnù̀<sub>HL</sub>  
           rudu = *N̂*  
           snake = ERG  
           ‘snake.ERG’
- c. páxtà̀<sub>HL</sub>  
           páxtá = *N̂*  
           dog = ERG  
           ‘dog.ERG’
- d. ísù̀<sub>HL</sub>  
           ísú = *N̂*  
           spider.monkey = ERG  
           ‘spider monkey.ERG’

The intensifier *-kúù̀* is a HL tone suffix without a nasal spreading features, and it does not change the root tone, as in (148). When used on HL truncated roots, it does not trigger detruncation, as seen in (148c). The ergative/instrumental plural enclitic = *wáwě̀* demonstrates the same behavior, and does not alter the tone nor nasality of the root, as in (149).

- (148) a. rùdùkúù̀<sub>HL</sub>  
           rudu -*kúù̀*  
           snake -INTENS  
           ‘real snake’
- b. xíkíkúù̀<sub>HL</sub>  
           xíkí -*kúù̀*  
           maize -INTENS  
           ‘real corn’
- c. tètèkúù̀<sub>HL</sub>  
           tètépà -*kúù̀*  
           hawk -INTENS  
           ‘real hawk’
- (149) a. dàwàwáwě̀<sub>HL</sub>  
           dawa = *wáwě̀*  
           foreigner = PL.ERG  
           ‘foreigners.ERG’
- b. páxtáwáwě̀<sub>HL</sub>  
           páxtá = *wáwě̀*  
           dog = PL.ERG  
           ‘dogs.ERG’
- c. kúkùxwáwě̀<sub>HL</sub>  
           kúkúxù = *wáwě̀*  
           firefly = PL.INS  
           ‘with fireflies’

Rarely, the plural ergative enclitic = *wáwě̀* may trigger detruncation, as in (150), but it does not trigger nasal harmony, and the tone contour of the root remains the same as the underlying specification.

- (150) ráyúsìwāwě̀<sub>HL</sub>  
           ráyúsì = *wáwě̀*  
           son.in.law = PL.ERG  
           ‘sons-in-law.ERG’

The diminutive suffix *-shtá* has H tone which appears to spread to noun roots, as in (151). Note that HL roots maintain their tonal contour, as in (152).

- (151) a. wákéshtá                      b. ádúshtá                      c. chíkúshtá  
           wake -shtá                      adu                      -shtá                      chiku                      -shtá  
           child -DIM                      lowland.paca -DIM                      younger.sister -DIM  
           ‘little child’                      ‘tasty lowland paca’                      ‘dear younger sister’
- (152) a. tétèshtá                      b. kápèshtá                      c. wáràshtá  
           tétépà -shtá                      kápétà                      -shtá                      wáràmà                      -shtá  
           hawk -DIM                      alligator -DIM                      pumpkin -DIM  
           ‘little hawk’                      ‘tasty alligator’                      ‘tasty pumpkin’

There are no other identified H tone suffixes in nouns, but H tone enclitics, such as =rí ‘also’ and the focus marker =wí, do not cause tone changes in the root, as demonstrated in (153), suggesting that the apparent tone spread of the diminutive in (151) may be due to affectionate prosody (global high pitch).

- (153) a. chikùríwí  
           chiku                      =rí                      =wí  
           younger.sister =ADD =FOC  
           ‘(my) younger sister, too’
- b. tùùrí  
           tuu =rí  
           egg =ADD  
           ‘egg(s), too’
- c. wèdèwí  
           wede                      =wí  
           husband =FOC  
           ‘(it was) (my/her) husband’

At this time, only the sandhi effects of noun phrase enclitics have been studied systematically – tone has not been studied in the utterance-level enclitics, compounding, nor noun-adjective or noun-noun modification constructions.

#### C.4.5.2 Tone in verbs

As in the nominal domain, most verb roots in Yaminawa are disyllabic. Surface tonal patterns for disyllabic verb roots are HH, HL, and LL/LH, corresponding to H, HL, and underspecified tonal melodies at the underlying representation. An inventory of surface tones for disyllabic verb roots, with examples, is provided in (154). Verb roots must

combine with at least one inflectional suffix to form a verbal word; I use the highly frequent surface L tone suffix *-i* (IPFV) to present root tones here, as it does not cause tone changes in the root.

- (154) 1. HH; invariably oral (no surface nasality), may have a coda in the first syllable, but not the final syllable

*tékêi wádâi áyâi yúdáì wáxtêi*  
 ‘break.TR’ ‘sing’ ‘drink’ ‘have.fever’ ‘tear.TR’

2. HL; may be oral or nasal (all nasal verb roots are HL), may have a coda in either the first or second syllable (all verb roots ending with a coda are HL)

*búi sèpâi ékèxì átìshì mǎtsùì ísùì wáxtèi*  
 ‘wake.up’ ‘clear.field’ ‘sew’ ‘sneeze’ ‘sweep’ ‘urinate’ ‘tear.ITR’

3. LL; invariably oral (no surface nasality), uncommon type, may have a coda in the first syllable, but not the final syllable, surfaces as LH when H tone is assigned to the penultimate syllable in the absence of a lexical H

*ùxâi kèdêi ùtâi wàdâi*  
 ‘sleep’ ‘write’ ‘light’ ‘sow’

Many verbal tonal minimal pairs are pairs of a HH transitive root and a HL intransitive root. Some of these pairs are given in (155).

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>(155) a. <i>tékéà</i><br/> <i>téké -a</i><br/>         break.TR -PFV<br/>         ‘broke (it)’</p>   | <p>a'. <i>tékèà</i><br/> <i>tékè -a</i><br/>         break.ITR -PFV<br/>         ‘(it) broke’</p>  |
| <p>b. <i>pákéà</i><br/> <i>páké -a</i><br/>         make.fall -PFV<br/>         ‘knocked (it) down’</p> | <p>b'. <i>pákèà</i><br/> <i>pákè -a</i><br/>         fall -PFV<br/>         ‘fell down’</p>        |
| <p>c. <i>xátéà</i><br/> <i>xáté -a</i><br/>         cut.TR -PFV<br/>         ‘cut (it)’</p>             | <p>c'. <i>xátèà</i><br/> <i>xátè -a</i><br/>         cut.ITR -PFV<br/>         ‘cut (oneself)’</p> |

There are also some tonal minimal pairs that are not semantically related. Example (156a) provides a minimal pair between a HH and a LH(LL) root, and (156b). These types of verbal minimal pairs are infrequent in Yaminawa in comparison to the transitivity-based pairs.

- (156) a. wádàì  
           wádá -i  
           sing -IPFV  
           ‘is singing’
- b. chíàì  
           chíà -i  
           hang.hammock -IPFV  
           ‘is hanging a hammock’
- a'. wàdàì  
           wàdà -i  
           sow -IPFV  
           ‘is sowing’
- b'. chìàì  
           chìà -i  
           have.sex -IPFV  
           ‘is having sex’

All nasal disyllabic verb roots have HL tone. Some examples of these roots are given in (157). Unlike nasal disyllabic nouns, there are no truncation/detruncation processes for nasal disyllabic verbs.

- (157) a. mǎtsùì      b. ínàì      c. píchài      d. kǎì  
           mǎtsù -i      ínà -i      píchà -i      kǎì -i  
           sweep -IPFV      give -IPFV      cook -IPFV      come.out -IPFV  
           ‘is sweeping’      ‘is giving’      ‘is cooking’      ‘is exiting’

There is a class of highly frequent monosyllabic verb roots that all have high tone. These roots are listed in (158). They are all oral, and only two the semantically-bleached transitive ákì and intransitive íkì have a final consonant in their underlying form (this consonant is deleted in coda position, see section C.3.2.6).

(158) Monosyllabic verb roots; all oral, all H tone

ákì	íkì	úi	dái	dî	kái	pî	wái	wéi	wî	wúi
do.TR	do.ITS	come	die	stand	go	eat	say	bring	get	take

There are a very small number of verb roots in Yaminawa that are three or more syllables. Some examples of these are given in (159). There are not enough three- and four-syllable verb roots documented at this time to make generalizations about their tonal behavior, and the remainder of this section focuses on the tonal phenomena seen in verbal words formed from disyllabic roots.

- (159) a. yúbètsùà      b. ádàitìà      c. yútékèbèà  
           yúbètsù -a      ádàitì -a      yútékèbè -a  
           steal -PFV      finish -PFV      have.accident -PFV  
           ‘stole’      ‘finished’      ‘had an accident’

d. sá <b>b</b> ákèbèà	e. té <b>p</b> ésèbèà	f. pá <b>y</b> úkùbè
sá <b>b</b> ákèbè -a	tépésèbè -a	páyúkùbè -a
diet -PFV	take.shortcut -PFV	rot -PFV
‘dieted’	‘took a shortcut’	‘rotted’

Note that many of the roots in the list above end in the syllable *be*. For Northern Yaminawa, in which the reflexive suffix *-be* is productive, Faust and Loos (2002) and Lord (2016) claim that the *be* in forms such as (159c-f) is the reflexive, and that the third syllable of the root appears only in the environment of the reflexive (p.106). In Southern Yaminawa, the reflexive suffix is no longer productive, and has been reanalyzed as part of the root in forms like the ones above (see section C.6.2). Due to the small number of roots longer than two syllables, their tonal behaviors have not been investigated systematically, pending further lexical work to expand known roots. The remainder of this section focuses on the tonal phenomena observed with disyllabic roots.

The inventory of verbal affixes in Yaminawa is extensive (see section C.6), and it has not been possible to study the tonal specifications and sandhi effects of all verbal affixes at this time. There is also significant variation in tone across different speakers. Table C.4 provides an inventory of common surface types for verbal suffixes.

Table C.4: Tonal classes of verbal affixes

tone	nasal feature	effect on root	common examples
HL	yes	root tone de-links; HL tone links to left edge	- <i>Ň</i> MAL, - <i>nâ</i> RECIP
HL	no	none	- <i>kũũ</i> INTENS, - <i>ítà</i> PST3, - <i>yábèà</i> PST4; - <i>nábè</i> PITY, - <i>bétsà</i> EFFORT, - <i>pákè</i> AM:downward
H	no	none	- <i>písh<sup>h</sup>tá</i> DIM, - <i>shíd</i> CIRC:night, - <i>wáí</i> CIRC:day
L(Ø)	no	none	- <i>a</i> PFV, - <i>i</i> IPFV, - <i>tíru</i> POT, - <i>nũ</i> OPT, - <i>we</i> IMPER, - <i>di</i> PST6, - <i>kad</i> PL.IPFV, - <i>pai</i> DESID
H~L	no	none	- <i>tad</i> AM:go.do.and.return, - <i>wad</i> AM:come.do.and.go, - <i>bad</i> CAUS, - <i>xud</i> BEN, - <i>kid</i> COM.APPL

As with nouns, there does not appear to be any spread of root tone to suffixes, but suffixes may affect the tone of roots. Suffixes that have a nasal feature cause leftward nasal harmony to the root (and other stem morphemes, if applicable) and the tone of the verb root de-links and the HL contour tone of the suffix is linked on the left edge with the H tone on the first syllable and L tone spreading rightward through the word, as in

(160). These are the only identified morphemes that have a consistent sandhi effect on verb roots.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>(160) a. rétèà<br/> <i>rété -a</i><br/> kill -PFV<br/> ‘killed (it)’</p> | <p>a'. rétèà<br/> <i>rété -N̂ -a</i><br/> kill -MAL -PFV<br/> ‘killed (it) to someone’s detriment’</p>   |
| <p>b. áyátìrù<br/> <i>áyá -tìru</i><br/> drink -POT<br/> ‘can drink’</p>    | <p>b'. áñtìrù<br/> <i>áyá -N̂ -tìru</i><br/> drink -MAL -POT<br/> ‘can drink to someone’s detriment’</p> |

The reciprocal *-nâ* changes the form of the root for most speakers; nasalizing it and causing a tone change to a HL contour. However, the reciprocal morpheme itself maintains a H tone for some speakers as in (161a). Some younger Nahua women do not spread tone or nasality with the reciprocal, as seen in (161b), where this suffix also has L surface tone.

- (161) a. rétènákàdì  
*rété -nâ -kad -i*  
kill -RECIP -PL.IPFV -IPFV  
‘they’re killing each other’ (speaker DGR)
- b. béénàkàdì  
*bée -nã -kad -i*  
hit -RECIP -PL.IPFV -IPFV  
‘they’re hitting each other’ (speaker MMS)

Other nasal suffixes, which do not bear a nasal feature that triggers nasal harmony in the root, do not cause the tone of the root to change, as seen in (162).

- |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|
| <p>(162) a. rétékúìà<br/> <i>rété -kúì -a</i><br/> kill -INTENS -PFV<br/> ‘really killed (it)’</p> | <p>b. wàdàkúì<br/> <i>wàdà -kúì -i</i><br/> sow -INTENS -IPFV<br/> ‘is really sowing (it)’</p> | <p>c. sépàkúì<br/> <i>sépà -kúì -i</i><br/> clear -INTENS -IPFV<br/> ‘is really clearing (it)’</p> |
|--|--|--|

Suffixes with H tone do not cause root tone to change, as shown in (163). Likewise, root H tone does not cause suffix tone to change, as seen in (164).

- (163) a. *ùxàshtài*                      b. *sépàshtài*                      c. *áyàshtài*  
           *uxa -píshtá -i*                      *sépà -píshtá -i*                      *áyá -píshtá -i*  
           sleep -DIM -IPFV                      clear -DIM -IPFV                      drink -DIM -IPFV  
           ‘dear one is sleeping’                      ‘dear one is clearing’                      ‘dear one is drinking’
- (164) a. *áyài*                      b. *bésètìrù*                      c. *wáxtépài*  
           *áyá -i*                      *bésé -tìrù*                      *wáxté -pai -i*  
           drink -IPFV                      be.afraid -POT                      tear.TR -DESID -IPFV  
           ‘is drinking’                      ‘could get scared’                      ‘wants to tear (it)’

The verbal suffixes *-bad* (causative), *-xud* (benefactive), *--kid* (comitative applicative), *-tad* ‘go, do, and return’, and *-wad* ‘come, do, and go’ all alternate between H and L tone in a way that is not entirely predictable. Note that these suffixes all end in the consonant /n/ (<d>), which is deleted in coda position (see section C.3.2.6) and certain metrical positions (see C.4.3.2). In example (165), I show three verb forms from the same speaker, produced in the same elicitation session, with the associated motion suffix *-tad* ‘go, do, and return’ combined with three different verb roots and either the imperfective suffix *-i* or perfective suffix *-a*. In (165a), the verb root has H tone, and the suffix *-tad* surfaces as L; in (165b), the verb root also has H tone, but the suffix surfaces as H; in (165c), the verb root is HL, and the suffix surfaces as H; and in (165d), the verb root is a H tone monosyllable, and the suffix also surfaces as H. In the second column of (165), the benefactive *-xud* is combined with the same set of verbs and inflectional affixes, but has a different pattern. In (165e-f), the benefactive has L tone following both of the H tone roots; in (165g) the benefactive is L tone following a HL root; and in (165h), with a monosyllabic H tone root, the final /n/ of the benefactive is deleted, nasalizing the morpheme, and it also surfaces with H tone.

- (165) a. *áyàtədì*                      e. *áyáxùdì*  
           *áyá -tad*                      *-i*                      *áyá -xud -i*  
           drink -AM:go.do.and.return -IPFV                      drink -BEN -IPFV  
           ‘is going to drink, then come back’                      ‘is drinking (for someone)’
- b. *bésétədì*                      f. *béséxùdà*  
           *bésé -tad*                      *-i*                      *bésé -xud -a*  
           be.afraid -AM:go.do.and.return -IPFV                      be.afraid -BEN -PFV  
           ‘will go, get scared, and come back’                      ‘got scared (for someone)’

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| c. sépàtádà<br>sépà -tad -a<br>clear -AM:go.do.and.return -PFV<br>‘will go clear brush and come back’ | g. sépàxúdà<br>sépà -xud -a<br>clear -BEN -IPFV<br>‘cleared it (for someone)’    |
| d. pítádì<br>pí -tad -i<br>eat -AM:go.do.and.return -IPFV<br>‘is going to eat, then come back’        | h. píxùì<br>pí -xud -a<br>eat -BEN -PFV<br>‘ate it (for someone)’ (speaker JMRS) |

There is also significant variation across speakers and varieties. There is some general consistency in the use of H tone on this class of suffixes when they follow a HL root and precede a L tone suffix. They also typically surface as H when the final /n/ is deleted due to a coda or metrical alternation. The causative *-bad* typically does not have H tone when coda or metrical deletion has occurred, as shown in (166).<sup>173</sup>

- |  |   |   |
|--|---|---|
| (166) a. rétébàdà<br>rété -bad -a<br>kill -CAUS -PFV<br>‘made (her) kill (it)’ | b. rétébàtìrù<br>rété -bad -tìru<br>kill -CAUS -POT<br>‘can make (her) kill (it)’ | c. píbài<br>pí -bad -i<br>eat -CAUS -IPFV<br>‘is making (her) eat (it)’ |
|--|---|---|

Verbal words that do not have a lexical H tone are assigned a H tone on the penult. This tonal process causes roots with underlying L tone to surface with LH tone in some word forms, as in (167).

- |  |   |   |
|--|---|---|
| (167) a. ùxáà<br>uxu -a<br>sleep -PFV<br>‘slept’ | b. wàdái<br>wada -i<br>sow -IPFV<br>‘is sowing’ | c. dùbîi<br>dubi -i<br>be.thirsty -IPFV<br>‘is thirsty’ |
|--|---|---|

In example (168), we see that this is a more general process where H tone is inserted on the penultimate syllable of verbs lacking an underlying H.<sup>174</sup>

<sup>173</sup>This fact would appear to support the claim of González (2005b) that the [d] in examples like (166a) is due to an epenthesis process, not deletion.

<sup>174</sup>For some tokens by some speakers, the H tone may spread inside the morpheme, e.g., wádátírú (sow -POT) ‘may sow’.



- (168) a. wàdàtírù      b. dùbìtírù      c. wàdàxúdà      d. kèdèxúdà  
           *wada -tíru*            *dubi -tíru*            *wada -xud -a*            *kede -xud -a*  
           sow -POT            be.thirsty -POT            sow -BEN -PFV            draw -BEN -PFV  
           ‘may sow’            ‘may be thirsty’            ‘sowed it (for him)’            ‘drew it (for him)’

Yaminawa exhibits some suffixes that exhibit tonal allomorphy sensitive to transitivity and number, as shown in (169).<sup>175</sup> Many associated motion suffixes have allomorphs conditioned by the transitivity of the verb and the plurality of the subject.<sup>176</sup> The intransitive singular form starts with /ka/ and is underspecified for tone, as in examples (169)a-b. The intransitive plural form starts with /wu/ and is also underspecified for tone, as in (169)c-d. The transitive (plural or singular subject) form starts with /wu/ and has high tone, as in (169)e-h.

- (169) a. rétèkàwàdà  
           *rètè -kawad -a*  
           injure.ITR -AM:go.about.doing.ITR.SG -PFV  
           ‘(S)he went about hurting her/himself.’
- b. wádákàwàdà  
           *wádá -kawad -a*  
           sing -AM:go.about.doing.ITR.SG -PFV  
           ‘(S)he went about singing.’
- c. rétèwùwàdàwù  
           *rètè -wuwad -a =wu*  
           injure.ITR -AM:go.about.doing.ITR.PL -PFV = PL  
           ‘They went about hurting themselves.’
- d. wádáwùwàdàwù  
           *wádá -wuwad -a =wu*  
           sing -AM:go.about.doing.ITR.PL -PFV = PL  
           ‘They went about singing.’

<sup>175</sup> These examples are the nearest minimal pairs available at this time.

<sup>176</sup> All of the associated motion suffixes that engage in this tonal behavior also alternate between the initial segments /ka/ for singular intransitive and /wu/ for transitive or intransitive plural. These forms likely developed diachronically from the verb *kái*, ‘to go’, which alternates with /wu/ in the plural. A possible explanation as to why the plural and transitive forms would be the same in the associated motion morphology is that a transitive verb necessarily involves at least two entities, a subject and an object, and associated motion involves the motion of both of these entities along with the action of the verb.

- e. rétewúwádà  
*rété -wúwád* -a  
 kill -AM:go.about.doing.TR -PFV  
 ‘(S)he went about killing.’
- f. rétewúwádàwù  
*rété -wúwád* -a = *wu*  
 kill -AM:go.about.doing.TR -PFV = PL  
 ‘They went about killing.’
- g. wàdàwúwádà  
*wàdà -wúwád* -a  
 sow -AM:go.about.doing.TR -PFV  
 ‘(S)he went about sowing.’
- h. wàdàwúwádàwù  
*wàdà -wúwád* -a = *wu*  
 sow -AM:go.about.doing.TR -PFV = PL  
 ‘They went about sowing.’

Verbal tone is a topic that merits much future work in Yaminawa, particularly the topics of metrical and morphological allomorphic tone changes, and an expanded investigation into tonal paradigms in more complex verbal words with a wider variety of roots and affixes.

## C.5 Word classes

Yaminawa has three open word classes: verbs (section C.5.1), nouns (section C.5.2), and adverbs (section C.5.3). Most property concepts are expressed as nouns or verbs, but there is a small class of adjectives that shares many (but not all) morphosyntactic properties with nouns (section C.5.2.1). Closed word classes include pronouns (section C.5.4.1), demonstratives (section C.5.4.2), and postpositions (section C.5.4.3). Yaminawa also has a word class of ideophones, which, in addition to morphosyntactic differences, also have different phonotactics than other word classes (section C.5.4.4). Word classes in Yaminawa are comparatively fluid: zero derivation is common and clauses are often nominalized. Word-class derivation is discussed in detail in sections C.7.1 (on nominal stem formation) and C.6.1 (on verbal stem formation), but the relevant word-class changing morphology is summarized in table C.7 section C.5.5.

All of these classes except for verbs are classes of free morphemes, that do not require any additional inflectional or derivational morphology. Verbs are a class of bound roots

that minimally require inflection. I discuss enclitics and affixes in the sections that correspond to the domains where they occur (e.g., the verb, the noun, the noun phrase, and the clause).

### C.5.1 Verbs

Syntactically, verbs are characterized by the fact that they are prototypical predicates (non-verbal predication exists as well in Yaminawa, but has distinct syntax, discussed in C.8.2). Some examples of intransitive verbs are given in (170). In (171), I provide some examples of transitive verbs, and in (171d), I provide an example of ditransitive verb.

(170) a. *mē kai*

*mā ē ka -i*  
already 1SG.NOM go -IPFV

‘I’m going.’ (TN.MML.Nāĩ nũshĩwu.0247.line 124)

b. *āwē wakeshta rawe tsauawu*

*āwē wake -shta rawe tsau -a =wu*  
3SG.POSS child -DIM two sit -PFV =PL

‘Her two children were sitting.’  
(TN.MML.Awa nũshĩwāwē āwĩwu widi.0183.line 38)

c. *māshārũ pakei*

*māshārũ pake -i*  
jaguar fall -IPFV

‘The jaguar fell’ (TN.MLGA.Māshārũnē xawe puyexkedi.0157.line 27)

(171) a. *mā xetewāwē atu pidiwu*

*mā xete =wāwē atu pi -di =wu*  
already vulture =PL.ERG 3PL.ABS eat -PST6 =PL

‘The vultures had already eaten them.’  
(TN.MML.Ruawu dawawu.0261.line 121)

b. *ē xiki ũĩtānũ*

*ē xiki ũĩ -tad -nũ*  
1SG.NOM maize see -AM:go.do.and.return -OPT

‘I shall go look at the maize.’ (TN.MRR.Yuashi.0615.line 137)

c. *ẽ* *bia* *pārā* *-bis* = *ba*

1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC lie -PRF = NEG

‘I have never lied to you’ (TN.MML.Yura ñūwẽ dai mērā kadi.0388.line 48)

d. *ẽ* *bia* *karu* *ĩnã* *-nũ*

1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC firewood give -OPT

‘I shall give you firewood.’ (TN.MML.Tĩkã.0261.line 29)

Morphologically, verbs are bound roots that do not form complete phonological or syntactic words without being inflected. Example (172) shows some of the possible suffixes that can be used to satisfactorily inflect a verb in order for it to function as a word. Section C.6.4 presents the inflectional morphology of verbs in greater detail.

(172) a. \**budu*

*budu*  
dance

INTENDED: ‘dance’

b. *budui*

*budu -i*  
dance -IPFV

‘is/was dancing’

c. *budua*

*budu -a*  
dance -PFV

‘danced’

d. *budupaudi*

*budu -pau -di*  
dance -IPFV.PST6 -PST6

‘used to dance (years ago)’

e. *budu**waidaka*

*budu -waidaka*  
dance -FUT1

‘will dance tomorrow’

f. *budu**wẽ*

*budu -wẽ*  
dance -IMPER

‘dance!’

g. *budu**tiru*

*budu -tiru*  
dance -POT

‘can dance’

h. *budu**ki*

*budu -ki*  
dance -NF

‘to dance’

Verbs are also characterized by the categories that are expressed within the verbal word. Some of the categories that are unique to verbs include: valency changing morphology (i.e., morphemes that increase or decrease the number of arguments that a verb takes, see section C.6.2), associated motion suffixes (see section C.6.5.1), circadian temporal suffixes (see section C.6.5.2), and tense/aspect/modality inflection (see section C.6.4).

## C.5.2 Nouns

Nouns are morphologically characterized by the fact that they (or the phrases that they head) are marked for case, indicating the relationship that they have to the verb and/or other arguments (see section C.7.3.1 for more on case marking). Example (173) provides some examples of nouns as the single argument of a verbal predicate. Example (174) provides some examples of nouns which are the arguments of transitive verbal predicates.

- (173) a. *māshārū pakei*

*māshārū* =  $\emptyset$  *pake* -i  
jaguar = ABS fall -IPFV

‘The jaguar fell’ (TN.MLGA.Māshārūnē xawe puyexkedi.0157.line 27)

- b. *ēwē wake yudai*

*ēwē* *wake* =  $\emptyset$  *yuda* -i  
1SG.POSS child = ABS fever -IPFV

‘My kid has a fever.’ (TN.MRR.Yuashi.0615.line 59)

- c. *wede kadikia*

*wede* =  $\emptyset$  *ka* -di = *kia*  
husband = ABS go -PST6 = REP

‘(Her) husband left, they say.’ (TN.MRR.Xuya ñūshīwu.0091.line 6)

- (174) a. *māshārūnē atu pipaiki*

*māshārū* -nē = *N* *atu* *pi* -pai -i = *ki*  
jaguar -EP = ERG 3PL.ABS eat -DESID -IPFV = ASSERT

‘The jaguar was actually wanting to eat them.’  
(TN.MLGA.Māshārūnē xawe puyexkedi.0157.line 16)

- b. *āwīnī mā yawa pīchāxuda*

*āwīnī* = *N* *mā* *yawa* =  $\emptyset$  *pīchā* -xud -a  
wife = ERG already peccary = ABS cook -BEN -PFV

‘(His) wife had cooked the white-lipped peccary (for him).’  
(TN.MRR.Isku ñūshīwu.0060.line 244)

c. awakeruku ewa ñũshāwāwē dukuwede retetirukē...

*awa* = *keruku* *ewa* *ñũshāwāwē* *dukuwede* =  $\emptyset$  *rete -tiru*  
 what = CNTEXP mother old.woman.ERG man = ABS kill -POT  
 = *kē*  
 = REASON

‘How can it be that your elderly mother killed a man?’  
 (TN.TYW.Īnāwā xadu.0283.line 77)

In addition to case, other morphological categories that are unique to nouns include the augmentative *-wā*, the quantifier = *ti* ‘all’, the quantifier = *res* ‘only’, the adjectivizer = *tiu* ‘size of’, the possessive = *ya*, and the privative = *uba* (see section C.7). As described in section C.4.3.1, many nouns undergo truncation in some morphological cases such as the absolutive.

### C.5.2.1 Adjectives

Most property concepts in Yaminawa are expressed either verbally or nominally, but there is a small class of nominal-patterning adjectives that have a few morphological properties that make them distinct. Most of their syntactic and morphological properties are shared with nouns: they may head noun phrases, many take a long form when marked for ergative case,<sup>177</sup> and they can be marked for some specifically nominal categories like the augmentative. These adjectives are listed in (175) in both their short forms and their full forms.<sup>178</sup> The ending *pa* in the long forms is one of the features that characterizes the class of adjectives. It does not appear to be a productive morpheme in the language today, but may have been in the past.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (175) a. ewapa<br>‘large’<br>b. wisu ~ wisupa<br>‘black’<br>c. uxu ~ uxupa<br>‘white’<br>d. ũshĩ ~ ũshĩnĩ ~ ũshĩnĩpa<br>‘red’<br>e. shara ~ sharapa<br>‘good, beautiful’ | f. chaka ~ chakata ~ chakapa<br>‘bad’<br>g. chushta ~ chushtapa<br>‘dirty’<br>h. duwe ~ duwepa<br>‘good-smelling, good-tasting’<br>i. chai ~ chaidipa<br>‘long, tall’ |
|--|---|

<sup>177</sup>I am hesitant to refer to this pattern as truncation, as I do for nouns, because the additional syllable in the long forms of adjectives is invariably /pa/ (except for *chaka~chakata* ‘bad’), and it is therefore not necessary to posit it as a part of the underlying representation of these forms.

<sup>178</sup>It is possible that this list is not exhaustive, as Yaminawa still lacks detailed lexical documentation.

When adjectives modify nouns, they typically occur after the noun in either the form with /pa/ or without, as in (176a-b). Adjectives sometimes occur pre-nominally, in which case they normally appear in the form with /pa/, as in (176c-d). Some adjectives may appear pre-nominally without /pa/, as in (176e-f). Orders like (176f) are very infrequent in natural discourse, see section C.7.4.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (176) a. <i>paxta wisu</i><br>dog black<br>‘black dog’ | d. * <i>wisu paxta</i><br>black dog<br>INTENDED: ‘black dog’       |
| b. <i>paxta wisupa</i><br>dog black<br>‘black dog’     | e. <i>dukuwede shara</i><br>man good<br>‘good man’, ‘handsome man’ |
| c. <i>wisupa paxta</i><br>black dog<br>‘black dog’     | f. <i>shara dukuwede</i><br>good man<br>‘good man’                 |

As non-verbal predicates, adjectives can appear in either the long form or the short form, as in (177).

- (177) a. [...]xete wisuki  
           *xete wisu =ki*  
           vulture black = ASSERT  
           ‘The vulture is black.’ (TN.MRR.Yuashi.0615.line 101)
- b. *wetsa uxupa*  
           *wetsa uxupa*  
           other white  
           ‘The other one was white.’ (TN.MML.Yura ñũwẽ dai mērã kadi.0388.line 39)

When a post-nominal adjective is the last element in the noun phrase and it is marked with ergative case, it always takes the long form, as in (178). Sometimes ergative case is realized as nasality on the final syllable only, as in (178a-b), and in other cases it is realized with a nasalized epenthetic syllable /tũ/, as in (178c-d).

- (178) a. [...]adu chakatã mã duku ewashta pĩaki  
           *adu chakata =N mã duku ewa -shta pi -ã -ki*  
           paca bad =ERG already 1PL.ACC mother -DIM eat -MAL -NF  
           ‘...because a nasty paca ate our mother.’  
           (TN.MML.Adu ñũshĩwu.0204.line 132)

- b. paxta chushtapã yua pii  
*paxta chushtapa* =N *yua* *pi* -i  
 dog dirty =ERG cassava eat -IPFV  
 ‘the dirty dog is eating cassava’ (E.JnGR.0472)
- c. paxta uxupatũ yua pii  
*paxta uxupa -tũ* =N *yua* *pi* -i  
 dog white -EP =ERG cassava eat -IPFV  
 ‘the white dog is eating cassava’ (E.JnGR.0472)
- d. paxta ewapatũ yua pii  
*paxta ewapa -tũ* =N *yua* *pi* -i  
 dog big -EP =ERG cassava eat -IPFV  
 ‘the big dog is eating cassava’ (E.JnGR.0472)

### C.5.3 Adverbs

Adverbs are the third major, open word class in Yaminawa.<sup>179</sup> Adverbs are never inflected for categories like tense/aspect/mood or case, though they may be modified with the diminutive and intensifier as discussed in chapter 4. Some examples of adverbs in sentences are given in (179).

- (179) a. kushi ichui  
*kushi ichu* -i  
 quickly run -IPFV  
 ‘We’ll run quickly.’ (TN.TYW.Ñũshĩ xerewu.0400.line 46)
- b. wẽnãmãrĩ kadikia  
*wẽnãmãrĩ ka -di* = *kia*  
 morning go -PST6 =REP  
 ‘(He) left in the morning, they say.’ (TN.MML.Xeki ñũshĩwu.0247.line 39)
- c. rewu ui  
*rewu u* -i  
 in.front come -IPFV  
 ‘(The woman) was coming in front (and the tapir was coming behind her).’  
 (TN.MML.Awa ñũshĩwãwẽ ãwĩwu widi.0183.line 87)

<sup>179</sup>I consider adverbs to be an open class because there are many Spanish borrowings, especially temporal adverbs (e.g., *lunes* ‘Monday’, *mañana* ‘tomorrow’), that are commonly used in conversation. It is hard, however, to draw a clear line between code-switching and borrowing in a context where virtually all the speakers are bilingual to some degree in both Yaminawa and Spanish.



Morphologically adverbs are characterized by the fact that they take very few suffixes: the diminutive *-sh̥ta* and the intensifier *-kũũ* are the only two that are used on all subclasses of adverb (manner, temporal, and locative – see sections 4.2.4 and 4.4.5 for more on the use of these suffixes on adverbs).

Some locative adverbs also function as postpositions, as in (180).

(180) a. *wai nēshpākāññ tsaudikia*

*wai nēshpākāññ tsau -di =kia*  
path in.the.middle sit -PST6 =REP

‘(It) was sitting in the middle of the path, they say.’  
(TN.MML.Uxe.0138.line51)

b. *māññ nāmā rudu badia*

*māññ nāmā rudu -∅ badi -a*  
plantain below snake -ABS pile.up -PFV

‘Snakes were coiled up beneath the plantains.’  
(TN.MRR.Yuashi.0615.line 8)

c. *bawa māññ putaxūdikia*

*bawa māññ puta -xud -di =kia*  
cliff above throw.away -BEN -PST6 =REP

‘(He) threw (it) over the cliff (to him).’ (TN.MML.Uxe.0183.line 143)

## C.5.4 Closed classes

In addition to the three open classes (verbs, nouns, and adverbs), and the largely nominal-patterning closed class of adjectives, there are four additional closed word classes: pronouns (section C.5.4.1), demonstratives (section C.5.4.2), postpositions (section C.5.4.3), and ideophones (section C.5.4.4). Pronouns, demonstratives, and postpositions have purely grammatical functions, while ideophones have an expressive function.

### C.5.4.1 Pronouns

This section describes the properties of the three classes of pronoun in Yaminawa: personal pronouns, possessive pronouns, and indefinite pronouns. Demonstrative pronouns are discussed in section C.5.4.2. The inventory of personal pronouns in Yaminawa is provided in table C.5 below.

Table C.5: Inventory of personal pronouns

	singular		plural	
	nominative	accusative	nominative	accusative
<b>first person</b>	<i>ẽ</i>	<i>ea</i>	<i>nũ</i>	<i>duku</i>
<b>second person</b>	<i>mĩ</i>	<i>bia</i>	<i>mã</i>	<i>batu</i>
<b>third person</b>	ergative	absolutive	ergative	absolutive
	<i>atũ</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ãtũ</i>	<i>atu</i>

Personal pronouns are syntactically distinguished from nouns in that they are not modifiable by adjectives or demonstratives. Personal pronouns are free morphemes that may be used as arguments, as in (181).

(181) a. *mẽ bia yuia*

*mã ẽ bia yui -a*  
already 1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC tell -PFV

‘I told you.’ (TN.TYW.Ñũshĩ xerewu.400.line 95)

b. *mĩ ea ayabadi kai*

*mĩ ea aya -bad -i ka -i*  
2SG.NOM 1SG.ACC drink -CAUS -IPFV go -IPFV

‘You are going to offer me a drink.’ (TN.MRR.Aya ñũshĩwu.0597.line 196)

Third person singular pronouns are frequently implicit in Yaminawa, and demonstrative pronouns are sometimes used anaphorically in place of a third person pronoun. Notice that there is a split between nominative/accusative marking for the first and second person pronouns, and ergative/absolutive marking for the third person pronouns and all classes of noun. The third person plural ergative is only very infrequently used, as third person plural subject marking on the verb typically makes this pronoun redundant. Third person ergative alignment is demonstrated in (182).

(182) a. *atũ ayaiba*

*atũ aya -i =ba*  
3SG.ERG drink -IPFV =NEG

‘She didn’t drink.’ (TN.MRR.Aya ñũshĩwu.0597.line 171)

b. a nũ aki wutãpe

*a nũ ak -i wu -tad -pe*  
3SG.ABS 1PL.NOM do.TR -IPFV go.PL -AM:go.do.and.return -IMPER.POL

‘Let’s go kill him!’ (TN.MRR.Yuashi.0615.line 244)

c. a kayai

*a kaya -i*  
3SG.ABS get.better -IPFV

‘He got better (healed).’ (TN.MRR.Kapa nũshĩwu.0043.line 381)

The attributive possessive pronouns in Yaminawa are provided in table C.6 below. These pronouns must always be followed by a noun phrase possessum, as in (183).

Table C.6: Inventory of possessive pronouns

	singular	plural
<b>first person</b>	<i>ẽwẽ</i>	<i>nũkũ</i>
<b>second person</b>	<i>mĩ</i>	<i>mãtũ</i>
<b>third person</b>	<i>ãwẽ</i>	<i>ãtũ</i>

(183) a. ãwẽ pexe wepua

*ãwẽ pexe wepu -a*  
3SG.POSS house close -PFV

‘She closed up her house.’(TN.MML.Adu nũshĩwu.0204.line 38)

b. ẽwẽ wẽnẽ ea yuia

*ẽwẽ wede =N ea yui -a*  
1SG.POSS husband =ERG 1SG.ACC tell -PFV

‘My husband told me.’

(TN.MLGA.Shidipawãwẽ kashta nũshĩwu widi.0258.line 137)

Interrogative pronouns and indefinite pronouns are formed on the basis of the same forms: *awa* ‘something/what’ and *tsua* ‘someone/who’. In interrogatives (see section C.8.4) the interrogative enclitic =*mẽ* may occur either clause finally (i.e., encliticized to the verb) or, in the case of non-verbal predicates, on the interrogative pronoun itself, as in (184).

- (184) a. *awa mā piamē?*  
*awa mā pi -a =mē*  
 what 2PL.NOM eat -PFV =INTERR  
 ‘What have y’all eaten?’ (Also: ‘Have y’all eaten something/anything?’)  
 (TN.MRR.Ishpawāwē xukadi.0051.line 253)
- b. *ēwē wede tsua ea rete -N -a =mē*  
 1SG.POSS husband who 1SG.ACC kill -MAL -PFV =INTERR  
 ‘Who killed my husband?’ (TN.TYW.Īnāwā xadu.0283.line 41)
- c. *tsuamē Papapapadi?*  
*tsua =mē Papapapadi*  
 who =INTERR *Papapapadi*  
 ‘Who is *Papapapadi*?’ (TN.MML.Awa ñūshīwāwē āwīwu widi.0183.line 78)

#### C.5.4.2 Demonstratives

In Yaminawa, there are two types of demonstratives: demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative locatives. There are three demonstrative pronouns: *da* ‘this’ (DEM.PROX), *ua* ‘that’ (DEM.DIST), and the anaphoric *nā* (DEM.ANA). Demonstrative pronouns may modify a noun as in (185a-c) or take the place of an argument as in (185d-f).

- (185) a. *da yuba dukai kai*  
*da yuba = ∅ duka -i ka -i*  
 DEM.PROX fish =ABS float -NF go -IPFV  
 ‘These fish are gonna float.’ (TN.MRR.Bapu ñūshīwu.0132.line 92)
- b. *ũĩpu ua bisi sharawu wapai*  
*ũĩ -pu ua bisi shara =wu = ∅ wa -pake -ai*  
 see -MIR DEM.DIST bread good =PL =ABS make -DISTR -IPFV.SUB  
 ‘Look at those delicious loaves she’s making!’  
 (TN.MRR.Pāmā weru kechu chaiya ĩnāwā xadukĩā.0596.line 229)
- c. *bisi wai, nā aya ñūshīwāwē*  
*bisi wa -i nā aya ñūshīwāwē*  
*humita* make -IPFV DEM.ANA parrot spirit.ERG  
 ‘She was making *humita*, that parrot spirit.’  
 (TN.MRR.Aya ñūshīwu.0597.line 103)

d. da kai

*da* = Ø *ka -i*  
DEM.PROX = ABS go -IPFV

‘This one was going.’ (TN.MML.Yura ñũwẽ dai mērã kadi.0388.line 67)

e. ua kai

*ua* = Ø *ka -i*  
DEM.DIST = ABS go -IPFV

‘That one is going.’ (TN.MRR.Wuipapi.0141.line 103)

f. ñã = Ø kaki...

*ñã* *ka =ki*  
DEM.ANA go =SS.SIM

‘He (the aforementioned one) was going...’ (TN.MRR.Yuashi.0615.line 86)

There is also a set of locative demonstratives that take the place of locative adverbs or postpositional phrases. For precise locations these are *dedu* ‘here’ and *udu* ‘there’. For general locations these are *diri* ‘over here’ and *uri* ‘over there’. To describe trajectory, as opposed to static location, the demonstratives are *dikiri* ‘in this direction’ and *ukiri* ‘in that direction’. Some of these are exemplified in (186).

(186) a. udu isu raka

*udu isu raka -a*  
there spider.monkey. lie -PFV

‘The spider monkey lay there.’ (TN.MML.Īsũ wake widi.0406.line 13)

b. deri uwẽ

*deri u -wẽ*  
over.here come -IMPER

‘Come over here!’ (TN.MLGA.Awa ñũshĩwu xawe ñũshĩwuwe.0294.line 13)

c. dikiri wede ui

*dikiri wede u -i*  
this.direction husband come -IPFV

‘(Her) husband was coming in this direction/from this side’  
(TN.TYW.Ñũshĩ xerewu.0400.line 60)

### C.5.4.3 Postpositions

In addition to the locative adverbs discussed in section C.5.3, which could occur as either stand-alone locative adverbs or as part of a postpositional phrase, there exists a closed class of true postpositions which must always occur as part of a postpositional phrase with a nominal or pronominal element. These are: =*adu* ‘at’ (LOC), =*adua* ‘from’ (source), =*ari* ‘around’ (general location), =*měṛā* ‘in, inside’, =*ki~*=*kiri* ‘toward’, and =*u* ‘on’ (top or side). Some examples of postpositions in sentences are given in (187).

(187) a. *āwē* *pexe* =*adu* *duku* -*pai* -*i*

3SG.POSS house =LOC arrive -DESID -IPFV

‘He wanted to get home.’ (TN.JRR.Pūstū.0112.line 50)

b. *dukuwede* *dii* *měṛā* *ika*

*dukuwede* *ewapa* *dii* =*měṛā* *ik* -*a*  
man big forest =inside AUX.ITER -PFV

‘The huge man lived in the forest.’ (TN.MML.Tīkā.0261.line 8)

c. *ātū* *kaiwu* *ari* *wukadi*

*ātū* *kaiwu* =*ari* *wu* -*kad* -*i*  
3PL.POSS relative =LOC.REG go.PL -PL.IPFV -IPFV

‘They were going to where their family is.’  
(TN.MML.Adu nūshīwu.0204.line 136)

Both locative adverbs and postpositions may be suffixed with the transitivity concordance markers -*ax* for locative adjuncts of intransitive verbs and -*xu* for locative adjuncts of transitive verbs. These are discussed in more detail in section C.8.1.3.4.

### C.5.4.4 Ideophones

Ideophones are a closed class, albeit a very large one, of free morphemes in Yaminawa that use sound symbolism and iconicity to express impressions of certain sounds and movements. Ideophones are distinguished from other classes by their phonology, in addition to their morphological and syntactic properties. In addition to the 13 consonants and 4 vowels used in the formation of words from the classes described in the previous sections, ideophones make use of an additional consonant [h](<*j*> in the standard orthography) and two additional vowel qualities: [e] and [o](currently, these vowels are represented with <*i*> and <*u*> in the standard orthography). Some examples of ideophones are provided in (188).

- (188) a. [roh]  
          escaping or running
- b. [heh]  
          chanting
- c. [kuwis]  
          twig snapping
- d. [p̥iɾiʃ]  
          chewing bone
- e. [tos]  
          sucking marrow or corn on the cob
- f. [wia]  
          ripples/waves on surface of lake
- g. [tidu]  
          poking with a stick
- h. [kiro]  
          animal entering a hole
- i. [p̥iɾis]  
          animal eating soft food (like fruit or gourds)

Ideophones may constitute utterances by themselves, as in (189a), other they may be accompanied by additional material as in (189b). Ideophones may also be added to an otherwise complete clause to contribute expressive content, as in (189c), or be syntactically integrated by the use of an auxiliary, as in (189d).

- (189) a. tij  
          ‘It hit the ground.’ (fruit falling from a tree) (TN.MML.Uxe.0183.line 138)
- b. keru, kidi mēṛā  
    *keru*                      *kidi* = *mēṛā*  
    IDEO:enter.hole hole = inside  
    ‘It went into the hole.’ (TN.MML.Adu ñūshīwu.0204.line 110)
- c. pustu ruj ichudi  
    *pustu*    *ruj*                      *ichu -di*  
    big.belly IDEO:escape/run run -PST.6  
    ‘The guy with the big belly took off running.’ (TN.JRR.Püstũ.0112.line 42)
- d. īshkīmāwāwu ichapa ururu ikadi  
    *īshkīmā*    *-wā*    *-wu ichapa uru-*                      *uru*  
    *carachama* -AUG -PL many REDUP.REPEAT- IDEO:fish.feeding.at.surface  
    *ik*            *-kad*            *-i*  
    AUX.ITER -PL.IPFV -IPFV  
    ‘Lots of huge *carachamas* (*Pseudorinelepis genibarbis*) were feeding on the surface of the water.’ (TN.MML.Awa ñūshīwāwē āwīwu widi.0183.line 13)

Unlike other word classes, ideophones do not host any bound morphemes, including clause-level enclitics (see section C.8.3). Free ideophones (like the ones in sentences

(189a-c) may be repeated to indicate repeated action, with more repetitions indicating more iterations of the action, but this is distinct from true reduplication, as in (189d), which is limited to just two repetitions of the form when ideophones are syntactically integrated using an auxiliary.

### C.5.5 Summary of word class changing morphology

Word class derivation may be achieved by either using one of the morphemes in table C.7, or by zero-derivation (see below).

Table C.7: Inventory of word class changing morphology

form	source class	resulting class
= <i>tiu</i>	noun, demonstrative	adjective (size)
= <i>tĩã</i>	noun, demonstrative, verb	adverb (temporal)
- <i>bis</i>	verb	noun (habitual agent)
- <i>tĩ</i>	verb	noun (instrument)
- <i>da</i>	noun, adjective	verb (intransitive)
- <i>wa</i>	noun, adjective	verb (transitive)

The word class changing morphemes all appear to be fully productive, though the adverbializing = *tĩã* is infrequent in natural speech and has not been studied in detail. Examples of the verbalizing and nominalizing suffixes are provided in the sections on verbal derivational morphology (C.6.2) and nominal derivational morphology (C.7.1.2). Examples of the adjectivizing suffix = *tiu* and the temporal adverbializing suffix = *tĩã* are provided in (190) and (191), respectively.

(190) a. wetsa ewapabashta idi, *Jomairatiu*

wetsa ewapa -ba -shta ik -di Jomaira = *tiu*  
 other big -NEG -DIM AUX. ITR -PST6 Jomaira = SIZE

‘The other one wasn’t big, about Jomaira’s size.’  
 (TN.MRR.Ishapwãwẽ Xukadi.0051.line 44)

b. da ãwẽ xetakia nã wichu xetatiu ipaudikia

da ãwẽ xeta = *kia* nã wichu xeta = *tiu* ik  
 DEM.PROX 3SG.POSS beak = REP DEM.ANA heron beak = SIZE AUX. ITR  
 -pau -di = *kia*  
 -IPFV.PST6 -PST6 = REP

‘This beak of his, they say, it used to be the size of the heron’s beak, they say.’  
 (TN.MRR.Yuashi.0615.line 52)



c. *dade datiu putadikia*

*dade da = tiu puta -di = kia*  
*genipap DEM.PROX = SIZE throw -PST6 = REP*

‘He threw a genipap fruit this size, they say.’  
 (TN.MRR.Rũnũwã Ñũshĩwu.0132.line 75)

(191) a. *waritĩã*

*wari = tĩã*  
*sun = TIME*

‘It was summertime.’ (TN.MML.Tua ñũshĩwu.0388.line 84)

b. ... *wetsatĩã awiãñã kãrũwã idaidapaudi*

*wetsa = tĩã awiãñã karu -wã ida -ida -pau -di*  
*other = TIME again wood -AUG climb -AM:upward -IPFV.PST6 -PST6*

‘And then another time he climbed up a huge tree again.’  
 (TN.MML.Tĩika.0261.line 23)

c. ...*dikaskadi uxawaidawu, pedabetsabatĩã...*

*dika -aska -di uxa -waid -a = wu peda -betsa -a = ba*  
*hear -LIKE.SO -PST6 sleep -CONT -PFV = PL dawn -EFFORT -PFV = NEG*  
*= tĩã*  
*= TIME*

‘...Like so, they heard that they were still sleeping, well before it had begun to dawn.’ (TN.MML.Ruawu dawawu.0261.line 275)

d. *ẽ datĩã ãĩ wĩchidibadu...*

*ẽ da = tĩã ãĩ wĩchi -di = ba = du*  
*1SG.NOM DEM.PROX = TIME ill catch.sight.of -PST6 = NEG = DS*

‘After all this time since I last experienced being well (lit. ‘didn’t see myself sick)...’ (TN.MRR.Ishpawãwẽ Xukadi.0051.line 246)

Zero-derivation, exemplified in (192), does not appear to be productive. Zero derivation is a less common strategy than use of one of the word class changing morphemes. Verb to noun zero derivation is more common in everyday speech than noun to verb zero derivation. The latter appears to mostly be used as an artistic device in traditional narratives about the ancestor times.

(192) a. *uxe*

‘moon’

- b. yura uxe-di  
     yura   uxe   -di  
     person moon -PST.6  
     ‘A person became the moon’ (TN.JRR.Uxe.0042.line 3)
- c. mã uxei  
     mã       uxe   -i  
     already moon -IPFV  
     ‘It was a (full) moon.’ (TN.MML.Uxe.0183.line 239)
- d. xatea  
     xate -a  
     cut   -PFV  
     ‘(he) cut (it)’
- e. xate  
     ‘a piece’ (something cut or torn off of a larger whole)

Verbalizing zero-derivation, as in (192b-c), results in unpredictable derivations (here, one example means that someone became the moon, and the other means that there was ample moonlight). Nominalizing zero-derivation, as in (192e) is limited to just a small class of verb roots.

## C.6 Verbal morphosyntax

This section describes both the internal structure of verbal words and some aspects of syntax that specifically concern the verb phrase, such as multi-verb verb phrases (section C.6.6). Yaminawa verbal morphology is mostly agglutinative, but some morphological categories like the associated motion suffixes (section C.6.5.1) have allmorphs that are sensitive to transitivity, and some inflectional categories (like subject number) exhibit allomorphy based on aspect. Yaminawa has an impressive number of productive verbal suffixes (around 70), plus many more prefixes and suffixes with limited productivity.

Figure C.1 provides a preliminary simplified template of the major verbal morphological categories in the Yaminawa verb, including certain clausal enclitics which most commonly appear on verbs.

For some of the positions in the template, such as lexical class derivation (valency changing morphology - position 2), associated motion (position 5), and the diminutive and intensifier (position 7), more than one suffix may occur in a word. The possible combinations and orders of verbal suffixes in Yaminawa merits further research and this template is only intended to provide a general sense of the order of major verbal categories and specific suffixes which are very frequent. Each of these major categories and morphemes is discussed in greater detail in the sections that follow.

Figure C.1: Template of major verbal categories

-2 REDUP	-1 part prefix	0 root	1 VBLZ	2 lex. class deriv.	3 NMLZ	4 affect
5 assoc. mo- tion	6 CIRC	7 DIM & INTENS	8 NEG. NF	9 modal	10 FUT. IPFV	11 PL. IPFV
12 tense & aspect	13 PL	14 NEG	15 switch reference & sequence & ut- terance type	16 EVID		

### C.6.1 Verbal roots and stems

This section introduces the properties of verb roots, including transitivity class, and discusses stem-formation processes including word-class derivation and valency-changing morphology (which changes the lexical transitivity class of the verb root). This section also introduces the body part prefixes that are used in the formation of the phonological stem, but which are inconsequential for lexical class. This section concerns template positions -1 (part prefixes) through 2 (lexical class derivation/valency-changing suffixes). In addition to the lexical or morphological stem (the root through position 2), which determines the lexical class (transitive or intransitive), Yaminawa also has an extended stem or phonological stem (positions -1 through 6), which forms the base for reduplication (morphology beyond position 6 is not reduplicated, see section C.4.1 for more on the phonological details of reduplication, and C.6.4.2 on the semantics of verbal reduplication).

#### C.6.1.1 Verb roots

The vast majority of verb roots are disyllabic and have one of three tonal patterns: H, L, or HL (see section C.4.5.2 for more on verb tone).<sup>180</sup> Some verb roots are nasal and bear HL tone by default (as is the case for nearly all nasal roots of any word class, see section C.4.4). There are only a small number of verb roots that are three or more syllables. There is a small class of verb roots that are monosyllabic – all of these exhibit lengthening to meet a bimoraic minimal root requirement (see section C.4.1). Verb roots (or stems) with an odd number of syllables trigger metrical allomorphy in some suffixes (see section

<sup>180</sup>Tone is only marked in sections C.3 and C.4 on segmental phonology and prosody and morphophonology respectively.

C.4.3.4). All verb roots in Yaminawa are bound roots that require an inflectional element from slot 12 (tense, aspect, some modal categories), in order to form a verbal word in an independent clause.<sup>181</sup> Some examples of minimal verbal words (i.e., a root plus a single inflectional suffix) are given in (193).

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>(193) a. <i>ratea</i><br/> <i>rate</i>    <i>-a</i><br/> surprise -PFV<br/> ‘surprised (him)’</p>        | <p>d. <i>kawẽ</i><br/> <i>ka</i>    <i>-wẽ</i><br/> go.SG -IMPER<br/> ‘go!’</p>                               |
| <p>b. <i>nẽtẽita</i><br/> <i>nẽtẽ</i> <i>-ita</i><br/> wait -PST.3<br/> ‘waited (there) a few days ago’</p> | <p>e. <i>aweskatiru</i><br/> <i>aweska</i>    <i>-tiru</i><br/> do.like.that -POT<br/> ‘does like that’</p>   |
| <p>c. <i>dai</i><br/> <i>da</i> <i>-i</i><br/> die -IPFV<br/> ‘is dying’</p>                                | <p>f. <i>adaitipãnã</i><br/> <i>adaiti</i> <i>-pãnã</i><br/> finish -IMPED<br/> ‘didn’t manage to finish’</p> |

Verb roots are categorized into two classes: transitive and intransitive. In Yaminawa, as in other Panoan languages, the transitivity of a verb is highly consequential. In addition to determining the number of arguments that may be expressed with a verb, the transitivity class of the verb root or stem also conditions morphological alternations in some verbal suffixes, as well as transitivity agreement in the marking on locatives and proverbs. The transitivity class of a verb also indirectly impacts switch reference marking (see section C.9.2).

Transitive verbs in Yaminawa are those which take two or more arguments (i.e., ditransitives are members of the transitive class). Some prototypical transitive verbs are listed in (194). Each is listed in the citation form with the imperfective *-i*.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>(194) a. <i>pĩchãi</i><br/> ‘is cooking (it)’</p> | <p>c. <i>pii</i><br/> ‘is eating (it)’</p>                |
| <p>b. <i>kedai</i><br/> ‘is calling (him)’</p>       | <p>d. <i>kupi</i><br/> ‘is getting revenge (on them)’</p> |

<sup>181</sup>In dependent clauses, the root/stem must minimally be marked by a subordinating morpheme such as a switch reference marker, but may, in some circumstances, still be marked for slot 12 inflectional categories (see section C.9 on multiple clause constructions).

e. ekexi  
‘is sewing (it)’

f. ũĩ  
‘is seeing (it)’

g. yui  
‘is telling (him) (about it)’

h. ãĩĩ  
‘is giving (it) (to him).’

Intransitive verbs in Yaminawa are those which have only a single argument role. Some prototypical intransitive verbs are listed in citation form with the imperfective *-i* in (195).

(195) a. kai  
‘is going’  
b. uxai  
‘is sleeping’  
c. atishi  
‘is sneezing’

d. budui  
‘is dancing’  
e. sidai  
‘is angry’  
f. dashi  
‘is bathing’

## C.6.2 Verbal derivational morphology

Verb stems (for the purpose of calculating lexical or transitivity class) can be constituted by a single verb root as in examples (193), (194), and (195) in the preceding section, or they may be complex. Complex verb stems may be formed from via verbalization and/or the addition of valency-changing suffixes. Section C.6.2.1 describes the word class derivational morphology that may contribute to stem formation and section C.6.2.2 discusses the lexical class derivational morphology (valency changing suffixes) that may contribute to stem formation.

### C.6.2.1 Word class derivation

Verb stems may be formed from nouns, adjectives, or adverbs using verbalizers or zero derivation.

The most frequent type of derived verbal stem is a noun or adjective verbalized by either the intransitive verbalizer *-da* or the transitive verbalizer *-wa*. (196) provides some examples of verbs formed from nouns and adjectives using the intransitive verbalizer *-da*.

(196) a. wekax  
*wekax*  
annoyance  
‘annoyance’

a'. wekaxdai  
*wekax -da -i*  
annoyance -VBLZ.ITR -IPFV  
‘is annoyed’

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>b. becha<br/> <i>becha</i><br/> wetness<br/> ‘wetness, mud, puddle’</p> | <p>b'. bechadai<br/> <i>becha -da -i</i><br/> wetness -VBLZ.ITR -IPFV<br/> ‘it’s getting wet’</p>           |
| <p>c. chushta<br/> <i>chushta</i><br/> dirty<br/> ‘dirty’</p>              | <p>c'. chushtadai<br/> <i>chushta -da -i</i><br/> dirty -VBLZ.ITR -IPFV<br/> ‘is getting dirty’</p>         |
| <p>d. chaka<br/> <i>chaka</i><br/> bad<br/> ‘bad’</p>                      | <p>d'. chakadai<br/> <i>chaka -da -i</i><br/> bad -VBLZ.ITR -IPFV<br/> ‘is going bad/getting messed up’</p> |

Some examples of verbs formed from nouns and adjectives using the transitive verbalizer *-wa* are provided in (197).

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>(197) a. wekax<br/> <i>wekax</i><br/> annoyance<br/> ‘annoyance’</p> | <p>a'. wekaxwai<br/> <i>wekax -wa -i</i><br/> annoyance -VBLZ.TR -IPFV<br/> ‘is annoying (him)’</p>                    |
| <p>b. wari<br/> <i>wari</i><br/> sun<br/> ‘sun’</p>                     | <p>b'. wariwai<br/> <i>wari -wa -i</i><br/> sun -VBLZ.TR -IPFV<br/> ‘is sunning (it)’ (drying it in the sun)</p>       |
| <p>c. chushta<br/> <i>chushta</i><br/> dirty<br/> ‘dirty’</p>           | <p>c'. chushtawai<br/> <i>chushta -wa -i</i><br/> dirty -VBLZ.TR -IPFV<br/> ‘is dirtying (it)’</p>                     |
| <p>d. shara<br/> <i>shara</i><br/> good<br/> ‘good’</p>                 | <p>d'. sharawai<br/> <i>shara -wa -i</i><br/> good -VBLZ.TR -IPFV<br/> ‘is cleaning (it) up’ (making it good/nice)</p> |

Nouns and adverbs may also be verbalized via zero derivation: they are simply treated as if they were verb roots and require no additional morphology. The vast majority of these derivations produce intransitive verbs from nouns, as in (198) and intransitive weather/time-of-day verbs from temporal adverbs, as in (199).

(198) a. *yura uxedī*

*yura uxe -dī*  
person moon -PST6

‘A person became the moon many years ago.’ (TN.JRR.Uxe.0042.line 3)

b. *sabashta pexkui*

*saba -shta pexku -i*  
a.while -DIM young.adult -IPFV

‘(He) was quickly becoming a young adult.’  
(TN.MRR.Isku ñũshīwu.0060.line 37)

c. *ẽ wisti adiwutiru*

*ẽ wisti adiwu -tiru*  
1SG.NOM only old.man -POT

‘Only I will grow old.’ (TN.JRR.Wari.0050.line 142)

(199) a. *mã pedai*

*mã peda -i*  
already morning -IPFV

‘It was already dawn.’ (TN.MML.Tua ñũshīwu.0388.line 112)

b. *mã yabea*

*mã yabe -a*  
already night -PFV

‘It was already night.’ (TN.MML.Uxe.0183.line 192)

### C.6.2.2 Lexical class derivation

Verbal lexical classes are based on transitivity, and lexical class derivation consists of valency changing suffixes. This lexical class impacts many aspects of the verb form (such as allomorphy among the associated motion suffixes, discussed in section C.6.5.1), as well as the syntax of the clause (e.g., transitivity concordance in postpositional phrases, discussed in section C.8.1.3.3), and the forms of switch-reference markers that track relationships between clauses (see section C.9.2). The valency-adjusting suffixes that may be applied to a verb depend on the transitivity class of the stem. Transitivity-increasing suffixes may be applied to either transitive or intransitive stems, but valency

decreasing morphology (such as the reciprocal) may only be applied to transitive stems. Table C.8 summarizes the valency changing suffixes of Yaminawa, what classes of stems they can attach to, and what types of arguments they add.

Table C.8: Valency changing suffixes

form	gloss	takes class	effect
<i>-bad</i>	CAUS	ITR & TR	Causative; S of intransitive becomes A of transitive, adds an O argument with ‘causee’ role; A of transitive remains A, adds an additional O argument with ‘causee’ role.
<i>-xud</i>	BEN	ITR & TR	Benefactive; S of intransitive becomes A of transitive, adds an O argument with ‘beneficiary’ role; A of transitive remains A, adds an additional O argument with ‘beneficiary’ role.
<i>-kid</i>	COM	ITR & TR	Comitative applicative or sociative causative; S of intransitive becomes A of transitive, adds an O argument with ‘causee’ or ‘comitative’ role; A of transitive remains A, adds an additional O argument with ‘causee’ or ‘comitative’ role.
<i>-ã</i>	MAL	ITR & TR	Malefactive; S of intransitive becomes A of transitive, adds an O argument with ‘maleficiary’ role; A of transitive remains A, adds an additional O argument with ‘maleficiary’ role.
<i>-nã</i>	RECIP	TR only	Reciprocal; A of transitive must be plural, becomes S of intransitive; A of ditransitive remains A of transitive.
valency changing suffixes with limited productivity			
<i>-kebe</i>	REFL	TR only	Reflexive; A of transitive must be single, becomes S of intransitive.
<i>-N</i>	CAUS	ITR only	Causative; S of intransitive becomes A of transitive, adds an O argument with ‘causee’ role.

The final /d/ of the causative *-bad*, benefactive *-xud*, and comitative applicative *-kid* is deleted before consonants or in certain metrical positions (see section C.4.3). In the benefactive and the comitative applicative, the vowel is phonologically nasalized when /d/ is deleted. The malefactive is realized as nasal spread to the root without segmental material on oral, even-footed stems, and realized as nasal spread to the root in addition to the segmental material *-ã* elsewhere. The following examples demonstrate the use of the causative (200) and the comitative applicative (201), and the contrast in meaning between the benefactive and malefactive applicatives (202). Note that the comitative applicative often has sociative causative meanings as in (201a).



(200) a. ea dashibadi kawē

*ea dashi -bad -i ka -wē*  
1SG.ACC bathe -CAUS -NF go -IMPER

‘You’re going to bathe me!’ (Lit. ‘Go in order to bathe me.’)  
(TN.MRR.Wuipapi.0141.line 77)

b. da beebakāki xuya ida

*da bee -bad -kad -ki xuya ida*  
DEM.PROX touch -CAUS -PL.IPFV -IPFV rat tail

‘They made this one touch the rat tail.’  
(TN.MRR.Pāmā weru kechu chaiya.0596.line 316)

(201) a. wēnāmāshta batu budukidi

*wēnāmā -shta batu budu -kid -i*  
slow -DIM 2PL.ACC dance -COM.APPL -IPFV

‘(She’s) slowly going to get you to dance (by dancing along with you).’  
(TN.MRR.Pāmā weru kechu chaiya.0596.line 355)

b. atu dashikidikia

*atu dashi -kid -i =kia*  
3PL.ABS bathe -COM.APPL -IPFV =REP

‘He was bathing with them.’ (TN.MRR.Ishpawāwē xukadi.0051.line 515)

(202) a. nū bia ũixudaba

*nū bia ũi -xud -a =ba*  
1PL.NOM 2SG.ACC see -BEN -PFV =NEG

‘We haven’t seen it for you (a lost pet bird).’  
(TN.MRR.Isku ñūshīwu.0060.line 51)

b. ēpā, aweskaki mĩ rayus mĩ ea rēteāmē

*epa =N aweskaki mĩ rayus mĩ ea rete -N*  
father =VOC why 2SG.POSS son.in.law 2SG.NOM 1SG.ACC kill -MAL  
*-a =mē*  
-PFV =INTERR

‘Father, why have you killed your son-in-law to my detriment?’ (The speaker is the wife of the victim.) (TN.MRR.Isku ñūshīwuwe ruapitsi.0615.line 88)

The reciprocal has a variety of allmorphs which appear to be conditioned both by metrical phonology and the transitivity class of the verb. There is considerable speaker

variation in the realization of the reciprocal, and these alternations are not well understood at the time of this writing. The currently attested allomorphs include: *-ãñã*, *-ñũñã*, and *-nãñã* in addition to *-nã*. Tentatively, the allomorphs *-ñũñã* and *-nãñã* appear to occur following nasal roots or stems, as in (203c-d); the allomorph *-ãñã* occurs following a monosyllable root, as in (203a); and the allomorph *-nã* occurs elsewhere (i.e., following oral disyllabic roots – trisyllabic stems have not yet been investigated), as in (203b).

(203) a. *mã wiãñãkadi*

*mã wi -ãñã -kad -i*  
already take -RECIP -PL.IPFV -IPFV

‘They were getting married now.’ (TN.MML.Ruawu dawa.0261.line 68)

b. *atu retenãkadi*

*atu rete -nã -kad -i*  
3PL.ABS kill -RECIP -PL.IPFV -IPFV

‘They were killing each other (making war).’ (TN.MML.Uxe.0183.line 83)

c. *ãwẽ chipiwe ãwẽ extu mêtsũñũñãwu*

*ãwẽ chipi = we ãwẽ extu mêtsũ -ñũñã*  
3SG.POSS older.sister = COM 3SG.POSS younger.brother grab.on.to -RECIP  
*-a =wu*  
-PFV = PL

‘The older sister and the younger brother were grabbing/holding on to one another.’ (TN.MRR.Pãmã weru kechu chaiya.0596.line 385)

d. *xawewu ikadi, ñũsĩñãñãkadi*

*xawe =wu ik -kad -i ñũsĩ -nãñã -kad -i*  
tortoise = PL AUX.ITR -PL.IPFV -IPFV coach -RECIP -PL.IPFV -IPFV

‘The tortoises were talking, getting their story straight (lit. coaching each other about what to say).

(TN.MLGA.Mãshãrũñẽ xawewu puyexkedi.0157.line 42)

The reflexive *-be* is identified by Faust and Loos (2002) and Lord (2016) as a productive morpheme in Northern Yaminawa and Nahua, respectively, but in Southern Yaminawa, it is not productive. I have only identified two words where *-kebe* (but not *-be* by itself) appears to contribute actual reflexivity to verb forms, as in (204), where it is suffixed to transitive verb roots and has the effect of detransitivizing them.

(204) a. teraxkebei

*te- rax -kebe -i*  
neck- scrape -REFL? -IPFV

‘He was scraping (the hair off) his neck.’  
(TN.MML.Chaxux ñũshĩwu.0219.line 58)

b. wupekebea

*wupe -kebe -a*  
open -REFL? -PFV

‘(The corn) had opened up (ripened).’ (TN.MML.Xiki ñũshĩwu.0247.line 8)

There are also a few verbal lexemes, all intransitive, that contain the sequence *kebe* or *kube*. Some examples of these roots are provided in (205).

(205) a. sabakebei

‘is dieting’  
(*sabai* ‘take a while’ is an intransitive verb zero-derived from the adverb *saba* ‘a while’.)

b. yutekebei

‘has an accident in the forest’  
(There is no form *\*yutei* or *\*yutekei*.)

c. payukubei

‘is rotting’  
(*payui* ‘to rot’ is an intransitive verb.)

d. warekebei

‘is escaping’  
(*warekei* also means ‘escape’ (intransitive); there is no form *\*warei*.)

It is much more frequent that speakers use suppletion or tonal alternation, as in (206), for alternating between transitive and intransitive forms of a verb. Tonal alternation, shown in (206a-c) is more widespread than vowel and consonant suppletion, shown in (206d-f). All forms are provided here in citation form, with the imperfective *-i*. Transitive-intransitive verbal tonal minimal pairs are discussed further in section C.4.5.2.

(206) **Transitive**

a. tékéì

‘break.TR’

b. pákéì

‘knock down’

**Intransitive**

tékèì

‘break.ITS’

pákèì

‘fall down’

c. xátéi	xátèi
‘cut’	‘cut.REFL’
d. chúcái	chúkì
‘wash’	‘wash.REFL’
e. túshái	túshì
‘toast, pop’	‘be golden, popped’ (e.g. popcorn)
f. rátái	rákài
‘lay (down)’	‘lie (down)’

The nasalizing causative *-N* has very limited productivity and appears to only be used with a handful of roots, most frequently *uxai* ‘sleep’ and *tsau* ‘sit’ as in (207).

- (207) a. *mĩ wake mǎ uxa*  
*mĩ wake mǎ uxa -a*  
 2SG.POSS child already sleep -PFV  
 ‘Your child is asleep.’ (E.MML.0297)
- b. *mǎ ěwǎ mǎ wake ũxǎ*  
*mǎ ewa =N mǎ wake uxa -N -a*  
 already mother =ERG already child sleep -CAUS -PFV  
 ‘Mother already put the child to sleep.’ (E.MML.0297)
- c. *chii mǎpũ tsaua*  
*chii bapu =N tsau -a*  
 fire ash =LOC sit -PFV  
 ‘She sat in the ashes.’ (TN.MMR.Kapa ñũshĩwu.line 506)
- d. *dukutushiainũ, tsǎũa*  
*duku -tushi =ai =nũ tsau -N -a*  
 arrive -AM:do.upon.arrival =IPFV.SUB =DS sit -CAUS -PFV  
 ‘When she<sub>i</sub> arrived, she<sub>j</sub> made her sit.’  
 (TN.MML.Adu ñũshĩwu.0258.line 47)

### C.6.3 Body part prefixes

Different dialects of Yaminawa have somewhere between 19 (in Sharanahua, Scott 2004) and 27 (in Northern Yaminawa, Faust and Loos 2002) prefixes that specify the involvement of a body part in the performance of the verb, typically either as an affected part of the body of the patient, or as the part of the body used by the agent. These are used in

word formation of both nouns and verbs, but in Southern Yaminawa, they are most frequently attested in verbs. Table C.9 provides inventories of the body part prefixes attested in Southern Yaminawa (original fieldwork), as well as Nahua (Lord 2016), Sharanahua (Scott 2004), and Northern Yaminawa (Faust and Loos 2002). The orthography used by each of these authors has been maintained (see appendix B).

Nearly all of the body part prefixes correspond to body part nouns. For example *a-* ‘mouth’ is a phonologically reduced form of *axwa* ‘mouth’, *xe-* is reduced from *xeta* ‘tooth’, and *pa-* is reduced from *pachu* ‘ear’. This generalization does not hold for all body part prefixes, however: *da-* ‘upper abdomen’ and *xa-* ‘vagina’ do not have free nominal forms that have phonological correspondences with the prefixal forms (for example, the free noun ‘vagina’ has the form *chishpi*).<sup>182</sup>

In Yaminawa, body part prefixes do not cause the valency of the verb to change. Body part prefixes indicate that a body part is involved in the action of the verb: they may indicate the part of the patient (O relation) that is affected by the verb, or the part of the body that an agent (S or A relation) uses to perform the verb. In Southern Yaminawa, these prefixes are no longer productive. Despite the fact that these prefixes have transparent and segmentable meanings for the majority of Yaminawa speakers, they are not used productively, and there is no way to predict which verbs are able to take body part prefixes.<sup>183</sup> One of the verbs that is the most productive with body part prefixes is *xatei* ‘cut’. The prefix causes metrical deletion of the first vowel of the root (see section C.4.3.2). Body part prefixes indicate an affected body part when used with the verb *xatei*, as in (208).

- (208) a. *uxtea*  
           *u-*   *xate -a*  
           foot- cut   -PFV  
           ‘cut (off) its foot’
- b. *bextea*  
           *be-*   *xate -a*  
           hand- cut   -PFV  
           ‘cut (off) its hand’
- c. *textea*  
           *te-*    *xate -a*  
           neck- cut   -PFV  
           ‘cut its neck’ or ‘cut off its head’

<sup>182</sup>In other Panoan languages, corresponding free forms can be identified for cognate prefixes. For example, in Kakataibo, the prefix *xa-* corresponds with the noun *xabi* ‘crotch’ (Zariquiey 2018a:p.169).

<sup>183</sup>The degree of productivity appears to be mostly dependent on the verb, not on the prefix. Speakers will often reject forms constructed in elicitation, even though they usually recognize what the meaning of those forms would be.

Table C.9: Body part prefixes in four dialects of Yaminawa

<b>gloss</b>	<b>Southern Yaminawa</b>	<b>Nahua</b>	<b>Sharanahua</b>	<b>Northern Yaminawa</b>
mouth (inside), tongue	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-</i>
head	<i>ba-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>ma-</i>
hand, wrist	<i>be-, bi-</i>	<i>me-, mi-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>me-</i>
ground				<i>mi-</i>
hip	<i>chi-, che-</i>	<i>che-, chi-</i>	<i>chi-, chia-</i>	<i>chi-, chene-</i>
upper abdomen	<i>da-</i>	<i>na-</i> (middle)		<i>na-</i> (center, inside)
liquid, water				<i>ne-</i>
upper abdomen		<i>nu-</i>		<i>no-</i> (interior, inside)
penis	<i>e-</i>	<i>e-</i>		
blood				<i>im-</i>
spine, lower back	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ca-</i>	<i>ka-</i>
mouth (outer), lips	<i>ke-</i>	<i>ke-, ki-</i>	<i>cu-</i>	<i>ke-</i>
leg	<i>ki-</i>		<i>qui-</i>	<i>ki-</i>
chin, jaw	<i>ku-</i>	<i>ko-</i>	<i>co-</i>	<i>ko-</i>
foot, ankle	<i>u-</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>o-</i>
ear	<i>pa-</i>	<i>pa-</i>	<i>pa-</i>	<i>pa-</i>
upper back, shoulder	<i>pe-</i>	<i>pe-, pi-</i>	<i>pu-</i> (back), <i>puch-</i> (shoulder)	<i>pe-</i>
ribs	<i>pi-, pish-</i>			<i>pish-</i>
upper arm	<i>pu-</i>	<i>po-</i>	<i>po-</i> (arm, intestines)	<i>po-</i>
knee	<i>ra-</i>	<i>ra-</i>		<i>ra-</i>
nose, front	<i>re-</i>	<i>re-</i>	<i>ru-</i>	<i>re-</i>
cheek	<i>ta-</i>	<i>ta-</i>		
neck	<i>te-</i>	<i>te-, ti-</i>	<i>tu-</i>	<i>te-</i>
buttocks	<i>tsi-</i>	<i>tsi-, che-, chi-</i>		<i>tsi-</i>
eyes, forehead, face	<i>we-</i>	<i>fe-, fi-</i>	<i>fu-</i>	<i>fe-</i>
leg	<i>fi-</i>			<i>fi-</i>
hair, crown	<i>wu-</i>	<i>fo-</i>		<i>fo-</i>
vagina, lower abdomen	<i>xa-</i>	<i>xa-</i>		<i>xa-</i> (body)
tooth	<i>xe-</i>	<i>xe-</i>	<i>shu-</i>	<i>xe-</i>
breast	<i>xu-</i>	<i>xo-</i>	<i>sho-</i> (chest)	<i>xu-</i> (chest)

In cases such as the preceding examples in (208), where the body part is directly affected by the action of the verb, the body part appears to always be possessed by the O argument, as in (209).

(209) basharunẽ westa uxteki

*basharu* = *nẽ* *wetsa* *u-* *xate* *-ki*  
 jaguar =ERG other foot- cut -?

‘The jaguar cut off the other one’s foot.’

(TN.MLGA.Māshārūnẽ xawewu puyexkedi.0157.line 62)

With the verb *wei* ‘bring, carry’, body part prefixes indicate the part of the body that is involved in the action, as in (210).

(210) a. pewea

*pe-* *we* *-a*  
 upper.back- carry -PFV

‘carried (it) on his/her back’

b. bewea

*be-* *we* *-a*  
 hand- carry -PFV

‘carried (it) in his/her hand’

With transitive verbs where the body part is involved in the performance of the action, it is possessed by the A argument, as in (211).

(211) shīmā epe kakatinīwā werewetā peweawu

*shīmā epe kakati* *-nĩ* *-wā* *were* = *wetā* *pe-* *we* *-a* = *wu*  
 fish palm.leaf.basket -EP -AUG eldest.child = COM.ERG back- carry -PFV = PL

‘He was carrying huge baskets of fish with his eldest son, on their backs.’

(TN.MML.Adu ñũshīwu.0204.line 89)

Aside from the body part prefixes, the only other prefixing morphological process in the verbal domain is reduplication. Reduplication occurs after body part prefixation, as body part prefixes, if present, are always part of the reduplicant, as in (212).

(212) bechukubechukubei

*bechuku-            be-    chuku -be    -i*  
REDUP.REPEAT- hand- wash -REFL -IPFV

‘was washing his/her hands’ (rubbing them together repeatedly)

Reduplication is covered in greater detail in section C.6.4.2, and additional examples of reduplication without body part prefixes are provided in (223). Section C.4.1 provides more information on the metrical phonological and morphophonological characteristics of reduplication.

## C.6.4 Verbal inflectional morphology

All Yaminawa verbs must bear at least one inflectional morpheme in order to form a verbal word. Tense, aspect, and modality are the three categories that can fulfill this requirement for main verbs. Subordinate verbs are typically marked for aspect, but not necessarily (see section C.9.2). Aside from tense, aspect, and modality (TAM), another major inflectional category is third person plural subject marking. This section is concerned only with the finite TAM resources used on main verbs in Yaminawa; information on tense and aspect in subordinate clauses can be found in section C.9, in particular the discussion of switch reference markers.

This grammar sketch follows Klein (1994) in defining tense as relating the topic time to the time of the utterance, and aspect as relating situation time to the topic time. For example, past tense indicates that the topic time is prior to the utterance time, and imperfect aspect indicates that the topic time is contained within the situation time. Beyond the finite tense and aspect suffixes in Yaminawa, other resources for the expression of temporal relationships include circadian temporal indicators (see section C.6.5.2) and the switch reference system (see section C.9.2).

This section begins with a discussion of tense in section C.6.4.1, followed by aspect in section C.6.4.2. Pluractionals, iterative and frequentative aspect, and other categories that are sometimes subsumed under the term ‘aspect’ in a broad (i.e., non-Kleinian) sense are discussed in the latter half of the section on aspect proper. Modal categories are presented in section C.6.4.3. Verbal subject number marking is described in section C.6.4.4, and verbal negation is described in section C.6.4.5.

### C.6.4.1 Tense

The tense markers in Yaminawa are typologically notable for the number of distinctions that they make: 6 degrees of remoteness in the past and 3 degrees of remoteness in the future.<sup>184</sup> A high number of tense remoteness distinctions is attested for many other Panoan

<sup>184</sup>Lord (2016) identifies 6 degrees of remoteness in the past and 5 degrees of remoteness in the future in Nahua. Among the past tense markers, she includes perfective aspect *-a* and combines *-ti*, *-yabea*, and *-bis* (perfect and habitual aspect). Among the future tense markers, she includes imperfective aspect *-i* and the suffix *-shidaka* ‘tonight’.



languages, such as Chácobo (Tallman and Stout 2016), Matsés (Fleck 2007), Kakataibo (Valle 2017 and Zariquiey 2018b), and Shipibo (Valenzuela 2003b). These markers and the categories they correspond to are not identical for all Panoan languages, but many of them are drawn from cognate forms (Soares de Oliveira and Valenzuela 2018).

All of the tense markers occupy slot 12 in the verbal template. Table C.10 provides an inventory of the past tense markers and table C.11 provides an inventory of the future tense markers. These tense markers do not express precise times; rather they are used by speakers to express their subjective, context-dependent evaluations of how long ago an event occurred or when in the future it may occur relative to a contextual standard of comparison (see Bochnak and Klecha 2018 on graded tense in Luganda). The meanings provided for each form in the tables below is intended as a general approximation of how most speakers use these suffixes in most discourse contexts.

Table C.10: Past tense suffixes

form	gloss	meaning
- <i>wa</i>	PST1	last night
- <i>waiyabea</i>	PST2	yesterday
- <i>ita</i>	PST3	a few days ago, a few weeks ago
- <i>yabea</i>	PST4	weeks to months ago
- <i>ti</i>	PST5	6-9 months to 1-2 years ago
- <i>di</i>	PST6	more than a few or several years ago

Table C.11: Future tense suffixes

form	gloss	meaning
- <i>waidaka</i>	FUT1	tomorrow, a few days from now
- <i>nūpukui</i>	FUT2	weeks or months from now
- <i>daka</i>	FUT3	months or years from now, ‘one day’

The primary aspect markers, imperfective *-i* and perfective *-a*, also occupy slot 12 and cannot co-occur with tense markers. The first instance of a tense marker in a given stretch of discourse serves to establish the topic time relative to the utterance time, serving as a tense marker, as in (213a). Once tense has been established, speakers use aspect markers only, as in (213b-c), until a point arrives in the discourse where it is necessary to reiterate or update the topic or situation time. The example in (213) comes from the first three lines of a traditional narrative, as the speaker establishes the topic time and sets the scene for the story.

(213) 1. iskadikia

*iska            -di        =kia*  
be.like.this -PST6 =REP

‘A long time ago it was like this, they say.’

2. dii kai

*dii     ka -i*  
forest go -IPFV

‘He was going to the forest.’

3. dukuwede dii kaa

*dukuwede dii     ka -a*  
man            forest go -PFV

‘The man went to the forest.’

(TN.MLGA.Shidipawāwē kashta ñūshīwu widi.0258.lines 1-3)

When no tense marker has been used to establish topic time, the default interpretation is that imperfective *-i* is present or same-day future and perfective *-a* is same-day past (see section C.6.4.2 for more on the imperfective and perfective aspect suffixes).

In trying to negotiate or establish a the topic time in conversation, speakers may use different tense suffixes, as in the sample of natural discourse in (214). Notice that in the first line of this example, speaker JMRS asks the first time when he had left his town using *-yabea* ‘PST4’, but, after JnGR only very indirectly answers his question by discussing events that followed his departure (using *-ita* ‘PST3’), JMRS repeats the question in the final line using *-ti* ‘PST5’.

(214) CONTEXT: JMRS is recounting a long an unpleasant trip he made to Pucallpa. He is unsure of when he left Sepahua. His brother-in-law JnGR helps him try to figure out the timing based on JMRS’s sister’s trip to Lima. (JMRS left on Oct. 8 of that year and returned a few days prior to the recording date, Nov. 8 of the same year).

1. JMRS: tii, awetiara ē kayabea

*tii            awetia -ra    ē            ka -yabea*  
EXCLAM when -DUB 1SG.NOM go -PST4

‘Oh, when did I go (weeks to months ago)?’

2. [...]

*Example continues on next page*

3. JnGR: *más de veinte días wiinũ, porque el dieciocho chipi kaitanũ*  
*más de veinte días wi -i =nũ porque el dieciocho*  
 over twenty days take -IPFV =NEW.INFO because on the eighteenth  
*chipi ka -ita =nũ*  
 older.sister go -PST3 =NEW.INFO  
 ‘It has been over 20 days because your sister went (days/weeks ago) on the eighteenth.’
4. JMRS: *ia*  
 ‘okay’
5. JnGR: *dieciocho kaita, ya tiene más de veinte días*  
*dieciocho ka -ita*  
 eighteenth go -PST3  
 ‘She left on the eighteenth; it’s already been over twenty days.’
6. JMRS: *ẽtsikai awetia kati*  
*ẽ =tsi =kai awetia ka -ti*  
 1SG.NOM =GUESS =CONTR when go -PST5  
 ‘But when did I go (many months ago)?’  
 (Conv.JMRS + JnGR.0541)<sup>185</sup>

Tense markers appear to sometimes have functions beyond the sense of tense used by Klein (1994), because in addition to their function relating topic time to utterance time (‘tense’ narrowly defined), these markers may also be used to modify the specific temporal reference within an established past topic time, as in (215), which occurs in a text set in the remote past (as established in the preceding discourse using the suffix *-di* ‘PST6’). In this example, the use of the tense suffix *-ita* ‘PST3’ does not update the topic time to a few days prior to the utterance time, rather it specifies that the events in this utterance took place a few days prior to the other events going on in the (remote past) topic time of the narrative.

(215) *nã pia wuita, ãnã weiba, mã atu ãnãita*

*nã pia wu -ita ãnã we -i =ba mã atu ãnã -ita*  
 DEM.ANA arrow take -PST3 again bring -IPFV =NEG already 3PL.ABS give -PST3

‘The arrows that he had taken (days prior), he wasn’t carrying them, he had given them away (days prior) to them (his grandchildren).’  
 (TN.MML.Ruawu dawawu.0261.line 193)

<sup>185</sup>This transcript was edited for clarity and brevity, removing some hesitations, false starts, and repetitions.

The use of the tense markers demonstrated in example (215) is infrequent in comparison to their typical function as tense markers in the strict sense. Other verbal categories also encode temporal meanings. The circadian temporal indicators (section C.6.5.2) are used to indicate the time of day that an event occurred or occurs. In subordinate clauses, tense markers are ungrammatical (the tense of subordinate verbs is determined by the tense of the main verb), but switch reference and other slot 15 clausal enclitics often encode temporal relationships that hold between the subordinate and main clause (see section C.9.2).

#### C.6.4.2 Aspect

There are at least 15 verbal suffixes in Yaminawa that have meanings relating to aspect in the broad sense, that is, including both grammatical aspect in the Kleinian sense (those which relate situation time to topic time) and pluractional and other categories sometimes subsumed under the term ‘aspect’. These suffixes are summarized in table C.12. All of the pluractional-type (e.g., distributive, iterative, frequentative) morphemes are what I term ‘secondary’ aspectual categories: those which are internal to finite TA morphology in the template and which require some other (position 12) TAM morpheme to form a verbal word. However, some secondary aspectual categories, specifically continuous and inceptive aspect, fall within the Kleinian definition of aspect.

Among the secondary aspectual categories, some display allomorphic alternations dependent on the transitivity of the verb or plurality of the subject. For these forms, both allomorphs are provided, with the relevant conditions in parentheses. I begin the discussion of aspect markers with the grammatical aspect markers (the ‘primary’ aspectual categories), then discussed categories that must be licensed by a specific tense or aspect marker, then conclude this chapter with brief descriptions of the secondary aspectual categories, starting with those that function as viewpoint or grammatical aspect and ending with pluractional and other broadly aspectual categories.

The primary aspectual categories are those which are sufficient to make a verb stem into a verbal word without the expression of additional TAM categories. The most frequent primary aspectual categories in Yaminawa are the perfective *-a* and imperfective *-i*. Typically, a tense marker is employed first in the discourse to establish tense and then primary aspect markers (particularly the perfective *-a* and imperfective *-i*) are used thereafter, as in (213) in the previous section. When aspect markers are used without a tense marker to establish the topic time, the default temporal interpretation of the imperfective *-i* is that of present or near-future temporal reference, and the default temporal interpretation of the perfective *-a* is that of recent (i.e., same day) past temporal reference, as in (216).<sup>186</sup>

<sup>186</sup>In practice, it is uncommon in naturalistic speech that speakers must rely entirely on these default interpretations to determine temporal reference – speakers often employ temporal adverbs (and adverbial phrases) such as *da pedatā* ‘today’ (lit. DEM.PROX dawn-IPE) to make temporal reference clear. My understanding of the default temporal interpretations of the perfective and imperfective comes from elicitation work.

Table C.12: Aspectual suffixes in Yaminawa

form	gloss	function(s)	template position
<b>primary aspectual categories</b>			
<i>-a</i>	PFV	perfective	12
<i>-i</i>	IPFV	imperfective	12
<i>-bis</i>	HABIT, PRF	habitual, perfect	12
<b>aspectual categories that must be licensed by a specific T/A marker</b>			
<i>-pau</i>	IPFV.PST6	remote past imperfective	12; always co-occurs with remote past <i>-di</i>
<i>-tiad</i>	HABIT.FREQ	frequentative habitual	12; always co-occurs with imperfective <i>-i</i>
<i>-xi</i>	FUT.IPFV	future imperfective	10; always co-occurs with imperfective <i>-i</i>
<b>secondary aspectual categories (internal to finite TA morphology)</b>			
reduplication	REDUP.REPEAT	iterative/frequentative	-2
<i>-kakaid</i> (ITR.SG), <i>-wawaid</i> (ITR.PL/TR)	CONT	continuous	6
<i>-ĩñwuwad</i>	INCEP	inceptive	6
<i>-pake, -pa</i>	DISTR	distributive	6
<i>-ria</i> (ITR), <i>-riwa</i> (TR)	ITER	iterative	before 5
<i>-tai</i> (ITR), <i>-tiwa</i> (TR)	FREQ	habitual/frequentative	before 11
<i>-yu</i>	DO.FIRST	do before doing something else	before 6
<b>likely aspect markers (very infrequent)</b>			
<i>-risa</i>		immediately/ instantaneously	?
<i>-sa</i>		brief repeated action	?

(216) a. *ẽ dashi*

*ẽ dashi -i*  
1SG.NOM bathe -IPFV

‘I’m bathing.’

b. *mẽ dashia*

*mã      ẽ              ka      -a*  
already 1SG.NOM bathe -PFV

‘I bathed (earlier today).’

(E.JLGR.0191)

The use of the adverb *mã* ‘already, now’ is often used to distinguish between ongoing (i.e., initiated) versus unrealized (i.e., non-initiated) uses of the imperfective, as in (217).

(217) a. *ẽ kai*

*ẽ              ka -i*  
1SG.NOM go -IPFV

‘I will go.’ (unrealized, non-initiated)

b. *mẽ kai*

*mã      ẽ              ka -i*  
already 1SG.NOM go -IPFV

‘I’m leaving.’ (ongoing, initiated)

(From memory/observations of conversational use.)

The aspectual suffix *-bis* has several functions. It is often used to indicate habitual aspect, as in (218a), and also functions as a nominalizer that derives a habitual agent from a verb, as in (218b). In other contexts, the suffix *-bis* is used as perfect aspect, as in (218c).

(218) a. *ẽpã, mĩ ea pãrãbis*

*epa      =N      mĩ              ea              pãrã      -bis*  
father =VOC 2SG.NOM 1SG.ACC deceive -HABIT

‘Father, you (always) lie to me.’

(TN.MML.Yura ñũwẽ dai mẽrã kadi.0388.line 47)

b. *kaxebis chaka uri yuikãki*

*kaxe -bis              chaka uri              yui -kad      -ki*  
joke -NMLZ.HABIT bad over.there tell -PL.NF -IMPER.INDIR

‘Tell that damn clown (one who jokes a lot) over there (not to touch it).’

(TN.MRR.Pui wake.0141.line 45)

c. *mã dabis*

*mã      da -bis*  
already die -PRF

‘(She) had already died.’ (TN.MML.Yura ñũwẽ dai mẽrã kadi.0388.line 11)

With the habitual/perfect suffix *-bis*, the realis adverb *mã* also appears to impact the interpretation of aspect. Without the adverb *mã* ‘already, now’, *-bis* is typically interpreted as habitual (i.e., with the eventuality denoted by the verb is realized in the present and future in addition to the past), as in (218a) above. With the adverb *mã* ‘already’, the interpretation is generally that of perfect (that the eventuality denoted by the verb was realized minimally once, but is not necessarily habitual), as in (218c).

Other aspectual suffixes always occur with another tense or primary aspect marker in fixed collocations. For example, the remote past (PST6) imperfective *-pau* must always co-occur with the remote past tense marker *-di*, as in (219).

(219) *chĩchĩ yuipaudi*

*chichi* =N *yui -pau* *-di*  
maternal.grandmother =ERG tell -IPFV.PST6 -PST6

‘Grandma used to tell it (a story).’ (TN.MRR.Yuashi.0615.line 3)

In the case of the future imperfective suffix *-xi*, it must always co-occur with the imperfective suffix *-i*, as in (220). In the case of the future imperfective *-xi*, which occupies slot 10, the imperfective plural marker *-kad* (see section C.6.4.4) may intervene between *-xi* and the imperfective *-i* in slot 12, as in (220b).

(220) a. *ẽwẽ ẽpã wedui kaxii*

*ẽwẽ* *epa* =N *wedu -i* *ka -xi* *-i*  
1SG.POSS father =ERG lose -IPFV go -FUT.IPFV -IPFV

‘Our father is going to lose (us) (in the forest).’  
(TN.MRR.Pãmã weru kechu chaiya.0596.line 21)

b. *duku pixikadiki*

*duku* *pi -xi* *-kad* *-i* =*ki*  
1PL.ACC eat -FUT.IPFV -PL.IPFV -IPFV =ASSERT

‘They will eat us!’ (TN.MML.Xiki ñũshĩwu.0247.line 20)

Other broadly aspectual suffixes occur at different positions in the template, all internal to slot 12. All of these secondary aspectual categories must be followed by a slot 12 suffix for the verbal word to be grammatical in main clauses.<sup>187</sup> Several of the morphemes in this class appear to be related to associated motion markers (see section C.6.5.1), such as the continuous aspect suffixes *-kakaid* ~ *-wawaid* and the inceptive *-ĩñĩwuwad*.<sup>188</sup>

Among the pluractional-type aspectual suffixes, the suffix *-pake* is most frequently employed as an associated motion marker indicating that an action has a downward trajectory, as in (221a), but it is sometimes used as a distributive as in (221b).

<sup>187</sup>In subordinate clauses, these morphemes may occur without slot 12 suffixes, but are always followed by subordinating morphology such as switch reference markers (see section C.9.2).

<sup>188</sup>The inceptive suffix *-ĩñĩwuwad* appears to be formed from a combination of the transitive upward associated motion suffix *-ĩñĩ* and the transitive/plural lateral associated motion suffix *-wuwad*.

(221) a. *mã dedu wari rakapakei*

*mã dedu wari raka -pake -i*  
already here sun lie.down -AM:downward -IPFV

‘The sun was already setting here.’ (TN.MMR.Isku ñũshĩwu.0060.line 193)

b. *wachakapakeki...*

*wa -chaka -pake =ki*  
say -BAD -DISTR =SS.SIM

‘As (s/he) insulted all of them...’ (‘one by one’ and not with a single insult)  
(TN.MRR.Isku ñũshĩwu.0060.line 150)

The iterative *-ria/-riwa*, and the frequentative *-tai/-tiwa* are infrequent in the corpus and exhibit alternations that are not yet understood. These forms are exemplified for the frequentative in (222).

(222) a. *dikatai, yura udikũĩ*

*dika -tai -i yura udi -kũĩ*  
hear -FREQ.ITER -IPFV people person -INTENS

‘(We) always heard (about them), that (they) are real people.’  
(Conv.MML.0538)

b. *ẽ tadu chaka pitiwa*

*ẽ tadu chaka pi -tiwa -a*  
1SG.NOM *suri* bad eat -FREQ.TR -PFV

‘I always ate nasty *suri* larvae.’ (TN.MML.Wupa ñũshĩwu.0297.line 96)

Yaminawa also uses reduplication to express repeated (iterative or frequentative) eventualities. Reduplication in Yaminawa is prefixing, and the reduplicant consists of up to three syllables from the extended verb stem (i.e., affixes that are after the extended stem are not copied in the reduplicant). This process is exemplified in example (223). As the examples in (223)b-c show, suffixes in or before slot 6 (associated motion) form part of the extended stem for the purposes of reduplication. More information on the phonology of reduplication can be found in section C.4.1.

(223) a. *wakiwakishi*

*waki- wakish -i*  
REDUP.REPEAT- be.dark -IPFV

‘It was getting dark (after dusk).’  
(TN.MRR.Iwi tũkũ puiki raweya.0132.line 20)



b. *ea ānũ wārā pīāwāpīāwadi*

*ea*      *adu* = *N*    *wārā*    *pīāwā-*      *pi* -*ā*  
 1SG.ACC *majás* = ERG pumpkin REDUP.REPEAT- eat -MAL  
 -*wad*                      -*i*  
 -AM:come.do.and.go -IPFV

‘A *majás* is coming constantly to eat my pumpkins.’  
 (TN.MML.Adu ñũshĩwu.0204.line 4)

c. *mā dikaridikaribiswu*

*mā*      *dikari-*              *dika -ri*              -*bis* = *wu*  
 already REDUP.REPEAT hear -iterative -PRF = PL

‘They had heard about (him) over and over.’  
 (TN.MRR.Iwi tũkũ puiki raweya.0132.line 30)

The suffix *-yu* ‘do first’ (before another action/activity) requires a slot 12 T/A/M suffix in main clauses, but does not exhibit transitivity conditioned allomorphy like other secondary aspectual suffixes, as shown in (224).

(224) a. *ē dashiyui*

*ē*              *dashi* -*yu*              -*i*  
 1SG.NOM bathe -do.first -IPFV

‘I’m going to bathe first.’ (e.g., before doing something else like cooking, going to town, etc.) (From memory/observations of conversational use)

b. *ē kaitũruku, ē dadeyuiñũ*

*ē*              *ka* = *ai*              = *tũ*              = *ruku*,    *ē*              *dade*              -*yu*  
 1SG.NOM go = IPFV.SUB = REAS = CNTEXP 1SG.NOM smoke.food -do.first  
 -*i*              = *ñũ*  
 -IPFV = NEW.INFO

‘Contrary to what you think, I won’t be going yet; I’m smoking food first (and will go later).’ (TN.MRR.Diwu ñũshĩ.0615.line 144)

### C.6.4.3 Modality

There are at least 15 verbal modal suffixes in Yaminawa, as summarized in table C.13. These consist of ‘primary’ modal categories, which occupy slot 12 of the verbal template and are incompatible with tense markers and the primary aspect markers, and markers occupying slot 9 (or occurring immediately after slot 9 and before slot 10) which must be followed by a slot 12 tense, aspect, or modal marker in order to form a verbal word.

Table C.13: Modal suffixes in Yaminawa

form	gloss	meaning	template position
<b>primary modal categories</b>			
<i>-ki</i>	IMPER.INDIR	indirect imperative, suggestion (when 2 pronoun absent)	12
<i>-ki</i>	PROHIB	prohibative (when used with explicit 2 pronoun)	12
<i>-kiki</i>	PROHIB	prohibative (is not used with explicit 2 pronoun)	12
<i>-nũ</i>	OPT, HORT	optative, hortative	12
<i>-pa</i>	INTENT	1SG intent	12
<i>-pãñã</i>	IMPED	impedimentive	12
<i>-pe</i>	IMPER.POL	polite or begging imperative	12
<i>-pu</i>	IMPER.MIR	mirative or urgent imperative	12
<i>-tiru</i>	POT	potential	12
<i>-we, -wẽ</i>	IMPER	general imperative	12
<b>secondary modal categories requiring an additional TAM marker</b>			
<i>-kaspa</i>	DESID.NEG	negative desiderative	9
<i>-kerad</i>	COND	conditional, ‘almost’	after 9
<i>-pai</i>	DESID	desiderative	9
<i>-wi</i>	FRUST	frustrative	after 9
<i>-yuspa</i>	DESID.NEG.HABIT	habitual negative desiderative	9

Many of the primary modal categories in Yaminawa are types of imperative. The most frequent of these is the general imperative *-we* or *-wẽ*.<sup>189</sup> Some examples of the general imperative are provided in (225).

(225) a. *ayawe*

*aya -we*  
drink -IMPER

‘Drink (it)!’ (TN.MRR.Isku ñũshĩwu.0060line 202)

b. *ea piti wixũwẽ*

*ea piti wi -xud -wẽ*  
1SG.ACC food get -BEN -IMPER

‘Bring me some food.’ (TN.MML.Adu ñũshĩwu.0204.line 51)

<sup>189</sup>It is not clear at this time if the form of the imperative (nasal versus oral) is dependent on speaker variation, dialect variation, or some other factor.

The general imperative is used in most discursive and conversational contexts, and does not appear to have any meanings relating to politeness or urgency of the request. In everyday conversation, the general imperative is often used as part of leave-taking sequences, as in (226).

(226) 1. A: *mẽ kai*

*mã      ã              ka -i*  
already 1SG.NOM go -IPFV

‘I’m going now.’

2. B: *katāwẽ*

*ka -tad                              -wẽ*  
go -AM:go.do.and.return -IMPER

‘Get going!’

(From memory/observation of conversational use)

The polite or urgent imperative *-pe* is used in cases where the speaker knows or expects that their interlocutor may not be inclined to fulfill the command, as in the examples in (227).

(227) a. CONTEXT: *Yuashi* ‘The Greedy One’ repeatedly refuses to share agriculture with the ancestors. One ancestor man begs him for plantain suckers (shoots, or *machiqui* in Spanish).’

*māñiã tapakashta ea ñiãshtape*

*māñiã    tapaka -shta ea              ñiã    -shta -pe*  
plantain sucker -DIM 1SG.ACC give -DIM -IMPER.POL

‘Please give me a plantain sucker!’ (TN.MRR.Yuashi.0615.line 25)

b. CONTEXT: A shaman has decided to leave this world for the afterlife, permanently, and his grandchildren implore him not to go.

*chatashta kayabape*

*chata                              -shta ka -yaba    -pe*  
maternal.grandfather -DIM go -NEG.NF -IMPER.POL

‘Grandpa, please don’t go!’

(TN.MML.Yura ñiũwẽ dai mērã kadi.0388.line 130)

The mirative imperative is used mostly with verbs of perception, as in (228)a-b, and less frequently with other verbs, as in (228)c. In addition to imperative mood, it also calls the attention of the interlocutor(s) to a situation.

- (228) a. *ũĩpu*  
           *ũĩ -pu*  
           see -IMPER.MIR  
           ‘Look!’ (From memory/observation of conversational use)
- b. *dikakāpu*  
           *dika -kad -pu*  
           hear -PL.NF -IMPER.MIR  
           ‘Listen up, y’all!’ (From memory/observation of conversational use)
- c. CONTEXT: A man encounters a small forest creature and is teasing him about his name and small size. He tells the creature to climb up on his leg to get a better look.  
           *dedu deeyupu*  
           *dedu dee -yu -pu*  
           here stick -do.first -IMPER.MIR  
           ‘Hop up here (on my leg) (so we can take a look).’  
           (TN.MRR.Wuipapi.0141.line 42)

With the general imperative *-we~wẽ*, the polite/urgent imperative *-pe*, and the mirative imperative *-pu*, second person pronouns are ungrammatical, as demonstrated by (229).

- (229) a. *\*mĩ kawẽ*  
           INTENDED: ‘go!’
- b. *\*mĩ kape*  
           INTENDED: ‘please go!’
- c. *\*mĩ ũĩpu*  
           INTENDED: ‘look!’

With some other primary modal categories, including the indirect imperative *-ki* and the prohibitive *-ki*, the presence or absence of the second person pronoun changes the meaning of the modal suffix. Without a second person pronoun, the indirect imperative *-ki*, expresses positive encouragement for the interlocutor to perform an action, as in (230a). With the presence of the second person pronoun, *-ki* functions as a prohibitive, as in (230b). The prohibitive sometimes takes the form of *-kiki*, as in (230c), when it is not accompanied by a second person pronoun.

(230) a. ea wexũki

*ea we -xud -ki*  
1SG.ACC bring -BEN -IMPER.INDIR

‘You’ll bring it for me, please.’  
(TN.MML.Yura ñũwẽ dai mẽrã kadi.0388.line 53)

b. mĩ chii beeki

*mĩ chii bee -ki*  
2SG.NOM fire touch -PROHIB

‘Don’t touch the fire!’ (TN.MRR.Yuashi.0615.line 65)

c. ea mãtsũxũkiki

*ea mãtsũ -xud -kiki*  
1SG.ACC sweep -BEN -PROHIB

‘Don’t sweep (my house) for me!’ (TN.TYW.Ïnãwã xadu.0283.line 17)

Prohibatives, or more accurately, negative imperatives, may also be formed using the non-finite negation suffix *-yaba* with either the general imperative *-we~wẽ* or the polite/urgent imperative *-pe*, as in (231).

(231) a. kayabawe

*ka -yaba -we*  
go -NEG.NF -IMPER

‘don’t go!’ (CN.JMRS.Como conocí a mi mujer.0298.line 42)

b. chatashta, kayabape

*chata -shta ka -yaba -pe*  
grandfather -DIM go -NEG.NF -IMPER.POL

‘Grandfather, please don’t go!’  
(TN.MML.Yura ñũwẽ dai mẽrã kadi.0388.line 130)

The optative or hortative *-nũ* expresses the speaker’s desire that an event come to pass, as in (232). With 3rd person subjects, it is particularly common that the optative is used in curses, as in (232c).

(232) a. chipu mĩ wede mĩ yuinũ

*chipu mĩ wede mĩ yui -nũ*  
later 2SG.POSS husband 2SG.NOM tell -OPT

‘May you tell your husband later.’ (TN.MRR.Xuya ñũshĩwu.0091.line 61)

- b. *bia nãwã textenũ*

*bia       dawa       -N   te-   xate -nũ*  
2SG.ACC other.tribe -ERG neck- cut -OPT

‘May a foreigner cut off your head!’ (TN.MML.Uxe.0183.line 64)

The suffix *-nũ* is most frequently used with first person singular or plural subjects. With a first person plural subject, it functions as a hortative, as in (233a). With a first person singular subject it expresses that the speaker wishes or intends to carry out the action denoted by the verb, as in (233b).

- (233) a. *nũ kanũ*

*nũ           ka -nũ*  
1PL.NOM go -OPT

‘let’s go!’ (TN.MLGA.Shidipawãwẽ kashta nũshĩwu widi.0258.line 75)

- b. *ẽ ãĩtãnũ*

*ẽ           ũĩ -tad                           -nũ*  
1SG.NOM see -AM:go.do.and.return -OPT

‘I’m going to go take a look.’ (TN.MML.Adu nũshĩwu.0204.line 37)

The suffix *-pa* is also used to signal the intent of the speaker. This suffix is always used with the particle *bia* preceding the verb, as in (234a). *Bia* is homophonous with the second person singular accusative pronoun, but this particle is distinct and does not encode a second person singular argument; in fact, it is used even with intransitive verbs, as in (234b). It is not attested with negation.

- (234) a. *bia yawa atãpa*

*bia       yawa       ak       -tad                           -pa*  
INTENT *huangana* AUX.TR -AM:go.do.and.return -INTENT

‘I’m going to go hunt *huangana* (white lipped peccary, *Tayassu pecari*).’  
(TN.MML.Ruawu dawawu.0261.line 237)

- b. *bia kapa*

*bia       ka -pa*  
INTENT go -INTENT

‘I’m going to go.’ (TN.MML.Uxe.0183.line 158)

There are two other primary modal suffixes, the potential mode *-tĩru* and the impeditive *-pãnã*. The potential *-tĩru* may express meanings relating to ability, as in (235a), epistemic possibility, as in (235b), or it may express habitual characteristics or behaviors, as in (235c). The potential mode suffix *-tĩru* is negated with the finite negative enclitic =*ba*, as in (235d).

(235) a. *nũ chii witiru*

*nũ chii wi -tiru*  
1PL.NOM fire take -POT

‘We can get fire.’ (TN.JRR.Wari.0050.line 44)

b. *ẽ ãnã paketiru*

*ẽ ãnã pake -tiru*  
1SG.NOM vomit fall -POT

‘I might vomit.’ (TN.MRR.Ishpawãwẽ xukadi.0051.line 402)

c. *wãĩ yura dabatiru, ipaudi*

*wari =N yura da -bad -tiru ik -pau -di*  
sun =ERG person die -CAUS -POT AUX. ITR -IPFV.PST6 -PST6

‘It used to be a long time ago that the (heat of the) sun killed people.’  
(TN.JRR.Wari.0050.line 38)

d. *ẽ ayatiruba*

*ẽ aya -tiru =ba*  
1SG.NOM drink -POT =NEG

‘I can’t drink.’ (TN.MRR.Aya ñũshĩwu.0597.line 185)

The impedimentive *-pãnã* is used in both situations where the verb was not able to be realized satisfactorily, as in (236a), and situations where the verb was successfully performed, but only with great difficulty, as in (236b).

(236) a. CONTEXT: A man is spending a night in the wilderness and the frogs are making too much noise for him to sleep.

*ẽ uxapãnã...*

*ẽ uxa -pãnã*  
1SG.NOM sleep -IMPED

‘I can hardly sleep.’ (TN.MML.Tua ñũshĩwu.0388.line 96)

b. CONTEXT: The river hasn’t had much fish recently, but the speaker is hopeful that the upcoming night’s fishing trip will result in at least some food.

*nũ shĩmã pipãnã*

*nũ shĩmã pi -pãnã*  
1PL.NOM fish eat -IMPED

‘We’ll do our best to eat fish.’ (Reconstructed from memory)

The secondary modal categories occur internal to position 12 in the verbal template and require a tense, aspect, or modal suffix from position 12 in order to form a verbal word in main clauses.

Among the secondary modal categories, the desiderative *-pai* is the most frequent in the corpus and in everyday speech. The desiderative must be followed by a position 12 suffix, typically either a tense or aspect suffix, as in (237a-b), but modals are attested as well, as in (237c). Aside from desires, the desiderative may also be used to talk about attempted actions, as in (237c-d).

(237) a. *ãwĩwuriwi uxapaidi*

*ãwĩwu =riwi uxa -pai -di*  
woman =ADD sleep -DESID -PST6

‘The woman was also tired (lit. wanted to sleep).’  
(TN.JRR.Wari.0050.line 74)

b. *ẽ kashta apaia*

*ẽ kashta ak -pai -a*  
1SG.NOM armadillo AUX.TR -DESID -PFV

‘I wanted to kill an armadillo.’  
(TN.MLGA.Shidipawāwē kashta ñũshĩwu widi.0258.line 53)

c. *bia rũnũ pipainũ*

*bia rudu -N pi -pai -nũ*  
2SG.ACC snake -ERG eat -DESID -OPT

‘May a snake try to bite you!’ (TN.MML.Uxe.0183.line 48)

d. *datixũ ñũshĩnĩ achipaidi*

*dati =xũ ñũshĩnĩ achi -pai -di*  
this.distance =SRC.TR spirit.ERG grab -DESID -PST6

‘From just this distance, the spirit tried to grab it.’  
(TN.JRR.Pũstũ.0112.line 52)

There are two negative desideratives in Yaminawa, the general negative desiderative *kaspa* and *-yuspa*, which has a more limited distribution, and is so far only attested productively with one verb root *dikai* ‘listen, hear’ as in (238b).<sup>190</sup> Negative desideratives may also be formed by negating the desiderative *-pai* with the negative enclitic *=ba*, as in (238c).

<sup>190</sup>The suffix also occurs with the root *dui* ‘love’ in a fixed expression always used as a noun: *duiyuspa* ‘enemy’. This suffix may actually be a negative habitual, and its semantics and productivity merit further investigation.



(238) a. kashta ukaspai

*kashta u -kaspa -i*  
armadillo come -DESID.NEG -IPFV

‘The armadillo didn’t want to come (out of its den).’  
(TN.MLGA.Shidipawāwē kashta ñūshīwu widi.0258.line 29)

b. ě yuishtawia, dikayuspashtaki...

*ě yui -shta -wi -a dika -yuspa -shta -ki*  
1SG.NOM tell -DIM -FRUST -PFV listen -DESID.NEG -DIM -NF

‘Even though I told you, because you didn’t (want to) listen...(something bad happened).’ (TN.MRR.Isku ñūshīwu.0060.line 173)

c. ě pipaiba

*ě pi -pai -i =ba*  
1SG.NOM eat -DESID -IPFV =NEG

‘I don’t want to eat.’ (TN.JRR.Püstū.0112.line 81)

The slot modal suffix *-kerad* means ‘almost’, as in (239a), but it is also used as a conditional in main clauses with the condition expressed in a subordinate clause, as in (239b). In (239b), we see that the suffix *-kerad* may occur after the position 9 modals. Note that the conditional *-kerad* is homophonous with the intransitive singular allomorph of the associated motion marker *-kerad* ‘do and come’ (see section C.6.5.1), but the conditional does exhibit transitivity or number-sensitive allomorphy, as evidenced by the fact that it does not change form to *-werad* with transitive verbs like the ones in (239a-b).

(239) a. ea ñūshīnī pikeradi

*ea ñūshīnī pi -kerad -i*  
1SG.ACC spirit.ERG eat -COND -IPFV

‘A spirit was almost going to eat me.’ (TN.JRR.Püstū.0112.line 66)

b. ěwē āwī diadu, ě bia wipaikeradaba

*ěwē āwī di =a =du ě bia wi -pai -kerad*  
1SG.POSS wife stand =PFV.SUB =DS 1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC take -DESID -COND  
*-a =ba*  
-PFV =NEG

‘If my wife were alive (standing), I wouldn’t be wanting to take you (as my wife).’ (TN.MML.Wedeuba.0219.line 21)

The frustrative suffix *-wi* has a function similar to the impedimentive *-pānā*, but the frustrative necessarily means that the verb was not realized at all, as in example (240), whereas the impedimentive, discussed above, leaves available the possibility that it was realized with great effort. Like the conditional *-kerad*, the frustrative may also follow position 9 modals, as in (240b).

- (240) a. *yura wetsa adu wedawia, aduba*  
*yura wetsa =adu weda -wi -a, a =adu =ba*  
 person other =LOC search -FRUST -PFV 3SG =LOC =NEG  
 ‘He looked for it at another person’s house, but it wasn’t there.’  
 (TN.MRR.Isku ñũshĩwu.0060.line 347)
- b. *mã kashta apaiwia*  
*mã kashta ak -pai -wi -a*  
 already armadillo AUX.TR -DESID -FRUST -PFV  
 ‘He wanted to kill an armadillo (but did not).’  
 (TN.MLGA.Shidipawāwē kashta ñũshĩwu widi.0258.line 31)

#### C.6.4.4 Verbal subject marking

Verbal subject marking in Yaminawa only encodes plurality of the S or A argument (i.e., it follows a nominative pattern). There is no person marking or object (P argument) number marking on verbs. There are two markers used to indicate plural subjects: *-kad* and *=wu*. The suffix *-kad* is used with imperfective aspect and in non-finite modes like imperatives to mark 2nd or 3rd person plural subjects, as in (241).

- (241) a. *āwē wakewu eaikadi*  
*āwē wake =wu ea ik -kad -i*  
 3SG.POSS child =PL IDEO:cry AUX.ITER -PL.IPFV -IPFV  
 ‘Her kids were crying.’ (TN.MML.Yura ñũwē dai mērā kadi.0388.line 126)
- b. *dikakāpu*  
*dika -kad -pu*  
 hear -PL.NF -IMPER.MIR  
 ‘Listen up, y’all!’ (TN.MML.Chai kushi wewadi.0219.line 156)

The plural enclitic *=wu* is used on verbs to mark 3rd person plural subjects only, as in (242), including with the remote past imperfective, as in (242c). The plural enclitic is also used to mark plurality on nouns as seen in the word *wake =wu* ‘children’ in (241a) above.

- (242) a. *chai ikawu*  
*chai ik -a =wu*  
 far AUX.ITER -PFV =PL  
 ‘They lived far away’. (TN.MML.Nāĩ ñũshĩwu.0247.line 3)

b. pẽxẽwã wadiwu

*pexe -wã wa -di =wu*  
house -AUG make -PST6 =PL

‘They built a huge house (years ago).’  
(TN.MRR.Xũnũwã ñũshĩwu.0615.line 4)

c. mã shara ipaudiwu

*mã shara ik -pau -di =wu*  
already good AUX.ITR -IPFV.PST6 -PST6 =PL

‘They used to live peacefully.’ (TN.JRR.Wari.0050.line 118)

Certain verbs and verbal suffixes in Yaminawa also exhibit allomorphic alternations that reflect whether their subjects are plural or non-plural. I use the term ‘non-plural’ here to indicate that the subject may not be singular (i.e., a single referent like one person), but rather the subject may consist of a number of distinct referents (typically no more than three to five entities). There are some situations where speakers use the singular allomorphs with dual subjects, or even groups of three or four. If the subject is constituted by more than two or three referents, speakers generally use plural subject marking and plural allomorphs. Most of the morphemes that belong to this class are associated motion suffixes and also exhibit allomorphy based on transitivity (see section C.6.5.1). The continuous aspect markers *-kakaid* (ITR.SG) and *-wawaid* (ITR.PL/TR) exhibit the same pattern of allomorphic alternation as the associated motion suffixes. There are at least two verb roots which have distinct suppletive allomorphs for singular versus plural subjects: *kai* ‘go.SG’ ~ *wai* ‘go.PL’ and *ui* ‘come.SG’ ~ *wei* ‘come.PL’, as in (243).

(243) a. mã kai

*mã ka -i*  
already go.SG -IPFV

‘He was going.’ (TN.MRR.Xukuxuku ñũshĩwu.0141.line 100)

b. mã wukadi

*mã wu -kad -i*  
already go.PL -PL.IPFV -IPFV

‘They were going.’ (TN.MRR.Pãmã weru kechu chaiya.0596.line 60)

c. mã ui

*mã u -i*  
already come.SG -IPFV

‘He is coming.’ (TN.MML.Yura ñũwẽ dai mērã kadi.0388.line 73)

d. *mã wekadi*

*mã we -kad -i*  
already come.PL -PL.IPFV -IPFV

‘They were coming.’ (TN.MRR.Pãmã weru kechu chaiya.0596.line 144)

#### C.6.4.5 Verbal negation

Verbal negation in Yaminawa takes two forms: the suffix *-yaba* and the enclitic *=ba*. The negation suffix *-yaba* is used in non-finite verbs and subordinate clauses as in (244).

(244) a. *eaiyabawẽ*

*ea ik -yaba -wẽ*  
IDEO:cry AUX.ITER -NEG.NF -IMPER

‘Don’t cry!’ (TN.MLL.Wedeuba.0219.line 59)

b. *ẽ bia ãĩyabaidu nĩskãx mĩ dai*

*ẽ bia ãĩ -yaba =ai =du N- iska*  
1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC see -NEG.NF =IPFV =DS EMPH- do.like.this  
*=ax mĩ da -i*  
=SS.PE.A/S>S 2SG.NOM die -IPFV

‘If I can’t see you, doing like this, you’ll die.’  
(TN.MML.Ede mẽrã ñũshĩwu.0406.line 87)

The enclitic *=ba* is used with finite, main clause verbs, as in (245).

(245) a. *ẽwẽ wake ewe kaaba*

*ẽwẽ wake e =we ka -a =ba*  
1SG.POSS child 1SG =COM go -PFV =NEG

‘My daughter didn’t come with me.’ (TN.MML.Wedeuba.0219.line 34)

b. *ẽ pipaiba*

*ẽ pi -pai -i =ba*  
1SG.NOM eat -DESID -IPFV =NEG

‘I don’t want to eat.’ (TN.JRR.Pũstũ.0112.line 81)

This enclitic is also used as the negator in non-verbal predication, as in (246). See section C.8.2 for more on non-verbal predication.

(246) a. *ãwẽ bapu ewapaba*

*ãwẽ*      *bapu ewapa* = *ba*  
3SG.POSS head big      = NEG

‘His head wasn’t big.’ (TN.JRR.Püstü.0112.line 104)

b. *ãnã aduba*

*ãnã*    *adu* = *ba*  
again LOC = NEG

‘It wasn’t there anymore.’ (TN.MML.Ruawu dawawu.0261.line 72)

### C.6.5 Other verbal categories

Other verbal categories in Yaminawa include associated motion suffixes (position 5, discussed in section C.6.5.1), circadian temporal indicators (position 6, discussed in section C.6.5.2), and affective suffixes (multiple positions in the template, discussed in detail in chapter 4 and summarized for convenience in section C.6.5.3). There are also some verbal suffixes that defy categorization among other classes of verbal categories; these miscellanea are discussed in section C.6.5.4.

#### C.6.5.1 Associated motion

Associated motion suffixes describe motion that is prior, concurrent, or subsequent to the eventuality denoted by the verb (following Guillaume 2016). Cross linguistically, this may be motion of either the subject or the object (Guillaume 2016), but no exclusively object-motion marking associated motion suffixes are currently attested in Yaminawa. Yaminawa is nonetheless typologically notable for its large inventory of associated motion suffixes ( $n=11$ ). Table C.14 provides a list of these suffixes, many of which have allomorphic alternations between an intransitive singular allomorph that begins with /k/ and an intransitive plural or transitive (singular or plural) allomorph that begins with /w/. Where applicable, these allomorphs are indicated in table C.14. All of these suffixes occupy position 5 in the verbal template.

Most of the associated motion suffixes encode information about whether the motion occurred toward or away from the deictic center, as in (247). In the following examples, which come from traditional narratives, there is evidence of deictic transposition: the origo of the deictic component of the associated motion suffixes does not correspond to the speaker or addressee, rather it has been transposed or shifted so that the deictic reference is anchored to the narrative space (see Hanks 2011).<sup>191</sup>

<sup>191</sup> At this time, the topics of associated motion and deictic expressions more broadly have not been systematically studied in Yaminawa conversation. The observations made in this section come almost entirely from analysis of the traditional narrative and contemporary narrative (largely oral histories) corpus.

Table C.14: Associated motion suffixes

form		gloss	meaning
TR/ITR.PL	ITR.SG		
-(y)ake		AM:circular	do with a circular motion, going around in circle
-ida~-idi		AM:upward	do with an upward motion, or while climbing a hill or going upriver
-pa(ke)		AM:downward	do with a downward motion, or while descending a hill or going downriver
-tad		AM:go.do.and.return	go, do, and return
-tushi~-tishu		AM:do.upon.arrival	do (immediately) upon arrival
-waid	-kaid	AM:do.and.go	do, then go
-wad		AM:come.do.and.return	come, do, and go back
-we		AM:come.doing	come while doing
-werad	-kerad	AM:do.and.come	do, then come
-wu		AM:go.doing	go while doing
-wuwad	-kawad	AM:lateral	do laterally, side to side, or passing back and forth

## (247) a. dishpu piwukāki

*dishpu pi -wu -kad -ki*  
*matico* eat -AM:go.doing -PL.IPFV -IPFV

‘They were going chewing *matico* (*Piper aduncum*).’  
 (TN.MRR.Isku ñũshĩwu.0060.line 28)

## b. “ẽwẽ ăwĩ, ẽwẽ ăwĩ” eaiwei

*ẽwẽ ăwĩ ẽwẽ ăwĩ ea ik -we -i*  
 1SG.POSS wife 1SG.POSS wife IDEO:cry AUX.ITR -AM:come.doing -IPFV

‘He was coming crying “my wife, my wife!”’  
 (TN.MRR.Xuya ñũshĩwu.0091.line 66)

## c. ũĩtăwẽ

*ũĩ -tad -wẽ*  
 see -AM:go.do.and.return -IMPER

‘Go look and come back!’  
 (TN.MLGA.Shidipawăwẽ kashta ñũshĩwu widi.0258.line 125)

d. *mĩ ea wekaxwariawãturu*

*mĩ ea wekax -wa -ria -wad -turu*  
2SG.NOM 1SG.ACC bother -VBLZR.TR -ITER -AM:come.do.and.return -POT

‘You always come to bother me then leave.’  
(TN.MML.Yura ñũwẽ dai mẽrã kadi.0388.line 55)

The suffixes *-waid* ~ *-kaid* ‘do and go’ and *-werad* ~ *-kerad* ‘do and come’ exhibit both reference to the deictic center and allomorphic alternation based on the transitivity of the verb or plurality of the subject (see section C.6.4.4), as in (248).

(248) a. *sidakãĩdi kai*

*sida -kaid -i ka -i*  
be.angry -AM:do.and.go.ITER.SG -IPFV go -IPFV

‘He was leaving angry.’ (TN.MRR.Xuya ñũshĩwu.0091.line 88)

b. *mã duku ěpã weduwaida*

*mã duku epa =N wedu -waid -a*  
already 1PL.ACC father =ERG lose/forget -AM:do.and.go.TR -PFV

‘Father lost us here and left.’  
(TN.MRR.Pãmã weru kechu chaiya.0596.line 53)

c. ‘buush’ *ikẽrãdikia*

*buush ik -kerad -di =kia*  
IDEO:move.leaves AUX.ITER -AM:do.and.come.ITER.SG -PST6 =REP

‘He made the leaves go ‘boosh!’ as he parted them and he entered (through the thatch).’ (TN.MML.Uxe.0183.line 24)

d. *ñãri mĩ ãwĩshta ũĩweradi*

*ñã =ari mĩ ãwĩ -shta ũĩ -werad -i*  
DEM.ANA =LOC.REG 2SG.POSS wife -DIM see -AM:do.and.come.TR -IPFV

‘I’m coming from having seen your wife just there.’  
(TN.MLGA.Shidipawãwẽ kashta ñũshĩwu widi.0258.line 170)

When the suffixes *-waid* ~ *-kaid* ‘do and go’ and *-werad* ~ *-kerad* ‘do and come’ are used with motion verb roots, as in (249), they only encode trajectory toward or away.

(249) a. *mã duyakaidi kaadu...*

*mã duya -kaid -i ka =a =du*  
already fly -AM:do.and.go.ITER.SG -IPFV go =PFV.SUB =DS

‘After (the bird) went flying away...’ (TN.PGF.Riwi ñũshĩwu.0129.line 27)

b. ede tadawaidi

*ede tada -waid -i*  
water follow -AM:do.and.go.TR -IPFV

‘He went following the water.’ (TN.MRR.Wuipapi.0141.line 105)

c. nãdu warekebekerada

*nã = adu warekebe -kerad -a*  
DEM.ANA = LOC run -AM:do.and.come -PFV

‘From that very spot, he came back running.’  
(TN.MML.Chaxux ñũshĩwu.0219.line 56)

The suffix *-tushi~tishu* ‘do upon arrival’ encodes that the eventuality denoted by the verb occurred (immediately or very soon after) a motion event (specifically a change of location) was achieved, as in (250). The two forms of this suffix are conditioned by metrical phonology, see section C.4.3.4, with *-tushi* being used in environments where the morpheme constitutes a well-formed foot, and *-tishu* in environments where the morpheme would be split across two different metrical feet in the verbal word.

(250) a. kãnãwã wũtũ tsautushidikia

*kãnãwã wũtũ tsau -tushi -di =kia*  
*pona* stump sit -AM:do.upon.arrival -PST6 =REP

‘When he arrived, he sat on a *pona* stump, they say.’  
(TN.MRR.Aya ñũshĩwu.0597.line 218)

b. nãdu putatushidikia

*nã = adu puta -tushi -di =kia*  
DEM.ANA = LOC let.go -AM:do.upon.arrival -PST6 =REP

‘He put it down right there when he arrived, they say.’  
(TN.MRR.Yuashi.0615.line 88)

There are two associated motion suffixes in Yaminawa that encode both a prior and subsequent motion event, each with a different trajectory relative to the deictic center. These are *-tad* ‘go, do, and return’ and *-wad* ‘come, do, and go’. Some examples of these suffixes are provided in (251).



- (251) a. CONTEXT: A man returns home to find his family eating spider monkey, and his wife explains where it came from.

raba ãñã isu atada

raba      adiya                      =N      isu                      ak              -tad  
recently brother.in.law =ERG spider.monkey AUX.TR -AM:go.do.and.return  
-a  
-PFV

‘Your brother in law went to hunt spider monkey today and returned (with the meat).’ (TN.MML.Isu.0204.line 43)

- b. CONTEXT: An elderly woman has prepared some *humita* but notices that some are missing, so she asks if someone has been taking them.

mĩ bisi wiwadimẽ

mĩ              bisi      wi      -wad                      -i              =mẽ  
2SG.NOM humita steal -AM:come.do.and.go -IPFV =INTERR

‘Have you been coming and stealing humita?’  
(TN.MRR.Pãmã weru kechu chaiya.0596.line 260)

There are four additional associated motion suffixes that do not encode information about trajectory of motion relative to the deictic center: *-(y)ake* ‘circularly’, *-pa(ke)* ‘downward’, *-ida~idi~ĩñã~ĩñĩ* ‘upward’, and *-kawad~wuwad* ‘laterally, back and forth’. In the corpus of naturalistic speech used for this study, these suffixes are only attested with verb roots that already encode motion or which involve fictive motion, as the examples that follow ((253) through (255)) show. Data from elicitation provides evidence that they may be used as true associated motion markers, not just directionals, which I demonstrate in example (252).

- (252) a. ayakea

aya      -ake                      -a  
drink -AM:circular -PFV

‘drank (it) going around in circles (Sp. *dando la vuelta*)’

- b. ayapakea

aya      -pake                      -a  
drink -AM:downward -PFV

‘drank (it) going downhill/downriver’

c. *ayaidia*

*aya -idi -a*  
 drink -AM:upward -PFV

‘drank (it) going uphill/upriver’  
 (E.JMRS.0585)

The suffixes *-(y)ake* ‘circularly’ and *-pa(ke)* ‘downward’ do not exhibit transitivity conditioned allomorphy. The /y/ of *-(y)ake* only appears after the vowel /a/, as in (253a-b). The suffix *-pa(ke)* takes the form /pake/ in environments where the morpheme constitutes a single well formed metrical foot, and the /pa/ is deleted when the morpheme would be split across two different feet in the verbal word, as in (253c-d).

(253) a. *kayakeki*

*ka -yake -ki*  
 go -AM:circular -IPFV

‘(He) was going around in circles.’ (TN.MRR.Kapa ñũshĩwu.0043.line 316)

b. *ede mērã ñũshĩ ukiri pichiakea*

*ede mērã ñũshi ukiri pichi -ake -a*  
 mermaid that.direction back -AM:circular -PFV

‘The mermaid was turned away from him (with her back toward him).’  
 (TN.MRR.Kapa ñũshĩwu.0043.line 115)

c. *mã ichupakea*

*mã ichu -pake -a*  
 already run -AM:downward -PFV

‘He ran downhill (or in the downriver direction).’  
 (TN.MRR.Isku ñũshĩwu.0060.line 375)

d. *kapai*

*ka -pake -i*  
 go -AM:downward -IPFV

‘He was going downhill/downriver.’<sup>192</sup> (TN.MML.Tua ñũshĩwu.0388.line 25)

The suffix *-kawad* (ITR.SG)~*-wuwad* (TR, ITR.PL) ‘laterally, back and forth, all over’ have allomorphic alternations conditioned by transitivity and subject number, as in (254).

<sup>192</sup>The forms *ka-pai-i* (go-DESID-IPFV) and *ka -pake -i* (go-AM:downward-IPFV) are distinguished by tone only: [ká pái] and [ká pái] respectively.

(254) a. iskax ichukawadi

*iska* = *ax* *ichu -kawad* -*i*  
do.like.this = SS.PE.A/S > S run -AM:lateral -IPFV

‘He was running back and forth doing like this (waving his arrow).’  
(TN.TYW.Īnāwā xadu.0283.line 114)

b. atu nētēki pakewūwādikia

*atu* *nētē* = *ki* *pake* -*wūwā* -*di* = *kia*  
3PL.ABS stay = SS.SIM fall.down -AM:lateral -PST6 = REP

‘They stopped (running) and fell down sideways.’  
(TN.MRR.Pāmā weru kechu chaiya.0596.line 391)

c. mē chaxu tadawūwāi

*mā* *ē* *chaxu tada* -*wuwad* -*i*  
already 1SG.NOM deer follow -AM:lateral -IPFV

‘I was following this deer (all over).’ (TN.MRR.Diwu ñūshī.0615.line 100)

The suffix indicating upward motion has two forms: *-ida* and *-idi*. At the time of this writing, it is not clear what conditions the form of these: it does not appear to be transitivity, subject number, or metrical phonology. Some examples of the different forms of this suffix are given in (255).

(255) a. da kaidi, wai pasuatū adua

*da* *ka -idi* -*i* *wai pasuatū* = *adua*  
DEM.PROX go -AM:upward -IPFV field edge = LOC.SRC

‘He was going uphill, around the edge of the field.’  
(TN.MML.Tīka.0261.line 36)

b. uidadikia, ānā wiyui, wetsa

*u* -*ida* -*di* = *kia* *ānā* *wi* -*yu* -*i* *wetsa*  
come -AM:upward -PST6 = REP again take -do.first -IPFV another

‘He (the merman) was coming upward to steal another (child).’  
(TN.MML.Ede mēṛā ñūshīwu.0406.line 27)

c. da āwē chaxka xeaipaudi

*da* *āwē* *chaxka xea* -*idi* -*pau* -*di*  
DEM.PROX 3SG.POSS tobacco swallow -AM:upward -IPFV.PST6 -PST6

‘He would swallow his tobacco (with his head upward, dropping a pinchful into his mouth).’ (TN.MML.Yura ñūwē dai mēṛā kadi.0388.line 20)

d. dadeidaki

*dade*            *-ida*            *-ki*  
 smoke.food -AM:upward -IPFV

‘She was smoking it above (the fire).’ (TN.MML.Tua ñũshĩwu.0388.line 157)

Occasionally, there is no clear motion event associated with the use of one of these suffixes, and instead they appear to simply indicate position or orientation, as in (256).

(256) a. ñāñāmāwāwāwē ātũ weruwu deeakei

*ñāñāmā* -*wā* = *wāwē*    *ātũ*            *weru* = *wu dee*            *-ake*            *-i*  
 tick            -AUG = PL.ERG 3PL.POSS eye = PL stick.to -AM:circular -IPFV

‘Ticks were stuck all around their eyes.’  
 (TN.MML.Awa ñũshĩwu.0183.line 5)

b. dadeidaki

*dade*    *-ida*            *-ki*  
 smoke -AM:upward -IPFV

‘She was smoking it above (the fire).’ (TN.MML.Tua ñũshĩwu.0388.line 157)

The suffix *-kawad~wuwad* ‘laterally, back and forth, all over’ is also frequently used in combination with *-pake* ‘downward’, with the downward suffix always preceding the lateral suffix as in (257).

(257) a. āwē pāñĩ rakapakekawadi

*āwē*            *padi*            = *N*    *raka*            *-pake*            *-kawad*            *-i*  
 3SG.POSS hammock = LOC lie.down -AM:downward -AM:lateral -IPFV

‘He was lying down on his side in his hammock.’  
 (TN.Yura ñũwē dai mērā kadi.0388.line 66)

b. yua apapakewuwatā...

*yua*    *apa*                            *-pake*                            *-wuwad*            = *tā*  
*yuca* remove.from.fire -AM:downward -AM:lateral = IPE

‘She took the *yuca* (cassava) off the fire, lowering it to one side, and...’  
 (TN.MRR.Xũñwā ñũshĩwu.0615.line 50)

### C.6.5.2 Circadian temporal indicators

Circadian temporal indicators are suffixes in Yaminawa that indicate the time of day that an event took place, takes place, or will take place. There are three identified circadian temporal indicators in Yaminawa, which are listed in table C.15. The circadian temporal indicators occupy position 6 in the verbal template.

Table C.15: Circadian temporal indicators

form	gloss	meaning
<i>-shid</i>	CIRC:night	all night, at night
<i>-wāĩ</i>	CIRC:day	all day
<i>-(y)uku</i>	CIRC:morning	early in the morning

The circadian temporal indicators only indicate time of day, not tense or aspect, and they may be used with any position 12 TAM suffix. Example (258) provides some examples of these suffixes in the traditional narrative corpus.

(258) a. *uxashĩtã, wukãki*

*uxa -shid =tã wu -kad -ki*  
 sleep -CIRC:night = IPE go.PL -PL.IPFV -IPFV

‘After they slept, they were going.’ (TN.MML.Xeki ñũshĩwu.0247.line 60)

b. *wadatinĩ ishĩkadi*

*wadati -nĩ =N ik -shid -kad -i*  
 song -EP = INSTR AUX. ITR -CIRC:night -PL.IPFV -IPFV

‘They were singing a song all night.’ (TN.MML.Xeki ñũshĩwu.0247.line 57)

c. *mãmã waxũwãĩki...*

*mãmã wa -xud -wãĩ =ki*  
*chicha* make -BEN -CIRC:day = SS.SIM

‘While she was making (him) *chicha* all day...’  
 (TN.MML.Tua Ñũshĩwu.0388.line 20)

### C.6.5.3 Affective categories

The verbal affective suffixes are described in detail in chapter 4 of this dissertation. These suffixes are summarized again here in table C.16, but they are not discussed further in this section.

Table C.16: Verbal affective suffixes

form	gloss	meaning	template position
- <i>betsa</i>	EFFORT	do with great effort, expresses sadness	4
- <i>chaka</i>	BAD	do poorly, also expresses contempt	4
- <i>kũĩ</i>	INTENS	intensifier, verb performed completely	7; variable
- <i>nābe</i>	PITY	expresses pity, typically for the subject	4
- <i>shara</i>	GOOD	do well, also expresses positive evaluation	4
- <i>shta</i>	DIM	expresses affection	7; variable

#### C.6.5.4 Miscellaneous verbal suffixes

There are some verbal affixes that do not appear to fit neatly into any of the categories discussed in preceding sections. Of these, the most frequent is the similitive *-aska* ‘like so’. This suffix corresponds in form to the verb *askai* ‘do like so’ and the manner adverb *aska* ‘like so’. Because verb compounding is not a productive process in Yaminawa, and because this morpheme occurs internal to TAM marking, I analyze *-aska* ‘like so’ as a verbal suffix. The morpheme *-aska* may directly follow the root, as in (259a-b), or it may occur later in the verb, as long as its position is before the primary TAM suffix (slot 12), as in (259c).

(259) a. *ũĩaskadikia*

*ũĩ -aska -di =kia*  
see -like.SO.TR -PST6 =REP

‘(S/he) looked at it like so (leaning over, looking up, etc.)’  
(TN.MRR.Iwi *tũkũ puiki raweya.0132.line 12*)

b. *dikaskadi uxawaidawu*

*dika -aska -di uxa -waid -a =wu*  
hear -like.SO.TR -PST6 sleep -AM:go.doing -PFV =PL

‘They heard them like so, that they were still asleep.’  
(TN.MML.Ruawu *dawawu.0261.line 275*)

c. *piwũwāskawai*

*pi -wuwad -aska -wad -i*  
eat -AM:do.laterally.TR -like.SO.TR -AM:come.and.do -IPFV

‘They came and were eating like so as they went along.’ (Describing the eating habits of tinamous in a story.) (TN.MRR.Ishpawāwē *xukadi.0051line 54*)

Speakers generally accompany the use of this suffix with a gesture or imitation of the manner in which the action denoted by the verb was carried out, as in (259a), or in other

cases it may anaphorically or cataphorically reference a description in the surrounding discourse, as in (259b).

The verbal suffix *-tsa* ‘as if’ appears to be most frequently attested on verbs of perception as in (260a-b), but may also be used on other verbs, as in (260c). It is not clear at this time which template position *-tsa* ‘as if’ occupies or whether it may be followed by TAM suffixes (it is possible in the following examples that all of the verbs are marked for perfective aspect with *-a*). It may be the case that this suffix is a type of clausal nominalizer that creates a complex property-concept noun phrase.

- (260) a. CONTEXT: The speaker is describing the sweetness of *chicha* made by the parrot spirit.

*nã wuda beetsa*

*nã wuda bee -tsa*

DEM.ANA honey taste -as.if

‘It tastes/tasted like honey.’ (TN.MRR.Aya ñũshĩwu.0597.line 177)

- b. CONTEXT: A cannibal plans to eat his son-in-law, but his daughter has outsmarted him by placing a giant wooden mortar in her husband’s hammock.

*nã nãñiti yura ãĩtsa ãĩki...*

*nã nãñiti yura ãĩ -tsa ãĩ =ki*

DEM.ANA mortar person see -as.if see = SS.SIM

‘He saw the mortar as if it were a person.’

(TN.MRR.Isku ñũshĩwu ruapitsiwe.0615.line 249)

- c. CONTEXT: The speaker is describing the beauty of the parrot spirit after she transformed into a human woman. Her hair is not actually hair – it is feathers – but she appears as a human to humans.

*wuu xũñtsa*

*wuu xũñ -tsa*

hair comb/groom -as.if

‘(Her) hair was smooth (looked as if it were combed).’

(TN.MRR.Aya ñũshĩwu.0597.line 38)

This suffix was only first attested in the narrative corpus in 2018. As my conversational competence in the language has improved over time, my Yaminawa language teachers appear to be using increasingly complex language. Every year that I have worked on the language, I have discovered new verbal suffixes that were not attested in texts that I recorded at earlier stages of my research, and I expect that this trend will continue into future field seasons. The verbal morphology presented in the preceding sections is highly unlikely to be a complete inventory.

### C.6.6 Multi-verb constructions

In addition to the bound verbal morphology discussed in preceding sections, Yaminawa also makes use of multi-verb constructions. In these constructions, the second verb takes the full range of TAM marking and contributes additional information about motion, sequence, or pluractionality, while the first verb, which contributes the lexical semantic content of the construction, is obligatorily only marked with the imperfective *-i*. There are at least three verbs that take part in multi-verb constructions: *kai* ~ *wui* ‘go’, *taei* ‘be first’, and *wetsei* ‘do all over’/‘do completely’.

The verb *kai* ~ *wui* ‘go’ is used to express ‘go in order to’, as in (261). The verb maintains its translocational semantics.

(261) a. *ãwẽ wede mǎ chaadi kaa*

*ãwẽ wede mǎ chaadi -i ka -a*  
3SG.POSS husband already inform -IPFV go -PFV

‘Her husband had went to inform (him).’  
(TN.MRR.Xuya ñũshĩwu.0091.line 2)

b. *wẽnẽ rerai kaa*

*wede =N rera -i ka -a*  
husband =ERG fell.trees -IPFV go -PFV

‘(Her) husband went to fell trees.’ (TN.MML.Tua ñũshĩwu.0388.line 3)

c. *shidipawu dii kai kadi*

*shidipawu dii ka -i ka -di*  
ancestor forest go -IPFV go -PST6

‘The ancestor went to go into the forest.’ (TN.MML.Xeki ñũshĩwu.0247.line 2)

Notice that in both (261a) and (261b), the non-finite verb is transitive, but in (261a), the subject appears in absolutive case (marked as the S relation of the inflected intransitive verb *kaa* ‘went’), but in (261b), the subject appears in ergative case (marked as the A relation of the non-finite transitive verb *rera* ‘to fell trees’). The inconsistency of subject marking in these constructions is not understood at this time. Less frequently, this construction is seen with the verb *ui* ‘come’ as in (262). The meanings associated with this construction vary from a simultaneous progressive, as in (262a-b), to purpose as in (262c).

(262) a. *aweskai mĩ widi uimẽ*

*aweskai mĩ widi -i u -i =mẽ*  
why 2SG.NOM cry -IPFV come -IPFV -INTERR

‘Why are you coming crying?’ (TN.MML.Adu ñũshĩwu.0204.line 43)



b. yuidatadi ui

yuida -Ø -tad -i u -i  
animal -VBLZR -AM:go.do.and.return -IPFV come -IPFV

‘He was coming returning from hunting animals.’  
(TN.MRR.Aya Nũshĩwu.0597.line 22)

c. nũkũ ewawu, nũkũ epawu, duku rētei wekadi; duku rētei weawu, ruawu dawawāwē

nũkũ ewa =wu nũkũ epa =wu duku rete -N -i we  
1PL.POS mother =PL 1PL.POS father =PL 1PL.ACC kill -MAL -IPFV come.PL  
-kad -i duku rete -N -i we -a =wu ruawu dawa  
-PL-IPFV -IPFV 1PL.ACC kill -MAL -IPFV come.PL -PFV =PL bad people  
=wāwē  
=PL.ERG

‘They were coming to kill us and our mothers and our fathers; the bad people came to kill us.’ (TN.MML.Ruawu Dawawu.0261.line 12)

The verb *wetsei* has pluractional semantics. It usually means ‘all over’ as in (263a), but may also serve to quantify the subject of the main verb, as in (263b).

(263) a. wexei wetsea

wexe -i wetse -a  
scratch -IPFV all.over -PFV

‘He was scratched up all over his body.’ (TN.MML.Nãĩ nũshĩwu.0247.line 57)

b. nũshĩwu ratei wetsedi

nũshĩ =wu rate -i wetse -di  
spirit =PL be.frightened -IPFV all -PFV

‘All the spirits were frightened.’ (TN.JRR.Pũstũ.0112.line 70)

The verb *taei* ‘do first’ is used to indicate that the subject was the first of a group of individuals to perform the verb, as in (264a), or that it was the first time that the subject ever performed the verb, as in (264b).

(264) a. āwē āwĩ wake dai taediwāwē...

āwē āwĩ wake da -i tae -di -wu  
3SG.POSS female child die -IPFV do.first -PST6 =PL.ERG

‘It was his daughters who died first (then others).’  
(TN.MML.Yura nũwē dii mēřã kadi.0388.line 149)

- b. *da rawe wake kãĩ taekadi*

*da rawe wake kãĩ -i tae -kad -i*  
DEM.PROX two child exit -IPFV do.first -PL.IPFV -IPFV

‘The two (women) were going to have their first children.’  
(TN.MML.Ruawu dawawu.0261.line 85)

### C.6.7 Borrowed verbs

Verbs that are borrowed from other languages, specifically words borrowed from Spanish, may be used in Yaminawa in one of two ways.<sup>193</sup> The simplest of these is to simply treat the Spanish root as if it were a Yaminawa root,<sup>194</sup> as in (265), applying verbal morphology with no other derivational morphology required.

- (265) a. *luneskũĩ bajai*

*lunes -kũĩ baja -i*  
monday -INTENS descend -IPFV

‘He will go downriver on Monday.’ (Conv.PGF.0518)

- b. *trabajakũĩ*

*trabaja -kũĩ -i*  
work -INTENS -IPFV

‘works really hard’ (Conv.JMRS.0517)

- c. *desansawãwãĩki*

*descansa -wawaid -ki*  
rest -CONT -IPFV

‘I was getting continuous rest.’ (CN.MML.0444)

Much more frequently, Spanish verb roots are employed with the auxiliary verb *wai* ‘make’, as in (266).

<sup>193</sup>These borrowings have not been studied systematically in elicitation, as speakers typically prefer to correct these forms to a native Yaminawa word or phrase. The generalizations presented here are based off of occurrences of such borrowings in the conversational corpus as well as forms reconstructed from my memory.

<sup>194</sup>What form speakers choose as the root form varies, but it is typically the infinitive less the characteristic /-r/ ending. There is variability across speakers and individual tokens with regard to the degree of phonological integration of these borrowings. Elderly speakers with limited fluency in Spanish tend to integrate these forms to point that they are almost unrecognizable as Spanish, but speakers fluent in both Yaminawa and Spanish tend to pronounce the borrowed roots similarly or identically to the way they pronounce them in Spanish.

- (266) a. *ea prestawaita*  
           *ea*           *presta wa -ita*  
           1SG.ACC lend do -PST3  
           ‘lent it to me the other day’ (Conv.JMRS.0517)
- b. *nũ esperawaita*  
           *nũ*           *espera wa -ita*  
           1PL.NOM wait do -PST3  
           ‘we waited the other day’ (Conv.JMRS.0517)
- c. *ẽ recuperawakũĩki*  
           *ẽ*           *recupera wa -kũĩ*    *-i*        *=ki*  
           1SG.NOM recuperate do -INTENS -IPFV =AFIRM  
           ‘I was really getting well.’ (CN.MML.0444)

It is possible that this is actually the transitive verbalizer *-wa*, but the resultant verbs are not always transitive, as in (266c), leading me to conclude that this construction is most likely an extension of the use of the verb *wai* ‘make, do’, which can be used with many nouns to create conventionalized phrases like ‘build a house’ (*pexe wai*). The Spanish verb root, whether transitive or intransitive, is treated as the object of the verb *wai* in these borrowing constructions.

## C.7 Nominal morphosyntax

This section describes both the internal structure of nominal words and the structure and morphology of the noun phrase as a whole. This section begins with a description of nominal roots and the morphosyntactic behavior of different types of roots (section C.7.1.1) and the formation of nominal stems through derivation (section C.7.1.2) and other processes like compounding (section C.7.1.3). Section C.7.2 describes nominal morphology at the level of the nominal word, and section C.7.3 describes enclitics that follow the noun phrase as a whole. Nouns themselves do not have a large inventory of bound morphemes, as Yaminawa verbs do. There are many enclitics, however, that are hosted by noun phrases. The order of elements within the noun phrase is described in section C.7.4.

### C.7.1 Nominal roots and stems

Section C.7.1.1 discusses the morphosyntactic properties of morphologically simplex noun roots, including proper nouns, pronouns, borrowings, and a small set of nouns that have non-productive morphological complexity. Section C.7.1.2 describes the derivational morphology that can be used to form noun stems from verbs. Compounding as a productive process for the formation of noun stems is described in section C.7.1.3.

### C.7.1.1 Classes of nominal roots

Different classes of nominal roots in Yaminawa have different morphosyntactic behavior. For example, common nouns never appear in vocative case, only kinship terms and proper nouns. The morphophonological classes of nominal roots crosscuts morphosyntactic classes of nominal roots. For example, three-syllable roots that truncate the final syllable in oral environments (i.e., not ergative, instrumental, genitive, locative, or vocative case) occur among both common nouns and kinship terms. The primary morphophonological alternation seen in nominal roots is the truncation process, which is discussed in detail in section C.4.3.1. This section describes six broad classes of noun in Yaminawa: common nouns, kinship terms, proper nouns, human nouns formed with *-wu*, and pronouns.

Common nouns in Yaminawa are the class of nouns that are not kinship terms or proper nouns. Most nouns in Yaminawa are common nouns. Common nouns may refer to:

- Humans: *yura* ‘person’, *dawa* ‘foreigner’, *ñũwẽ* ‘shaman’, *kuwe* ‘coward’, *iwu* ‘owner, patrón’
- Animals: *awa* ‘tapir’, *paxta* ‘dog’, *xuke* ‘toucan’, *iwi* ‘stingray’, *tseu* ‘cicada’
- Plants: *yua* ‘cassava’, *xiki* ‘maize’, *waasi* ‘grass’, *iwi* ‘tree’, *xudu* ‘lupuna’ (*Ceiba pentandra*)
- Body and plant parts: *bapu* ‘head’, *tapu* ‘root’, *badi* ‘leaf’, *radi* ‘fur’, *reshpa* ‘snout’ (of pig, peccary, tapir, etc.)
- Inanimate objects: *pexe* ‘house’, *kechu* ‘bowl’, *dupe* ‘machete’, *padi* ‘hammock’, *baspu* ‘trash’
- Natural and geographic features: *dai* ‘sky’, *xexa* ‘creek’, *wari* ‘sun’, *wakish* ‘darkness, night’, *bawa* ‘hill’
- Intangible and abstract entities: *tsãĩ* ‘speech’, *ade* ‘flavor, name’, *wekax* ‘trouble, mess’, *daba* ‘dream’

Common nouns can be either subject or object arguments and may appear in all grammatical cases except vocative case. Only animate nouns may fulfill the semantic roles of agent and experiencer. Animate nouns in Yaminawa refer to humans, animals, and spirit entities. Inanimate nouns consist of plants, body and plant parts, inanimate objects, natural features, and intangible/abstract entities. Inanimate nouns are seldom, if ever, the subjects of transitive verbs.

Kin terms in Yaminawa may appear in any grammatical case, including vocative case. Most kin terms in Yaminawa are possessed using the same possessive strategies as for common nouns (see section C.7.4.3), but the words for mother and father are bound roots that must either take the initial vowel /a/ for third person possessed relationships,

*awa* ‘mother.3POSS’ and *apa* ‘father.3POSS’, or the initial vowel /e/ for first and second person possessed relationships, *ewa* ‘mother.1/2POSS’ and *epa* ‘father.1/2POSS’. This initial vowel possessive alternation is only seen in these two kin terms. Other kin terms (*wake* ‘child’, *chichi* ‘maternal grandmother’, *wede* ‘husband’, *bibiki* ‘opposite sex cross-cousin’, etc.) are possessed using the same strategies as for common nouns. The Yaminawa kinship system distinguishes same and different sex parallel and cross-cousins and uses relational terms shared between alternating generations, e.g., one uses the term *chata* to refer to one’s maternal grandfather, and the term *chata* is also used by a man to refer to his daughter’s children (for a more detailed description of the Yaminawa kinship system, see Townsley 1988).

Proper nouns in Yaminawa, specifically personal names, may also appear in all grammatical cases, including the vocative. In Sepahua, all Yaminawa have a legal Spanish name, but only the oldest generations have Yaminawa names. Some examples of female Yaminawa names are *Wadu*, *Chidi*, *Mĩnĩmã*, *Chuchudi*, and *Tube*. Male Yaminawa names tend to be morphologically complex, typically compounds: *Kũmãrua* (tinamou-chief), *Isudawa* (spider.monkey-tribe), *Piasharadi* (arrow-good-PST6). Men usually have two traditional names, one given by each parent. In Yaminawa culture, names are considered to be powerful and should only be used by the closest family and friends and only in intimate settings. The oldest Yaminawa speakers that I have worked with, José Ramírez Ríos, María Ramírez Ríos, and Pascual Gómez Flores report that it is risky to give one’s ‘true’ (Yaminawa) name to a stranger, as names can be used to attack one’s soul via the spirit realm. In contemporary Yaminawa society, there is no taboo against using Spanish given names to refer to an individual or to call to them from a distance, but it is still considered rude to use someone’s name to address them in conversation. Kin terms are the preferred form of address, and even in Spanish among non-kin relations, Yaminawa will use relational terms like *vecina* ‘neighbor’, *promo* ‘classmate, person of the same age’ or titles like *profe* ‘teacher, professor’ to address others.<sup>195</sup> Typically, Yaminawas have multiple nicknames as well. Native Yaminawa names follow the same morphophonological patterns (nasalization, addition of epenthetic syllables, etc.) as common nouns, for example, the given name *Wadu* nasalizes in ergative and genitive case (*Wãũ*) (see C.7.3.1 for more on case marking and section C.4.4 for more on nasalization). Spanish names used in Yaminawa discourse are marked with the suffix =*pã* in ergative case and with the suffix =*nã* in genitive case, regardless of the number of syllables or nasality of the name.

There is a small class of high animacy words for humans (and spirits), common nouns, that are formed with the ending *wu*. These include: *ãwĩwu* ‘woman’, *adiwu* ‘old man’, *ñũshãwu* ‘old woman’, *ñũshĩwu* ‘archetype spirit’, *kaiwu* ‘relative, tribesman’, and a few others. The *wu* in these forms is homophonous with the nominal plural (see section C.7), but the words in the list above are not grammatically plural: they can be modified by the numeral *wisti* ‘one’, and they can be pluralized by adding a second enclitic =*wu*. In ergative case, these nouns change their ending from *wu* to *wãwẽ*, identical to the erga-

<sup>195</sup>This speech behavior is not unique to the Yaminawa; I have observed that it is widespread among both indigenous and non-indigenous Ucayalinos.

tive plural. When pluralized (e.g., *ãwĩwuwu* ‘women’), only the final *wu* changes to *wãwẽ* (*ãwĩwuwãwẽ* ‘women.ERG’). Other derived forms in Yaminawa are compositionally derived and do not have atypical variations in the semantic or grammatical contributions of the bound morphemes.

Whereas nouns of all classes (common, kin, and proper) follow an ergative-absolutive morphological alignment pattern (see section C.7.3.1), free pronouns in Yaminawa exhibit an alignment split with local persons (first and second) exhibiting nominative-accusative alignment and third person exhibiting ergative-absolutive alignment. In other grammatical cases, the forms of the personal pronouns are sometimes irregular. The personal pronouns are summarized in table C.17.

Table C.17: Yaminawa personal pronouns in various cases

person/ number	NOM	ACC	POSS	bound form
1SG	<i>ẽ</i>	<i>ea</i>	<i>ẽwẽ</i>	<i>e</i>
1PL	<i>nũ</i>	<i>duku</i>	<i>nũkũ</i>	<i>duku</i>
2SG	<i>mĩ</i>	<i>bia</i>	<i>mĩ</i>	<i>bi, be</i>
2PL	<i>mã</i>	<i>batu</i>	<i>mãtũ</i>	<i>batu</i>
	<b>ERG</b>	<b>ABS</b>	<b>POSS</b>	<b>bound form</b>
3SG	<i>atũ</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ãwẽ</i>	<i>a</i>
3PL	<i>ãtũ</i>	<i>atu</i>	<i>ãtũ</i>	<i>atu</i>

The ‘bound forms’ of the pronouns in table C.17 are the forms that are used with lative case = *ki*, comitative case = *we*, and other regularly formed cases. The singular pronouns used in each of these regularly formed cases is a bound root that must bear a case enclitic in order to form a phonological word.<sup>196</sup>

### C.7.1.2 Derivational morphology for forming nouns

There are only three resources for deriving nouns in Yaminawa: zero-derivation, and two nominalizing suffixes *-bis* and *-ti* that derive habitual agentive and instrumental nouns, respectively, from verbs of either transitivity class.

The instrumental nominalizer *-ti* derives an instrument, i.e., a tool or other inanimate entity involved in the performance of the verb, from a verb root, as in (267). Usually this is an actual tool or instrument used to make a task easier, as in (267a-c), but it may also be an typical object of the verb, as in (267d-e), or only indirectly semantically related to the verb, as in (267f).

<sup>196</sup>Notice that the bound forms are also the ones used in the possession of the bound roots *ewa/awa* ‘mother.1/2POSS/mother.3POSS’, and *epa/apa* ‘father.1/2POSS/father.3POSS’.

- (267) a. *disati*  
*disa -ti*  
 saw -NMLZ.INS  
 ‘saw’
- b. *pīchāti*  
*pīchā -ti*  
 cook -NMLZ.INS  
 ‘kitchen, stove’
- c. *peweti*  
*pe- we -ti*  
 upper.back- carry -NMLZ.INS  
 ‘tumpline’ (strap worn over forehead to help carry loads on the back)
- d. *ayati*  
*aya -ti*  
 drink -NMLZ.INS  
 ‘beverage’
- e. *diditi*  
*didi -ti*  
 pull -NMLZ.INS  
 ‘cotton’ (cotton is pulled and tugged during the production of thread)
- f. *teketi*  
*teke -ti*  
 break -NMLZ.INS  
 ‘shotgun’ (opens with a motion similar to breaking a stick in order to load)

Instrumental nominalizations with *-ti* always take the epenthetic syllable *-nĩ* in nasalized contexts (see section C.4.4).

Some examples of nominalizations with the agentive nominalizer *-bis* are given in (268). This suffix may nominalize a simple verb root, as in (268a), a complex extended verbal stem, as in (268b), or a verb phrase, as in (268c). These nouns are always refer to a human individual.

- (268) a. *kaxebis*  
*kaxe -bis*  
 joke -NMLZ.HABIT  
 ‘clown, person who jokes a lot’
- b. *yudupaibis*  
*yudu -pai -bis*  
 work -DESID -NMLZ.HABIT  
 ‘hard worker, person who enjoys working’
- c. *keti wariwaribis*  
*keti wari- wa -ri -bis*  
 ceramic.pot REDUP.REPEAT make -ITER -NMLZ.HABIT  
 ‘productive potter’

Nominalizations with *-bis* could also be analyzed as headless (or 3SG implicit internally headed) relative clauses (see section C.9.3 for more on relative clauses); however, other relative clause constructions require additional morphological marking of subordination: either the perfective = *a* or the imperfective = *ai*.

A third frequent resource for nominalization is the zero derivation of verb roots to noun roots, as in (269). While zero derivation from nouns to verbs appears to be highly productive, even though it is infrequent, zero derivation from verbs to nouns appears to be less productive and more lexicalized.

- (269) a. *xate*  
 ‘a piece’ (from *xatei* ‘cut’)
- b. *uxa*  
 ‘a night’ (from *uxai* ‘sleep’)
- c. *wada*  
 ‘cultivated plant’ (from *wadai* ‘sow’)

Zero derivations are also frequently used in the formation of bird species names on the pattern of a reduplicated ideophonic/onomatopoetic representation of their call and the perfective aspect marked intransitive verb *ika* ‘say, do.ITER’, as in (270).

- (270) a. *xukuxukuika*  
*xuku- xuku = ik -a*  
 REDUP.REPEAT- IDEO:bird.call = AUX.ITER -PFV  
 ‘*tuqui tuqui*’ (Grey-necked wood rail, *Aramides cajanea*)



b. *tsĩĩtsĩĩka*

*tsĩĩ-*                      *tsĩĩ*                      = *ik*                      -*a*  
 REDUP.REPEAT- IDEO:bird.call = AUX.ITR -PFV

small red songbird, species unknown

### C.7.1.3 Compounding

Yaminawa makes use of both noun-noun compounding and apposite noun modification. Apposite noun modification is discussed in section C.7.4.1. In compounds, the modifier precedes the head. In apposition, the head precedes the modifier. (271) provides some examples of noun-noun compounds in Yaminawa. The prosody of these forms has not yet been studied leaving open the possibility that these ‘compounds’ are not actually single prosodic words,<sup>197</sup> but the limited productivity of this pattern is never the less distinct from the other, more productive apposition pattern.

(271) a. *āwĩ*    *wake*  
               female child  
               ‘daughter, girl’

b. *kate* *xau*  
       back bone  
       ‘spine’

c. *dai* *wida*  
       sky wasp  
       ‘*huairanga*’ (wasp species with a very painful sting)

d. *pia*    *kati*  
       arrow go-NOMZ.INSTR  
       ‘bow’ (instrument for making arrows go flying)

e. *xae*        *bitsis*        *yuchi*  
       anteater fingernail chile  
       ‘Anteater’s claw chile’ (long, curved red chile pepper, species unknown)

Compounds may be simple juxtapositions of two nouns as in (271a-c), or they may involve a noun that is derived, as in (271d). The longest compound candidate currently identified in the corpus has three nominals, as in (271e); note that the nominal *xae* ‘anteater’ is not marked as a possessor of *bitsis* ‘fingernail, claw’ using genitive case (nasalization).

<sup>197</sup>One piece of prosodic evidence that these compounds are not single prosodic words is the fact that nasality does not spread through the entire compound, only the right-most morpheme (see section C.4.4).

Yaminawa also has a few classifier-like suffixes of very limited productivity: for example, *-wĩ* ‘fruit’ (possibly reduced from *wibi* ‘fruit’), *-ku* ‘bump, protuberance’, *-shpi* ‘hole, depression’. Some examples of nouns formed with these classifier-like suffixes are provided in (272). Some of these forms are not clearly segmentable or have bound roots that never appear without the classifier-like ending; examples of forms with bound roots are those in (272c-f).

(272) a. *kěũwĩ*

*kěũ*                      *-wĩ*  
lip.piercing -CLF:fruit

‘*huairuro*’ (*Ormosia coccinea*, a red and black seed used for jewelry)

b. *bukawĩ*

*buka* *-wĩ*  
bitter -CLF:fruit

species of tree with red bark used to make a bitter tea for stomach pains

c. *chaxu reshuwĩ*

*chaxu reshu* *-wĩ*  
deer snout -CLF:fruit

‘*cacao*’ (*Theobroma cacao*, native wild-type cultivar produces medium-sized yellow pods resembling the snout of a deer)

d. *rechuku*

*rechu* *-ku*  
nose -CLF:bump

‘nose’ (entire external part)

e. *upushku*

*upush*                      *-ku*  
ankle/foot -CLF:bump

‘ankle (exterior)’

f. *ratuku*

*ratu* *-ku*  
knee -CLF:bump

‘knee (cap)’

Many of the body part prefixes listed in table C.9 also appear in nominal words, for example, the words in (273) all have the prefix *be-*, *bi-* ‘hand’. As with the words formed with unproductive classifiers, these nouns also often have unsegmentable material that does not have meaning without a part prefix.

- (273) a. bewi  
          ‘hand’
- b. bepustu  
          ‘forearm’
- c. bepushku  
          ‘wrist (bones)’
- d. beshki  
          ‘left handed’
- e. betu  
          ‘missing finger’ or ‘someone who is missing a finger’
- f. betuti  
          ‘finger’
- g. bitsis  
          ‘fingernail’

## C.7.2 Morphology of the noun

In contrast to verbs, there are few nominal suffixes in Yaminawa. There are a number of strings of phonemes that I have identified as possible, diachronically fossilized suffixes, such as the ‘classifiers’ discussed in the previous section, but so far I have only identified three nominal suffixes that are fully productive: the augmentative *-wã*, the diminutive *-sh̥ta*, and the intensifier *-kũĩ*. All three of these suffixes are commonly used in affective stancetaking and both their affective and non-affective uses are described in detail in Chapter 4. Section 4.2.2 describes the diminutive *-sh̥ta* as used in nouns, specifically. Section 4.3 describes the augmentative *-wã*, which is only used in nouns (and the limited class of nominal-patterning adjectives). Section 4.4.3 describes the use of the intensifier *-kũĩ* in nouns specifically, and section 4.4.5 provides some additional information about combinations of the intensifier with either the diminutive or the augmentative, which often occurs in nouns.

## C.7.3 Morphology of the noun phrase

The morphology of the noun phrase consists of enclitics indicating case and plural number. Case marking is by far the most grammatically significant and developed inventory of noun phrase morphemes. There are certain focus-marking enclitics that also attach specifically to noun phrases; these are described in section C.8.6.

### C.7.3.1 Case marking

Case marking is used to identify the relationship of a noun phrase to the verb. Case marking is used in Yaminawa for both the marking of core arguments (e.g., ergative and absolutive) as well as adjuncts and non-arguments (e.g., lative, vocative). Yaminawa case markers are enclitics that attach to noun phrase constituents. An inventory of Yaminawa case markers is provided in table C.18.

Table C.18: Inventory of case marking enclitics in Yaminawa

case	gloss	form	environment	usage
absolutive	ABS	∅	all	S of V.1TR, P of V.TR
ergative	ERG	= <i>N</i>	elsewhere	A of V.TR
		detruncation	3 syllable truncating roots	
		= <i>nẽ</i>	non-truncating 3 syllable words	
		= <i>pã</i>	Spanish names	
		= <i>tũ</i>	nominalized clauses	
		= <i>wãwẽ</i>	ergative pl. (replaces = <i>wu</i> PL)	
instrumental	INS	(identical to ergative)		non-core argument NPs used by the S/A (of V.1TR or V.TR) to perform action/activity
vocative	VOC	(identical to ergative)		used only with kin terms and Yaminawa proper names
genitive	GEN	= <i>N</i>	elsewhere	possessor
		detruncation	3 syllable truncating roots	
		= <i>nẽ</i>	non-truncating 3 syllable words	
		= <i>pã</i>	Spanish names	
		= <i>nã</i>	in absence of possessed NP	forms possessive adjectives
lative	LAT	= <i>ki</i>	all	adjunct NPs (non-specific)
comitative	COM	= <i>we</i>	where the NP accompanies S or P	marks an NP that accompanies the S of V.1TR or the P of V.1TR
	COM.ERG	= <i>wetã</i>	where the NP accompanies A	marks an NP that accompanies the A of V.TR

In intransitive clauses, the sole argument (S) of the verb appears unmarked in absolutive case, as in (274a-b). In transitive clauses, the agent-like (A) argument of the verb is marked with ergative case, and the patient-like argument (P) of the verb appears unmarked in absolutive case, as in (274c-d). In ditransitive clauses, the A argument of the verb is marked with ergative case and both of the P arguments appear unmarked in absolutive case, as in (274e).

(274) a. adu pakedi

*adu* =  $\emptyset$  *pake -di*  
*majás* = ABS fall -PST6

‘The *majás* (*Cuniculus paca*) fell.’ (TN.MML.Adu ñũshĩwu.0204.line 16)

b. ãwẽ wakeshta rawe tsauawu

*ãwẽ* *wake -shta rawe* =  $\emptyset$  *tsau -a* = *wu*  
 3SG.POSS child -DIM two = ABS sit -PFV = PL

‘Her two little children sat.’ (TN.MML.Awa ñũshĩwu.0183.line 38)

c. chaikũĩmẽ wẽnẽ bae wai

*chai -kũĩ* = *mẽ* *wede* = *N* *bae* =  $\emptyset$  *wa -i*  
 far -INTENS = GIVEN husband = ERG field = ABS make -IPFV

‘In that far away location, (her) husband was making a field.’  
 (TN.MLGA.Shidipawãwẽ kashta ñũshĩwu widi.0258.line 114)

d. xawe rãnãnẽ chaxu pikadi

*xawe* *rãnãnẽ* *chaxu* =  $\emptyset$  *pi -kad* -*i*  
 tortoise various.ERG deer = ABS eat -PL.IPFV -IPFV

‘Various tortoises were eating the deer.’  
 (TN.MLGA.Mãshãrũnẽ xawewu puyexkedi.0157.line 79)

e. ãwã atu bisi pibaki...

*awa* = *N* *atu* *bisi* =  $\emptyset$  *pi -bad* = *ki*  
 mother.3 = ERG 3PL.ABS *humita* = ABS eat -CAUS = SS.SIM

‘While their mother fed them *humita* (ground corn steamed in corn husks)...’  
 (TN.MRR.Pãmã weru kechu chaiya.0596.line 148)

Recall that first and second person pronouns in Yaminawa do not exhibit ergative-absolutive alignment, rather they pattern as nominative-accusative. See table C.17 in section C.7.1 for an overview of the forms of pronouns in different cases.

Lative case = *ki* appears to be related to the postposition = *kiri* ‘toward’, ‘in the direction of’ (see section ??). In some instances lative case appears to have semantics that relate only to literal motion toward the marked noun, as in (275a-b). However, in many

other instances, lative case is used to indicate adjuncts of various types (oblique noun phrases), as in (275c-d).

(275) a. *da aki dukua*

*da* =  $\emptyset$  *a* = *ki* *duku* -*a*  
DEM.PROX = ABS 3SG = LAT arrive -PFV

‘This (one) had arrived at her location.’<sup>198</sup>  
(TN.MML.Adu ñũshĩwu.0204.line 116)

b. *mã adu ñũshĩwuki yuchiwu aka*

*mã* *adu* *ñũshĩwu* = *ki* *yuchi* = *wu* =  $\emptyset$  *ak* -*a*  
already *majás* spirit = LAT pepper = PL = ABS AUX.TR -PFV

‘(The man) had put a bunch of hot chilies where the *majás* spirit was.’  
(TN.MML.Adu ñũshĩwu.0204.line 114)

c. *ãwẽ wãwãki idibai*

*ãwẽ* *wãwã* = *ki* *idiba* -*i*  
3SG.POSS daughter.in.law = LAT be.happy -IPFV

‘(The old woman) was happy about her (new) daughter-in-law.’  
(TN.MRR.Aya ñũshĩwu.0597.line 85)

d. *atuki yuakaa*

*atu* = *ki* *yuaka* -*a*  
3PL = LAT prepare.for.war -PFV

‘(He/they) prepared for war against them.’  
(TN.MRR.Iwi tũkũ puiki raweya.0132.line 30)

Instrumental case, which is marked identically as ergative case, is used to identify a non-core argument noun phrase that is used by the A or S argument (which may be either explicit or implicit) in order to perform the action or activity denoted by the verb. In natural speech instruments are always inanimate nouns, but animates have proven to be acceptable in instrumental case in elicitation, provided it is clear from the semantic context which noun phrase is ergative and which is instrumental. Some examples of naturalistic uses of instrumental case are provided in (276).

(276) a. *ãwẽ pãñĩ rakapakekawadi*

*ãwẽ* *padi* = *N* *raka* -*pake* -*kawad* -*i*  
3SG.POSS hammock = INS lie.down -AM:downward -AM:lateral -IPFV

‘He laid down in his hammock.’  
(TN.MML.Yura ñũwẽ dai mērã kadi.0388.line 66)

<sup>198</sup>This is translated slightly more elegantly in Ucayalino Spanish: ‘Ya ha llegado donde ella.’

- b. *ãñã ěwě kaiwãwě wãrĩ pipaudiba, chĩ pipaudiwu*

*ãñã ěwě kaiwãwě wari =N pi -pau -di =ba chĩ*  
 again 1SG.POSS relative.ERG sun =INS eat -IPFV.PST6 -PST6 =NEG fire  
*=N pi -pau -di =wu*  
 =INS eat -IPFV.PST6 -PST6 =PL

‘My relatives didn’t cook (lit. eat) with the sun anymore, they cooked with fire.’ (TN.JRR.Wari.0050.line 110)

Comitative case, =*we*, marks a noun phrase that accompanies another noun phrase in the action or activity denoted by the verb. While this case is sometimes has the effect of a coordinating strategy, this is not necessarily so, as it is also used in contexts where the marked noun phrase was merely present and did not necessarily participate in the entire event described by the verb. For example, associated motion markers only scope over the S argument in (277b), not the comitative marked noun phrase. Comitative case is the only case in Yaminawa that can combine with another case, namely the ergative, to take the form =*wetã* ‘COM.ERG’. The ergative comitative is used when the comitative noun phrase accompanies an A argument in an action or activity denoted by a transitive verb, as in (277c-d).

- (277) a. *dukuwedewe, wede rawewe uxai, ãwĩwu*

*dukuwede =we wede rawe =we uxa -i ãwĩwu =Ø*  
 man =COM husband two =COM sleep -IPFV woman =ABS

‘The woman, she slept with men, with two husbands.’  
 (TN.MML.Tua ñũshĩwu.0388.line 52)

- b. *dukuwede ãwĩwuwe uxawãuxawãpaudi*

*dukuwede =Ø ãwĩwu =we uxawã- uxa -wad*  
 man =ABS woman =COM REDUP.REPEAT sleep -AM:come.and.do  
*-pau -di*  
 -IPFV.PST6 -PST6

‘The man came to sleep with the woman every night.’  
 (TN.MML.Dukuwede ãwĩwuwe uxawãpaudi.0247.line 1)

- c. *ẽ atuwetã xuri aki*

*ẽ atu =wetã xuri =Ø ak -i*  
 1SG.NOM 3PL =COM.ERG *ayahuasca* =ABS AUX.TR -IPFV

‘I’m gonna drink *ayahuasca* with them.’  
 (TN.MRR.Isku ñũshĩwu.0060.line 153)

- d. uchi rānāwētā ēwē ēpā pexe wati

*uchi*            *rānā*    = *wētā*      *ēwē*          *epa*            = *N*    *pexe*    =  $\emptyset$   
 older.brother several = COM.ERG 1SG.POSS father.1/2 = ERG house = ABS  
*wa*    -*tī*  
 make -PST.5

‘My father made this house a while back with a bunch of my brothers.’  
 (TN.MRR.Rūnūwā ñūshīwu.0132.line 122)

Genitive case marks the possessor in a possessive noun phrase, as shown in (278).

- (278) a. dukuwēnē āwī daadu...

*dukuwede* = *N*    *āwī*    *da*    = *a*            = *du*  
 man            = GEN wife die = PFV.SUB = DS

‘After the man’s wife had died...’ (TN.MML.Wedeuba.0219.line 19)

- b. chiku Rosapā bae aduri

*chiku*            *Rosa* = *pā*    *bae*    = *adu*            = *ri*  
 younger.sister Rosa = GEN field = LOC.SPEC = toward

‘(It is) toward the location of little sister Rosa’s field.’ (Conv.JnGR.0541)

Vocative case is only used for non-argument personal names and kinship terms. Noun phrases in vocative case always either appear at the start or the end of the utterance, and serve to identify the intended or desired addressee. The sentences in (279) provide some examples of the vocative case in naturalistic speech.

- (279) a. ēpā, mī ea pārbis

*epa*            = *N*    *mī*            *ea*            *pārā*    -*bis*  
 father.1/2 = VOC 2SG.NOM 1SG.ACC deceive -HABIT

‘Dad, you always lie to me.’  
 (TN.MML.Yura ñūwē dai mērā kadi.0388.line 47)

- b. uwe, tsāwē

*u*            -*we*      *tsawe*            = *N*  
 come -IMPER cousin.fem = VOC

‘Come in, cousin.’ (TN.MML.Adu ñūshīwu.0204.line 46)

- c. Wānū, ē bia yui kai, xukuxukuika ñūshīwu

*Wadu* = *N*    *ē*            *bia*            *yui* -*i*      *ka* -*i*  
*Wadu* = GEN 1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC tell -IPFV go -IPFV

‘Wadu, I’m going to tell you (about) the boat-billed heron spirit (*Cochlearius cochlearius*).’ (TN.MRR.Xukuxukuika ñūshīwu.0141.line 2)



### C.7.3.2 Plural marking

Yaminawa noun phrases may be marked for plurality using the enclitic =*wu*. This enclitic may be used to mark any noun phrases consisting of two or more entities, but in practice, it is often only employed as a collective marker indicating at least three to five entities. (280) provides some examples of plural marking in naturalistic speech. Plural =*wu* takes the form =*wāwē* in ergative, instrumental, genitive, and vocative case (the cases that bear a nasal feature), as in (280c). The plural enclitic is internal to case enclitics, as seen in (280d).

(280) a. yurawu wekadi

*yura* =*wu we* -*kad* -*i*  
person = PL come -PL.IPFV -IPFV

‘The people (a large hunting party) were coming.’  
(TN.MRR.Isku ñũshĩwu.0060.line 198)

b. āwē wawawu kedadikia

*āwē* *wawa* =*wu keda* -*di* =*kia*  
3SG.POSS grandchildren = PL call -PST6 = REP

‘She called her grandchildren, they say.’  
(TN.MML.Yura ñũwē dai mērã kadi.0388.line 128)

c. mĩ nēnāwā wake rewuduwāwē pipaxatiruwuki

*mĩ* *nēnāwā* *wake* *rewudu* =*wāwē* *pi* -*pake* -*xa* -*tiru* =*wu*  
2SG.POSS *pijuayo* child foreign = PL.ERG eat -DISTR -LAPSE -POT = PL  
= *ki*  
= AFIRM

‘Other people’s children may eat your *pijuayos* (*Bactris gasipaes*) later.’  
(TN.MML.Yura ñũwē dai mērã kadi.0388.line 55)

d. āwē weruwuki “siij!”

*āwē* *weru* =*wu* =*ki* *siij*  
3SG.POSS eye = PL = LAT IDEO:squirt

‘It squirted in his eyes, *siij*!’ (TN.MRR.Ishpawāwē xukadi.0051.line 164)

Plurality, particularly plurality of subjects, may also be expounded via verbal plural marking (see section C.6.4.4).

### C.7.4 Noun phrase word order

The general noun phrase word order in Yaminawa is schematized in figure C.2.

Figure C.2: Order of elements in the noun phrase

Demonstrative or Possessor NP	Noun (head)	Adjective or Noun (apposite)	Numeral	Enclitics
-------------------------------------	-------------	------------------------------------	---------	-----------

The only variability that is permitted in noun phrase word order concerns the very small closed class of adjectives, which may either precede or follow the head noun or a modifying noun, and which, in post-nominal position, may either precede or follow a numeral. The morphosyntax of modification within the noun phrase (apposite nouns, adjectives, and numerals) is described in section C.7.4.1, demonstratives are described in C.7.4.2, and possession is described in C.7.4.3. Relative clauses in Yaminawa are internally headed, meaning the noun phrase they modify is not extracted from the relative clause. Relative clauses are not discussed in this section; rather they are described in section C.9.3.

#### C.7.4.1 Apposite nouns, adjectives, and numerals

There are three primary types of elements that may modify nouns in Yaminawa noun phrases: apposite nouns, adjectives, and numerals.

Apposition is essentially just the juxtaposition of two nouns. In Yaminawa, the head noun always comes first and the modifying noun comes second, as in (281). Apposition is not the same as compounding. In Yaminawa, compounding is less productive than apposition, and in compounds, the modifier precedes the head noun, as described in section C.7.1.3. In (281b), we see that numerals follow apposite nouns, and in (281c), we see that adjectives do not intervene between an apposite nominal modifier and the head.

(281) a. *yura ññwẽ dai mẽrã kadi*

*yura ññwẽ* =  $\emptyset$  *dai* = *mẽrã ka -di*  
 person shaman = ABS sky = inside go -PST6

‘The shaman person traveled to the sky.’ (MML traditional narrative title)

b. *paxta ãwĩ rawetã beewãĩdaiwu...*

*paxta ãwĩ rawetã bee -wãĩd* = *ai* = *wu*  
 dog female two.ERG touch -AM:do.and.go = IPFV.SUB = PL

‘The two female dogs who were trying to catch them...’  
 (TN.TYW.Ñũshĩ xerewu.0400.line 116)

c. wai turu ewapa wakāki

*wai turu ewapa wa -kad -ki*  
field round.thing big make -PL.IPFV -IPFV

‘They were making a big round field.’  
(TN.MML.Ruawu dawawu.0261.line 88)

At this time, I have not yet identified any instances of pre-nominal adjectives co-occurring with apposite nouns in the text corpus, but this topic has not yet been investigated in detail using elicitation.

In noun phrases that do not involve modification with an apposite noun, adjectives may either precede or follow the head noun. Many adjectives, particularly color terms, are required to take their full form, ending in *pa*, when they occur before the head, but may take either their full or truncated form when they occur after the head, as in (282a-c). When ergative case is encliticized to an adjective, it must always take its full form, as in (282d).

(282) a. ūshīnīpa nēnāwā ūīpu

*ūshīnīpa nēnāwā ūī -pu*  
red *pījuayo* see -IMPER.MIR

‘Look at this red *pījuayo*!’ (TN.MML.Yura ñūwē dai mērā kadi.0388.line 79)

b. ui uxupa iweradikia

*ui uxupa ik -werad -i =kia*  
rain white AUX.ITER -AM:come.doing -IPFV =REP

‘A white (heavy) rain was approaching, falling.’  
(TN.MML.Kashta ñūshīwu.0204.line 19)

c. wake uxupa kai

*wake uxupa = ∅ ka -i*  
child white =ABS go -IPFV

‘The white child was going.’ (E.MMS.0609)

d. wake uxupātū pii

*wake uxupā = tū pi -i*  
child white =ERG eat -IPFV

‘The white child is eating.’ (E.MMS.0609)

In the majority of examples where both an adjective and a numeral co-occur, the numeral follows the adjective as in (283a) but there are some instances where the numeral precedes the adjective as in (283b).

- (283) a. *wii chai -wā rawe dade -di =wu =kia shiwati =mērā*  
 latex.torch long -AUG two put.in.bottom -PST6 =PL =REP basket =inside  
 ‘They put two big, long latex torches in the bottom of their basket.’  
 (TN.MRR.Pāmā weru kechu chaiya.0596.line 404)
- b. *isu rawe wīsūwā mēshāidi*  
*isu rawe wisu -wā mēshā =ik -di*  
 spider.monkey two black -AUG face.down =AUX.ITER -PST6  
 ‘The two big black spider monkeys were laid out face down.’  
 (TN.MML.Isu.0204.line 135)

There are only four numerals that have been identified at this time in Yaminawa: *wisti* ‘one, only’, *rawe* ‘two’, *rānā* ‘several, various’, and *ichapa* ‘many’.<sup>199</sup> There is also a numeral that combines modification relating to the size of the objects, *mīshā* ‘various small things’, used for talking about both relatively small quantities like the number of children in a household, or very large quantities like jars of beads or grains, but crucially more than just a few items. The word *wetsa* ‘other, another’ also behaves in line with this class of words. With the exception of a few cases where adjectives may follow numerals as in (283b) above, numerals typically appear as the final element of a noun phrase, as in (284).

- (284) a. *āwī wake wisti nētēdikia*  
*āwī wake wisti nētē -di =kia*  
 female child one stay -PST6 =REP  
 ‘One daughter stayed behind, they say.’ OR ‘Only the daughter remained.’  
 (TN.MML.Yura ñūwē dai mērā kadi.0388.line 8)
- b. *dukuwede rawetā iyudiwukia*  
*dukuwede rawetā iyu -di =wu =kia*  
 men two.ERG take.person -PST6 =PL =REP  
 ‘The two men took her with them, they say.’  
 (TN.TYW.Īnāwā xadu.0283.line 83)

<sup>199</sup>*Rānā* ‘several, various’ is sometimes translated by speakers as ‘all’ (Spanish *todos* or *todas*), but this appears to only be in contexts where the number of individuals being quantified over is comparatively small, usually siblings or certain categories of affinal relations like brothers-in-law. *Ichapa* ‘many’, on the other hand, is used for quantities large enough to be difficult to count such as flocks of birds, populations of whole villages, etc.

- c. *ãwẽ bibiki rãñã ãũduax sidakadi*

*ãwẽ bibiki rãñã a =ũ -duax sida -kad -i*  
 3POSS cross-cousin various 3SG = around = SRC.TR be.angry -PL.IPFV -IPFV

‘All of her marriagable cross-cousins were angry due to her.’

(TN.MRR.Rũñũwã ñũshĩwu.0132.line 128)

- d. *nũkũ wakeshta chaka mĩshtĩ ã iskax kãĩbiski*

*nũkũ wake -shta chaka mĩshtĩ ã iska =ax*  
 1PL.POSS child -DIM bad various.small 1SG.NOM like.this = SS.PE.A/S > S  
*kãĩ -bis =ki*  
 give.birth -HABIT = ASSERT

‘Just like this I gave birth to our various poor little children.’

(TN.MRR.Xuya ñũshĩwu.0091.line 30)

#### C.7.4.2 Demonstratives

There are three demonstratives in Yaminawa: proximal *da*, distal *ua*, and anaphoric *nã* (see section C.5.4.2). Demonstratives are always the first element of a noun phrase. Demonstratives may modify a noun, as in (285a-b) or they may replace the head noun, as in (285c-d). The form of the ergative case marker for demonstratives is =*tũ*, as seen in (285c).

- (285) a. *mã, ãĩpu, da mãpĩ*

*mã ãĩ -pu da mãpĩ*  
 INTERJ:babe see -IMPER.MIR DEM.PROX shrimp

‘Hey babe, look at this shrimp!’ (TN.MRR.Wuipapi.0141.line 89)

- b. *ua bisi sharawu wapai*

*ua bisi shara =wu wa -pake -i*  
 DEM.DIST *humita* good = PL make -DISTR -IPFV

‘She’s making those delicious *humitas*.’

(TN.MRR.Pãmã weru kechu chaiya.0596.line 229)

- c. *uatũ bia pitiruki*

*ua =tũ bia pi -tiru =ki*  
 DEM.DIST = ERG 2SG.ACC eat -POT = ADVERS

‘Careful, that thing could eat you!’

(TN.MML.Ede mẽrã ñũshĩwu.0406.line 14)

d. da kai

*da ka -i*  
DEM.PROX go -IPFV

‘He (this one) was leaving.’ (TN.MML.Yura ñūwē dai mērā kadi.0388.line 67)

### C.7.4.3 Possession

Possessors precede possessed noun phrases in Yaminawa. The possessor may be expressed as a possessive pronoun, as in (286a), or as a noun in genitive case as in (286b). Possessors may also be complex noun phrases, as in (286c).

(286) a. ēwē wake yudai

*ēwē wake yuda -i*  
1SG.POSS child have.fever -IPFV

‘My child has a fever.’ (TN.MRR.Yuashi.0615.line 59)

b. dukuwēnē āwī daadu...

*dukuwede =N āwī da =a =du*  
man = GEN wife die = PFV.SUB = DS

‘After the man’s wife had died...’ (TN.MML.Wedeuba.0219.line 19)

c. udi wētsā bapu wiwaidi

*udi wetsa =N bapu wi -waid -i*  
kinsman other = GEN head take -AM:do.and.go -IPFV

‘He took his kinsman’s (decapitated) head and was leaving.’  
(TN.MML.Uxe.0183.line 107)

When a possessor noun phrase is complex, it is common that speakers use a resumptive possessive pronoun as in (287).

(287) chipi rawetā, āwē nēnāwānēwā xeshkāñā dia

*chipi rawetā āwē nēnāwā -nē -wā xeshkāñā di -a*  
older.sister two.GEN 3SG.POSS *pihuayo* -EP -AUG edge.of.patio stand -PFV

‘The two older sisters, their huge *pihuayo* palms stood at the edge of the patio.’  
(TN.MML.Yura ñūwē dai mērā kadi.0388.line 36)

It is possible that this pattern is influenced by the widespread Peruvian Amazonian Spanish possessive construction ‘*de X su Y*’ (‘of X, his/her Y’), where X is the possessor and Y is the possessum.

## C.8 Clausal morphosyntax

This section describes the basic word order of Yaminawa (SOV), and variations on that order (C.8.1), as well as other aspects of clausal syntax, including transitivity harmony in the clause (section C.8.1.3.4), clause-level enclitics (section C.8.3), the syntax of non-verbal predication (section C.8.2), focus (section C.8.6), and interrogatives and imperatives (sections C.8.4 and C.8.5).

### C.8.1 Basic word order

The basic word order of clauses with a transitive verb and two simple, common noun arguments is SOV, as in (288).

(288) a. wākē mǎnĩã pii

*wake* = *N*    *mǎnĩã* =  $\emptyset$     *pi* -*i*  
child = ERG plantain = ABS eat -IPFV

‘The child is eating a plantain/plantains.’ (E.RGR.0600)

b. dukuwēñē bari ũĩã

*dukuwede* = *N*    *bari* =  $\emptyset$     *ũĩ* -*a*  
man = ERG *añuje* = ABS see -PFV

‘The man saw an *añuje* (*Dasyprocta variegata*).’ (E.MLGA.0573)

In pragmatically un-marked utterances, the verb is always in final position, even with adverbs or oblique arguments, as in (289).

(289) a. wēñāmāĩ ui weyabapainũ

*wēñāmāĩ ui* =  $\emptyset$     *we* -*yaba* -*pai* -*nũ*  
tomorrow rain = ABS come -NEG.NF -DESID -OPT

‘I hope it doesn’t rain tomorrow.’ (E.RGR.0540)

b. Mariapã āwē bae adua atsa tsekai

*Maria* = *pã*    *āwē*    *bae* = *adua*    *atsa* =  $\emptyset$     *tseka* -*i*  
Maria = ERG 3SG.POSS field = LOC.SRC *yuca* = ABS take.out -IPFV

‘Maria is harvesting yuca from her field.’ (E.MMS.0623)

c. Wǎnũ *cucharanē* yua pia

*Wadu* = *N*    *cuchara* = *nē*    *yua* *pi* -*a*  
Wadu = ERG spoon = INSTR *yuca* eat -PFV

‘Wadu ate yuca with a spoon.’ (E.RGR.0571)

While these orders are the most frequent in elicitation of out-of-the-blue sentences with common noun arguments, naturalistic speech exhibits a much wider range of orders. The verb, however, is nearly always in final position; sometimes in natural speech, speakers will repeat or make explicit an argument or adjunct after a brief pause following the verb for clarification.<sup>200</sup> Speakers do not do this in elicitation contexts unless the clause contains an unusually high number of arguments and adjuncts or if one or more of those arguments or adjuncts is particularly syntactically complex. In naturalistic speech, the order of elements, both arguments and adjuncts, in the clause appears to be dependent on information structure and discourse factors. A detailed study of the order of phrases within the clause is beyond the scope of this grammar sketch, but this section nevertheless seeks to provide some preliminary observations on Yaminawa word order.

The following sections discuss the relative order of arguments (section C.8.1.1), adjunct noun phrases (C.8.1.2), adverbs (C.8.1.3), and postpositional phrases (C.8.1.3).

### C.8.1.1 Order and omission of arguments

The order of arguments in Yaminawa is variable and both subjects and objects are frequently omitted. In this section, I provide a summary of some generalizations about the order and omission of arguments, derived from the study of a single naturalistic text. To arrive at these preliminary generalizations, I analyzed the first 500 clauses in the text *Yuashi* ‘The Greedy One’ by María Ramírez Ríos, a Yaminawa-dominant speaker in her 70s. These 500 clauses represent slightly over 30 minutes of monologic, traditional narrative speech. Of these clauses, approximately 52% are transitive (n = 224) or ditransitive (n = 37), 24% are intransitive (n = 120), and 24% are non-verbal predication or other types (such as ideophones or interjections)(n = 119).

One of the most robust trends was for subjects (i.e., S or A arguments) to be omitted. Among clauses with verbal predication (n = 381), subjects were omitted in about 54% of clauses (n = 206). Subject omission was most frequent in transitive clauses (63%), and about equal in ditransitive clauses (44%) and intransitive clauses (41%). Subjects overwhelmingly precede verbs, with 92% (n = 66) of intransitive clauses with overt subjects (n = 71) exhibiting SV order. In transitive clauses, there is also a preference for subjects to precede objects, which they do 63% (n = 22) of the time when both the subject and object are overt and neither is internally highly complex (e.g., a clausal nominalization) (n = 35). A similar trend is seen in ditransitive clauses where the subject precedes the direct object 53% (n = 7) of the time when both of these arguments are overt and non-complex (n = 12). In ditransitive clauses there is an even stronger tendency for subjects to precede indirect objects, 90% (n = 9) of the time, when both of these arguments are overt and non-complex (n = 10).

Objects in transitive clauses are also frequently omitted, in 49.5% (n = 111) of transitive clauses. Whereas subjects are equally likely to be omitted regardless of the presence or omission of the direct object, it was notably less frequent in transitive clauses for the

<sup>200</sup>In some other Panoan languages, such as Chácobo (see Tallman 2018) and Amahuaca (see Clem 2018) this word order alternation is syntactic and triggers changes in case marking. This is not the case in Yaminawa.



object to be omitted when the subject remained overt (just 17%,  $n = 37$ ). In ditransitive clauses, at least one of the three objects was omitted 71% ( $n = 24$ ) of the time. Subjects and direct and indirect objects in ditransitive clauses were omitted at similar rates: subjects were omitted in 44% ( $n = 15$ ) of clauses, direct objects in 41% ( $n = 14$ ), and indirect objects also in 41% ( $n = 14$ ). In 224 transitive clauses, the object never followed the verb (there was just one case of a subject doing so). While there were only 9 ditransitive clauses with both an overt direct object and an overt indirect object, it appears that the preferred order is for the indirect object to precede the direct object, which is did about 75% ( $n = 7$ ) of the time.

At this point in time no analysis of how noun phrase structure and information structure has been attempted. Impressionistically, third person arguments appear to be the most likely to be omitted, and first and second person arguments are far less likely to be omitted (excepting those clauses where their omission is obligatory, see section C.8.5). The fact that objects are omitted less frequently than subjects is likely due in part to the switch reference system in Yaminawa (see section C.9.2), which encodes same subject and different subject relations across chained clauses, making overt subjects redundant in many clauses.

### C.8.1.2 Order of adjunct noun phrases

This section concerns the order of comitative, lative, and instrumental noun phrases with relation to argument noun phrases. Whereas the previous section on the order and omission of arguments provided some statistics on the distribution of attested orders in a single text, this section draws from the full corpus and does not attempt to quantify the different orders seen; rather this sections intends only to orient the reader to the use and distribution of adjunct noun phrases through broad description.

#### C.8.1.2.1 Comitative noun phrases

Comitatives noun phrases may be associated with either the subject of an intransitive verb, in which case they are marked with =*we*, or the subject of a transitive verb, in which case they are marked with =*wētā*. In the traditional narrative corpus, there are over 100 identified instances of comitative noun phrases, but none appear to correspond to object noun phrases, only subjects. In both transitive and intransitive clauses, it is most common that a comitative adjunct noun phrase occur without an overt subject, as the examples in (290a-b) show for intransitive clauses, and as the examples in (290c-d) show for transitive clauses.

(290) a. awe kai

*a* = *we* *ka -i*  
3SG = COM go -IPFV

‘(He) was going with him.’ (TN.MRR.Wuipapi.0141.line 70)

b. *ãwĩwe uxatiai*

*ãwĩ* = *we*   *uxa* -*tia*                      -*i*  
 wife = COM sleep -HABIT.FREQ -IPFV

‘(He) was sleeping with his wife (again).’  
 (TN.MRR.Xukuxukuika ñũshĩwu.0141.line 226)

c. *mã awětã wake atã...*

*mã*        *a*        = *wětã*        *wake* =  $\emptyset$    *ak*        = *tã*  
 already 3SG = COM.ERG child = ABS AUX.TR = IPE

‘And after (he) had a child/children with her...’  
 (TN.MLGA.Shidipawãwẽ kashta ñũshĩwu widi.0258.line 93)

d. *udi wetsawětã yawa akaki*

*udi*        *wetsa* = *wětã*        *yawa*        =  $\emptyset$    *ak*        -*a*        = *ki*  
 person other = COM.ERG peccary = ABS AUX.TR -PFV = ASSERT

‘(He) did kill peccaries with his male relative.’  
 (TN.MML.Tua ñũshĩwu.0388.line 38)

When a comitative adjunct and a subject co-occur, it is slightly more frequent that the comitative follow the subject, as in (291a-b). The comitative precedes the subject in only slightly fewer clauses, as in (291c-d). These orders are possible in both intransitive clauses (a and c examples), and transitive clauses (b and d examples).

(291) a. *ẽ biwe inũwẽ*

*ẽ*                *bi*        = *we*        *ik*                -*nũ*    -*wẽ*  
 1SG.NOM 2SG = COM AUX.ITR -OPT -IMPER

‘Let me be with you!’ (TN.MLGA.Xete ñũshĩwu.0258.line 36)

b. *ẽ chaiwětã dawa aki kaxiikiwi...*

*ẽ*                *chai*                = *wětã*        *dawa*        =  $\emptyset$    *ak*        -*i*        *ka*  
 1SG.NOM male.cousin = COM.ERG foreigner = ABS AUX.TR -IPFV go  
 -*xi*                -*i*                = *ki*                = *wi*  
 -FUT.IPFV -IPFV = ASSERT = ?

‘I will also go with my cousins to fight foreigners.’  
 (TN.MRR.Xukuxukuika ñũshĩwu.0141.line 46)

- c. *mĩ ãwĩwe mĩ wedai iriki*

*mĩ            ãwĩ =we    mĩ            weda            -i    ik            -ri    -ki*  
 2SG.POSS wife =COM 2SG.NOM live.together -IPFV AUX. ITR -FREQ -PROHIB

‘Don’t be cohabitating with your wife!’ (Context: during a period of ritual sexual abstinence) (TN.MRR.Xukuxkuika ñũshĩwu.0141.line 209)

- d. *uchi rãñwētã ěwē ěpã pexe wati*

*uchi            rãñã            =wētã            ěwē            epa            =N    pexe            =wa*  
 older.brother various =COM.ERG 1SG.POSS father =ERG house =make  
*-ti*  
 -PST5

‘With my brothers, my father built (this) house (months ago).’  
 (TN.MRR.Rũñwã ñũshĩwu.0132.line 122)

The subject and the comitative adjunct do not appear to form a syntactic constituent, as they may be separated by an adverb as in (292). In (292b), however, we see that verbal plural subject marking is used even though the subject noun phrase *ãwē wake* ‘his child’ is singular, due to the addition of additional subject participants in the comitative phrase.

- (292) a. *mē ãñã batuwe ikiba*

*mã            ě            ãñã    batu =we    ik            -i            =ba*  
 already 1SG.NOM again 2PL =COM AUX. ITR -IPFV =NEG

‘I’m not going to live with y’all anymore.’  
 (TN.MML.Yura ñũwē dai mērã kadi.0388.line 122)

- b. *ãwē wake wēñãmãrĩ isuwe tsauawudu...*

*ãwē            wake = Ø    wēñãmãrĩ isu            =we    tsau =a            =wu*  
 3SG.POSS child =ABS morning spider.monkey =COM sit =PFV.SUB =PL  
*=du*  
 =DS

‘After his son sat with the spider monkeys in the morning...’  
 (TN.MML.Īsũ wake widi.0406.line 34)

Less frequently, the comitative phrase may be extraposed to the right of the verb as in (293). This is seen with both intransitive and transitive verbs.

(293) a. *mã awa kaanũ, wedewe, kapishtadikia*

*mã awa = Ø ka = a = nũ wede = we ka -pishta -di*  
 already mother = ABS go = PFV.SUB = DS husband = COM go -DIM -PST6  
 = *kia*  
 = REP

‘After her mother had already gone, with her husband, the little one went.’  
 (TN.MML.Wedeuba.0219.line 8)

b. *ẽ isu atãnũ, adiawẽtã*

*ẽ isu = Ø ak -tad -nũ*  
 1SG.NOM spider.monkey = ABS AUX.TR -AM:go.do.and.return -OPT  
*adia = wẽtã*  
 brother.in.law = COM.ERG

‘I’m going to kill spider monkeys with my brother-in-law.’  
 (TN.MML.Isu.0204.line 59)

Rarely, both the comitative noun phrase and the subject noun phrase are extaposed, as in (294a), or the comitative noun phrase may appear in the more common pre-verbal position, and the subject only may be extraposed as in (294b).

(294) a. *atu ñũs̃shtawãwãĩdi, Mariawẽtã Wãnũ*

*atu ñũs̃ -shta -wãwãĩd -i Maria = wẽtã Wadu = N*  
 3PL.ABS counsel -DIM -CONT -IPFV Maria = COM.ERG Wadu = ERG

‘They taught them every day, Wadu with Maria.’  
 (TN.MRR.Pãmã weru kechu chaiya.0596.line 346)

b. *ñãtãpake wedewe dii chatadi, ãwĩwu*

*ñãtã pake wede = we dii chata -di ãwĩwu = Ø*  
 afternoon fall husband = COM forest return -PST6 woman = ABS

‘Late in the afternoon, the woman returned with her husband.’  
 (TN.MML.Wedeuba.0219.line 28)

### C.8.1.2.2 Instrumental noun phrases

Instrumental case shares its form with ergative case (see section C.7.3.1), making it difficult to quickly distinguish these two cases in the corpus. Impressionistically, the subject appears to precede instrumental noun phrases in both traditional narratives and elicitation. While there are just ten instances of instrumental case in the *Yuashi* text used to evaluate word order patterns in section C.8.1.1, the subject precedes the instrumental in three instances, the subject is omitted in six clauses, and the instrument appears clause-initially in the remaining instance. The examples in (295) show the prevalent subject-instrument order.

(295) a. *ānā ēwē kaiwāwē wārī pipaudiba, chī pipaudiwu*

*ānā ēwē kaiwāwē wari =N pi -pau -di =ba chī*  
 again 1SG.POSS relative.ERG sun =INS eat -IPFV.PST6 -PST6 =NEG fire  
*=N pi -pau -di =wu*  
 =INSTR eat -IPFV.PST6 -PST6 =PL

‘My relatives didn’t cook (lit. eat) with the sun anymore, they cooked with fire.’ (TN.JRR.Wari.0050.line 110)

b. *Wānū cucharanē yua pia*

*Wadu =N cuchara =nē yua =∅ pi -a*  
 Wadu =ERG spoon =INS yuca =ABS eat -PFV

‘Wadu ate yuca with a spoon.’ (E.RGR.0571)

c. *nā āwē īmīmē xeraixeraixiiki*

*da -N āwē ibi =N =mē xeraish-*  
 DEM.PROX -same 3SG.POSS blood =INS =GIVEN REDUP.REPEAT  
*xe- raish ik -i*  
 tooth/beak- IDEO:rub AUX.ITER -IPFV

‘With his blood, they stained their beaks (red).’  
 (TN.MRR.Yuashi.0615.line 269)

Instrumental noun phrases may also occur before the subject, as in (296).

(296) *chī ēwē wakeraiki mī ea paishamātiruki*

*chī =N ēwē wake =∅ =raiki mī ea paisha -bad*  
 fire =INS 1SG.POSS child =ABS =maybe 2SG.NOM 1SG.ACC get.burnt -CAUS  
*-N -tīru =ki*  
 -MAL -POT =ASSERT

‘You’re going to cause my child to get burnt with fire.’  
 (TN.MRR.Yuashi.0615.line 76)

Instrumental noun phrases also commonly occur in clauses where the subject has been omitted, as in (297).

(297) a. *wadatinī ishīkadi*

*wadati -nī -N ik -shid -kad -i*  
 song -EP -INS AUX.ITER -CIRC:night -PL.IPFV -IPFV

‘They were singing a song all night.’ (TN.MML.Xeki nūshīwu.0247.line 57)

b. *āwē pānī rakapakekawadi*

*āwē      padi      =N   raka      -pake      -kawad      -i*  
 3SG.POSS hammock =INS lie.down -AM:downward -AM:lateral -IPFV

‘He laid down in his hammock.’

(TN.MML.Yura ñūwē dai mērā kadi.0388.line 66)

There is not currently enough tagged data in the corpus to evaluate the order of instrumental noun phrases relative to object noun phrases.

### C.8.1.2.3 Lative noun phrases

Lative noun phrases are marked with the enclitic =*ki*. This case enclitic is similar in form to the postpositional enclitic =*kiri* ‘toward’, and it is possible that these two enclitics are diachronically related. Lative case in Yaminawa is used mark oblique noun phrases of various types (see section C.7.3.1), often themes of intransitive verbs or locative-type noun phrases. Its use and relative word order are not well understood at this time, but a preliminary search of the traditional narrative corpus suggests that the most frequent positions for lative noun phrases are without an overt subject, as in (298a-b) or following an overt subject, as in (298c-d).

(298) a. *aki dukutānū*

*a      =ki      duku      -tad      -nū*  
 3SG =LAT arrive -AM:go.do.and.return -OPT

‘I’m going to go visit her.’ (Literally, ‘I’m going to arrive at her.’)

(TN.MML.Tua ñūshīwu.0388.line 59)

b. *mā kaadu, wedeki sidai*

*mā      ka      =a      =du      wede      =ki      sida      -i*  
 already go =PFV =DS husband =LAT be.angry -IPFV

‘After he left, she was mad at her husband.’

(TN.MLGA.Shidipawāwē kashta ñūshīwu widi.0258.line 158)

c. *wēnāmārī nū dawaki dukui kanū*

*wēnāmārī nū      dawa      =ki      duku      -i      ka      -nū*  
 tomorrow 1PL.NOM other =LAT arrive -IPFV go -OPT

‘Tomorrow we shall arrive at the others’ (village).’

(TN.MML.Uxe.0183.line 74)

d. *nũ aki dachinũ kawẽ*

*nũ a =ki dachi -nũ ka -wẽ*  
1PL.NOM 3SG =LAT spill.water -OPT go -IMPER

‘Let’s go spill water on him!’

(TN.MML.Ñũwẽ shidi charu wai shidi.0388.line 38)

Less frequently, lative noun phrases appear before the subject noun phrase. These lative noun phrases often indicate a location, as in (299).

(299) a. *udu bai nũ aki kanũ*

*udu bai =ki nũ ak -i ka -nũ*  
over.there earth =LAT 1PL.NOM AUX.TR -IPFV go -OPT

‘Let’s go (look for it) down there.’ (TN.MML.Tua ñũshĩwu.0388.line 31)

b. *padiki ẽ iskax...*

*padi =ki ẽ iska =ax*  
hammock =LAT 1SG.NOM do.like.this =SS.PE.A/S > S

‘Having done like this on the hammock...’

(TN.MRR.Xuya ñũshĩwu.0091.line 34)

There are few examples of lative noun phrases in transitive clauses with overt objects, but lative case follows the the object in all currently attested examples, as in (300). Notice in (300b) that the lative noun phrase and the object both precede the subject.

(300) a. *ãwẽ bisi shiwatiki watã, ãwẽ ruru...*

*ãwẽ bisi =Ø shiwati =ki wa =tã ãwẽ ruru*  
3SG.POSS *humita* =ABS basket =LAT put.up =IPE 3SG.POSS ground.maize  
=Ø  
=ABS

‘She put his *humita* (steamed ground corn) in the basket, with his ground maize.’ (TN.MML.Tua ñũshĩwu.0388.line 14)

b. *yawa shiwatiki, ãwĩwãwẽ dadeidi, dadeidi*

*yawa =Ø shiwati =ki ãwĩwãwẽ dade -idi -i*  
peccary =ABS basket =LAT woman.ERG put.inside -AM:upward -IPFV  
*dade -idi -i*  
put.inside -AM:upward -IPFV

‘The woman was filling up the basket with peccary (meat).’ (Literally, ‘The woman was putting the peccary in the basket from bottom to top.’)

(TN.MML.Tua ñũshĩwu.0388.line 130)

### C.8.1.3 Adverbs and postpositional phrases

The least-marked position of an adverbial phrase depends on the type of adverb that heads it. Temporal adverbs (section C.8.1.3.1), manner adverbs (section C.8.1.3.2) and locative adverbs and postpositional phrases (section C.8.1.3.3) each have distinct orders. Additionally, locative adverbs and postpositional phrases are frequently marked for transitivity agreement with the main verb (section C.8.1.3.4).

#### C.8.1.3.1 Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs like *wēnāmāĩ* ‘tomorrow, in the morning’ or *awiānā* ‘again’ most frequently occur at the beginning of the clause, as in (301). For example, of the 48 instances of *wēnāmāĩ* ‘tomorrow, in the morning’ in the traditional narrative corpus, over 79% (n=38) occur as the first word in the clause.

- (301) a. *wēnāmāĩ nū wedai kanū*

*wēnāmāĩ nū            wēda   -i       ka -nū*  
tomorrow 1PL.NOM search -IPFV go -OPT

‘Let’s go search tomorrow!’ (TN.MML.Wedeuba.0219.line 39)

- b. *wēnāmāĩ atu iyudikia*

*wēnāmāĩ atu        iyu               -di       =kia*  
morning 3PL.ABS take.person -PST6 =REP

‘In the morning he took them (leading them into the forest), they say.’  
(TN.MRR.Kapa ñūshīwu.0043.line 397)

- c. *awiānā yudui wukadi*

*awiānā yudu -i       wu       -kad       -i*  
again work -IPFV go.PL -PL.IPFV -IPFV

‘They were going to work again.’ (TN.MRR.Isku ñūshīwu.0060.line 38)

- d. *ñātāpake dashitadikia, ñūwē shidi*

*ñātāpake dashi -tad                               -i       =kia ñūwē shidi*  
afternoon bathe -AM:go.do.and.return -IPFV =REP witch ancient

‘In the afternoon the ancient witch was going to bathe.’  
(TN.MML.Ñūwē shidi charu wai shidi.0388.line 9)

Temporal adverbs less frequently appear in second position, after the subject or another adverb, as in (302).



(302) a. *ãwẽ wake wẽnãmãrĩ isuwe tsauawudu...*

*ãwẽ wake wẽnãmãrĩ isu = we tsau = a = wu = du*  
 3SG.POSS child morning spider.monkey = COM sit = PFV.SUB = PL = DS

‘After his son sat with the spider monkeys in the morning...’

(TN.MML.Īsũ wake widi.0406.line 34)

b. *awa ñũshĩwãwẽ awiãñã achakaki*

*awa ñũshĩwãwẽ awiãñã ak -chaka -ki*  
 tapir spirit.ERG again AUX.TR -bad -IPFV

‘The tapir spirit was doing her (having sex) badly again.’

(TN.MML.Awa ñũshĩwũ.0183.line 47)

c. *mã wẽnãmãrĩ mã wede kaadu...*

*mã wẽnãmãrĩ mã wede ka = a = du*  
 already morning already husband go = PFV.SUB = DS

‘After (her) husband had already left in the morning...’

(TN.MML.Adu ñũshĩwu.0204.line 32)

d. *mẽ ãñã batuwe ikiba*

*mã ẽ ãñã batu = we ik -i = ba*  
 already 1SG.NOM again 2PL = COM AUX.ITR -IPFV = NEG

‘I will never again live with y’all.’

(TN.MML.Yura ñũwẽ dai mẽrã kadi.0388.line 122)

### C.8.1.3.2 Manner adverbs

There appear to be few manner adverbs in Yaminawa. One of the most frequent is *iska* ‘like this’, which occurs 23 times.<sup>201</sup> Because manner adverbs are infrequent in Yaminawa, it is difficult at this time to make solid generalizations about the order of manner adverbs relative to other elements in the clause, but they do appear to follow the subject in most cases, as in (303).

(303) a. *wetsari iska pakekãwãdikia*

*wetsa = ri iska pake -kawad -di = kia*  
 another = ADD like.this descend -AM:lateral.ITR -PST6 = REP

‘Another one (vulture) also descended like this.’

(TN.MRR.Ishpawãwẽ xukadi.0051.line 155)

<sup>201</sup>The adverbial use of *wisti* ‘alone, only’ is difficult to distinguish from the quantificational use of the word (‘only’). Many other manner verbs, such as *wẽnã* ‘quickly, soon’ and *kushi* ‘quickly’, are not easily distinguished from temporal adverbs.

- b. awiãñã ãwẽ wẽñẽ iska wadikia “ãñã ape anũ!”

*awiãñã ãwẽ wede =N iska wa -di =kia ãñã ak*  
 again 3SG.POSS husband =ERG like.this say -PST6 =REP again AUX.TR  
*-pe ak -nũ*  
 -IMPER.POL AUX.TR -OPT

‘Again, her husband said, “drink again!”’

(TN.MRR.Aya ñũshĩwu.0597.line 205)

Less frequently, the manner verb may occur clause-initially, as in (304).

- (304) a. iska ãwẽ weru kechu putatã...

*iska ãwẽ weru kechu puta =tã*  
 like.this 3SG.POSS eye bowl throw.away =IPE

‘Like this, she threw back her eyelids (which are unusually long and prevent her from seeing), and...’ (TN.MRR.Pãmã weru kechu chaiya.0596.line 303)

- b. iska da rawe ñātātã...

*iska da rawe ñātã =tã*  
 like.this DEM.PROX two grab =IPE

‘Like this, he grabbed the two (pectoral spines of the catfish), and...’

(TN.MRR.Rũñwã ñũshĩwũ.0132.line 178)

### C.8.1.3.3 Locative adverbs and postpositional phrases

Locative adverbs and postpositional phrases in Yaminawa have similar distributions. Locative adverbs may occur in various positions in the clause, as in (305).

- (305) a. ãwẽ nẽñãwãñẽwã xeshkãñã dia

*ãwẽ nẽñãwã -nẽ -wã xeshkãñã di -a*  
 3SG.POSS *pijuayo* -EP -AUG near.house stand -PFV

‘Her *pijuayo* palms stood near the house.’

(TN.MML.Yura ñũwẽ dai mẽrã kadi.0388.line 36)

- b. chaikũĩ wẽñẽ bae waxũ...

*chai -kũĩ wede =N bae wa =xũ*  
 far -INTENS husband =ERG field make =SS.PE.A/S > A

‘After (her) husband had made a field far away...’

(TN.MLGA.Shidipawãwẽ kashta ñũshĩwu widi.0258.line 115)

c. *āwē ratuku dedu badia*

*āwē ratuku dedu badi -a*  
3SG.POSS knee here hang -PFV

‘(The skin of) her knees hung down to here.’

(TN.MML.Chai kushi wewadi.0219.line 190)

Locative adverbs may also follow a noun phrase, forming an adverbial phrase that specifies the location relative to the noun, as in (306). This use is similar to that of postpositions, discussed below.

(306) a. *wai nēshpākāñā tsaudikia*

*wai nēshpākāñā tsau -di =kia*  
path in.middle sit -PST6 =REP

‘It sat in the middle of the path, they say.’ (TN.MML.Uxe.0183.line 51)

b. *nā āwē daa kachiuri kākērādikia*

*nā āwē daa kachiuri kāk -kerad -di =kia*  
DEM.ANA 3SG.POSS nest behind exit -AM:do.and.come -PST6 =REP

‘It (the Oropendola bird) came out the back of it’s nest, they say.’

(TN.MRR.Isku ñūshīwu.0060.line 148)

In contrast to locative adverbs which may appear independently, postpositions are enclitics that are always hosted by a noun phrase. The inventory of Yaminawa postpositions is provided in C.19.

Table C.19: Inventory of postpositions

form	meaning
= <i>adu</i>	in/at a specific location (a table, a house, a small town)
= <i>adua</i>	from a specific location
= <i>ari</i>	in/around a general location (a large city, a river, a region/country)
= <i>aria</i>	from a general location
= <i>kiri</i> , = <i>ki</i> , = <i>ri</i>	toward
= <i>mērā</i>	inside (a fully or semi enclosed space)
= <i>u</i> , = <i>ū</i>	on the side, top
= <i>uba</i>	without
= <i>ya</i>	with, beside

Postpositional phrases may also appear in various positions in the clause, as in (307).

- (307) a. *ãwẽ wake wetsa baikiri wesua*  
*ãwẽ wake wetsa bai =kiri wesu -a*  
 3SG.POSS child other ground = toward face.toward -PFV  
 ‘The other baby was facing the ground’ (TN.JRR.Püstũ.0112.line 25)
- b. *dii mēřã kashta kaa*  
*dii =mēřã kashta ka -a*  
 forest =in armadillo go -PFV  
 ‘The armadillo went in the forest.’  
 (TN.MLGA.Shidipawãwẽ kashta ñũshĩwu widi.0258.line 8)
- c. *ĩã adu pui pakei*  
*ĩã =adu pui pake -i*  
 lake =LOC feces fall -IPFV  
 ‘(The tapir spirit) defecated in the lake.’  
 (TN.MML.Awa ñũshĩwu.0183.line 11)
- d. *xuu wadikia, ãwẽ wãřã adu*  
*xuu wa -di =kia ãwẽ wãřã =adu*  
 hunting.blind make -PST6 =REP 3SG.POSS pumpkin =LOC  
 ‘(He) made a hunting blind, in his pumpkin patch.’  
 (TN.MML.Adu ñũshĩwu.0204.line 2)

One key similarity between postpositional phrases and locative adverbs in Yaminawa is that both are subject to transitivity agreement with the verb when they are locative complements.

#### C.8.1.3.4 Transitivity agreement within the clause

Locative adverbs and postpositional phrases in Yaminawa are frequently marked with the enclitics =*xu* or =*ax* when they modify a transitive or intransitive verb, respectively. This type of transitivity-sensitive marking has been called transitivity agreement or transitivity harmony (Fleck 2010, Valenzuela 2003b, and Valenzuela 2010), part of a larger phenomena in Panoan languages where morphemes undergo allomorphic alternations based on stem transitivity (as seen among the associated motion suffixes in section C.6.5.1) and subordinate clauses may be marked for the transitivity of the main verb (see the switch reference system in section C.9.2).

The examples in (308) show transitivity agreement of postpositions and locative adverbs with intransitive verbs. There are few examples of the intransitive locative agreement marker on postpositions other than =*adu* ‘at location’ and =*ari* ‘in a region, area’, and adverbs other than *deri* ‘over here’, *uri* ‘over there’, *dedu* ‘here’, and *udu* ‘there’. On

several of the other postpositions, such as =*měṛă* ‘in(side)’, the intransitive locative agreement marker takes the form =*duax*,<sup>202</sup> as in (308c).

(308) a. *năduax kai*

*nă* = *adu* = *ax ka -i*  
DEM.ANA = LOC = ITR go -IPFV

‘From that very place, he left.’ (TN.MML.Wupa ñũshĩwu.0297.line 101)

b. *uriax udikia*

*uri* = *ax u -di* = *kia*  
over.there = ITR come -PST6 = REP

‘He came from over there, they say.’  
(TN.MRR.Rũnũwă ñũshĩwu.0132.line 16)

c. *dii mēṛăduax awi kăĩ*

*dii* = *mēṛă* = *duax awi kăĩ -a*  
forest = in = ITR by.itself exit -PFV

‘It (the charichuelo fruit tree) sprouted (lit. exited) by itself in the forest.’  
(TN.MLGA.Wedeuba Rawe.0300.line 68)

The transitive locative agreement marker takes the form =*xu*, as shown in (309).

(309) a. *katăwē, pexe aduxu ũĩtăwē*

*ka -tad* -*wē* *pexe* = *adu* = *xu ũĩ*  
go -AM:go.do.and.return -IMPER house = LOC = TR see  
-*tad* -*wē*  
-AM:go.do.and.return -IMPER

‘Go! Go and keep an eye on the house!’ (TN.MML.Wedeuba.0219.line 5)

b. *aska āwē wake rawetă kidi mēṛăxu ũĩ*

*aska* *āwē* *wake rawetă kidi* = *mēṛă* = *xu ũĩ -i*  
like.that 3SG.POSS child two.ERG hole = in = TR see -IPFV

‘Like so, his two daughters were watching through a hole (in the wall).’  
(TN.MRR.Ishpawăwē xukadi.0051.line 149)

<sup>202</sup>This form may be a contraction of =*adua* ‘from a location’ and the more common intransitive locative agreement marker =*ax*. All of the attested examples appear to involve a locative phrase that is a source.

- c. *udu wũmākāñāxu atu ũĩdikia*

*udu wũmākāñā = xu atu ũĩ -di = kia*  
 there above = TR 3PL.ABS see -PST6 = REP

‘He was watching them from up there above.’  
 (TN.MRR.Ishpawāwẽ xukadi.0051.line 501)

It is interesting to note that the locative transitivity agreement markers have very similar forms as the same subject prior event switch reference markers = *ax* (same subject, prior event, main clause is intransitive) and = *xũ* (same subject, prior event, main clause is transitive).

### C.8.2 Non-verbal predication

Non-verbal predication in Yaminawa may be achieved either through simple juxtaposition, or using the intransitive auxiliary verb *iki* ‘be, say, do.ITR’. Non-verbal predication in Yaminawa may also consist of a noun phrase or postpositional phrase and an existential (or negative existential) enclitic.

Non-verbal predication may combine any two non-verbal elements. (310a-b) provides examples of noun phrase predicates, (310c-d) provides examples with adjectival predicates, and (310e-f) provides examples with locative adverbs and postpositional phrases.<sup>203</sup>

- (310) a. *ẽwẽ ewa chaashta Ñāwã Xadu*

*ẽwẽ ewa chaka -shta Ñāwã Xadu*  
 1SG.POSS mother bad -DIM Grandmother Jaguar

‘My poor mother is Grandmother Tiger.’<sup>204</sup> (TN.TYW.Ñāwã xadu.0283.line 80)

- b. *ãwẽ wake werunã wakeshta*

*ãwẽ wake werunã wake -shta*  
 3SG.POSS child male child -DIM

‘His baby was a little boy.’ (TN.MRR.Aya ñũshĩwu.0597.line 97)

- c. *ãwẽ kishi chaibashta*

*ãwẽ kishi chai -ba -shta*  
 3SG.POSS leg long -NEG -DIM

‘Her legs were short.’ (TN.MRR.Aya ñũshĩwu.0597.line 41)

<sup>203</sup>Note that in the traditional narrative corpus, nearly all clear examples of non-verbal predication involving a postpositional phrase or locative adverb as one of the arguments have the postpositional phrase or adverb in initial position, and the noun phrase in the final position, as seen in the examples in (310e-f).

<sup>204</sup>*Ñāwã Xadu* ‘Grandmother Jaguar’ (lit. ‘jaguar’ ‘paternal grandmother’) is a figure in Yaminawa traditional oral literature that is often the nemesis and eats children.

d. *ãwĩwu sharashtakũĩ*

*ãwĩwu shara -shta -kũĩ*  
woman good -DIM -INTENS

‘The woman was really beautiful.’ OR ‘There was a really beautiful woman.’  
(TN.MRR.Bapu ñũshĩwu.0132.line 60)

e. *ãwẽ pexe adu ñĩmãwã*

*ãwẽ pexe = adu ñĩmã -wã*  
3SG.POSS house = LOC perfume -AUG

‘Her house smelled really nice/perfumed.’  
(TN.MML.Chai Kushi Wewadi.0219.line 171)

f. *uduri baikũĩ*

*udu = ri bai -kũĩ*  
over.there = ADD dirt -INTENS

‘Over there, too, there was just dirt.’ (TN.MRR.Bapu ñũshĩwu.0132.line 111)

A single noun phrase, adjective, locative adverb, or postpositional phrase may also constitute a clause, as demonstrated by the examples in (311).

(311) a. *aya ñũshĩwukia*

*aya ñũshĩwu = kia*  
parrot spirit = REP

‘She was a parrot spirit, they say.’ (TN.MRR.Aya ñũshĩwu.0597.line 5)

b. *sharakũĩkia*

*shara -kũĩ = kia*  
good -INTENS = REP

‘She was really beautiful, they say.’ (TN.PGF.Riwi ñũshĩwu.0129.line 94)

c. *chaikũĩ, dedu ipa*

*chai -kũĩ dedu ik -pa*  
far -INTENS here AUX. ITR -INTENT

‘(They will be) really far away, I’ll sleep here.’  
(TN.MML.Tua ñũshĩwu.0388.line 80)

d. becha adukia

*becha* = *adu* = *kia*  
 wet = LOC = REP

‘He was at a lake (on the beach, lit. wet place), they say.’  
 (TN.MRR.Pui wake.0141.line 7)

Occasionally, speakers will employ the semantically-bleached intransitive auxiliary verb *iki* to facilitate the use of a tense, aspect, or modal category, which may only be expressed as verbal morphemes. Some examples of this verbal strategy are provided in (312).

(312) a. xetekia uxupa shara ipaudikia

*xete* = *kia* *uxupa shara ik* -*pau* -*di* = *kia*  
 vulture = REP white good AUX.ITER -IPFV.PST6 -PST6 = REP

‘The vulture used to be beautiful and white long ago, they say.’  
 (TN.MRR.Yuashi.0615.line 95)

b. ua xete chai itiru, xebex

*ua* *xete chai ik* -*tiru xebex*  
 DEM.DIST beak long AUX.ITER -POT dark

‘That beak used to be long, and dark.’ (TN.MRR.Yuashi.0615.line 49)

There are two existential enclitics that are used in non-verbal predication: =*kĩã* and =*nũĩ*. The distinction between the two is not clear at this time, but it appears that =*kĩã* is used as a general existential, as in (313a-b), and =*nũĩ* is used when the speaker expected the interlocutor to already know the identity of the constituent identified by the existential, as in (313c-d).

(313) a. CONTEXT: Two daughters have made soup for their elderly father.

ẽpã, dakĩã

*epa* = *N* *da* = *kĩã*  
 father = VOC DEM.PROX = EXIST

‘Father, here it is.’ (TN.MRR.Ishpawãwẽ xukadi.0051.line 206)



- b. CONTEXT: A stranger, in reality a Squirrel Spirit, has helped two young women bring home a large quantity of food to their widowed, elderly mother. The family asks who has helped them out, and the old woman identifies him as her son-in-law.

tsuabakĩã, nũkũ rayusĩ, nũkũ rayusĩkĩã

*tsua* = *ba* = *kĩã*    *nũkũ*    *rayusĩ*    *nũkũ*    *rayusĩ*  
 who = NEG = EXIST 1PL.POSS son-in-law.ERG 1PL.POSS son-in-law.ERG  
 = *kĩã*  
 = EXIST

‘It’s no one, our son-in-law, it’s our son-in-law.’  
 (TN.MRR.Kapa ñũshĩwu.0043.line 255)

- c. CONTEXT: A man has been talking to ceramics made by his mother, and invites one particularly beautiful pot to become human and be his wife. When she does, he doesn’t recognize her, and she identifies herself.

ẽnũĩ, ẽnũĩ

ẽ            = *nũĩ*    ẽ            = *nũĩ*  
 1SG.NOM = EXIST 1SG.NOM = EXIST

‘It’s me, it’s me.’ (TN.MRR.Bapu ñũshĩwu.0132.line 37)

- d. CONTEXT: A man has climbed a *charichuelo* tree and is eating the ripe fruits. His brother cannot climb the tree and asks him to toss some fruit down for him. The brother in the tree throws down green, inedible fruit and the brother on the ground complains.

xuu chakanũĩ

*xuu*            *chaka* = *nũĩ*  
 immature bad    = EXIST

‘It’s a bad green one.’ (TN.MML.Uxe.0183.line 139)

The negative enclitic = *ba* is used in non-verbal predication as a negative existential, as in (314).

- (314) a. CONTEXT: A man thinks that tapir is human meat, but his cousin corrects him.

chãĩ dawaba, nũ pibis

*chai*            = *N*    *dawa*    = *ba*    *nũ*            *pi* -*bis*  
 male.cousin = VOC foreigner = NEG 1PL.NOM eat -HABIT

‘Cousin, it’s not people (meat). We can eat this.’  
 (TN.MRR.Xukuxukuika ñũshĩwu.0141.line 121)

- b. CONTEXT: A woman has been living with a giant earthworm as her husband. Her mother comes to visit, and finds and kills the worm while cleaning. She tries to convince her daughter that the worm is not her husband.

ẽwẽ wākẽ, mĩ wedeba, nũĩnĩwã chaka

ẽwẽ            wake =N    mĩ            wede        =ba    nũĩnĩ -wã    chaka  
1SG.POSS child =VOC 2SG.POSS husband =NEG worm -AUG bad

‘My child, it’s not your husband, it’s a big, nasty worm.’  
(TN.TYW.ĩnãwã xadu.0283.line 45)

- c. CONTEXT: A man meets a Black-capped Parakeet spirit in the forest and asks if she has a husband. She replies that she does not.

baa, ẽ wedeyaba

baa ẽ            wede        =ya        =ba  
no 1SG.NOM husband =POSS =NEG

‘No, I don’t have a husband.’ (TN.MRR.Aya ñũshĩwu.0597.line 62)

### C.8.3 Epistemic and utterance-type enclitics

This section concerns two types of enclitics in Yaminawa: those which may only occur clause-finally, and those which may occur either clause finally or after a particular argument or adjunct in the clause. Among the latter, there are some that appear to scope over only the argument or adjunct that they are encliticized to and not the entire clause, but the scopal semantics of enclitics in this class have not yet been studied systematically. Most clause-level enclitics relate broadly to epistemic categories (e.g., evidentials, epistemic modals, etc.), but many also function as markers of focus (see section C.8.6) or utterance type. The existential enclitics discussed at the end of the previous section (C.8.2) may be used on some clause types, most commonly relative clauses, which have nominal behavior (see section C.9.3).

Declarative and interrogative utterance types exist along a continuum in Yaminawa, with some enclitics used as both markers of uncertainty or interrogative mood, depending on the context and other enclitics present in the clause. Table C.20 summarizes the major epistemic and utterance-type enclitics in Yaminawa.

The enclitic =*ki* or =*kĩ*, is a strong epistemic modal, which appears to function as a marker of assertion or high confidence in the veracity of the proposition, as in (315). The use of this enclitic can range from a statement about which the speaker draws certainty from direct evidence, as in (315a), to statements of strong commitment to a future action or behavior, as in (315c). The assertive enclitic is only used clause-finally.

Table C.20: Epistemic and utterance-type enclitics

form	gloss	meaning	category
= <i>ki</i> , = <i>kĩ</i>	ASSERT	assertive	utterance type
= <i>kia</i>	REP	reported evidential	epistemic
= <i>mākai</i> , = <i>māiki</i>	ASSUMP	speaker's assumption	epistemic
= <i>ra</i>	DUB1	speaker doubt	utterance type, epistemic
= <i>tsi</i>	GUESS	speaker assumes that the interlocutor expects them to know	utterance type, epistemic
= <i>mẽ</i>	INTERR	interrogative	utterance type
= <i>raki</i> , = <i>raka</i> , = <i>raiki</i> , = <i>rakikia</i> , = <i>rakakia</i>	DUB2	speaker doubt; possibly related to = <i>ra</i> , but with distinct distribution	epistemic
= <i>ruku</i>	CNTEXP	counter expectational	epistemic
= <i>keruku</i>	CNTEXP.NEG	negative counter expectational	epistemic

- (315) a. CONTEXT: A man has been waiting at night in his hunting blind to kill the paca that has been eating his crops. The paca finally appears and can be heard munching on the pumpkins.

*mã uaki*

*mã u -a =ki*

already come -PFV = ASSERT

‘Now he has arrived.’ (TN.MML.Adu ñũshĩwu.0204.line 15)

- b. CONTEXT: A man comes home to find his wife is behaving very strangely (unbenknownst to him, the Paca Spirit has murdered his wife and is pretending to be her). He comments on the strange behavior.

*rabashara mĩ iskabispaki*

*raba -shara mĩ iska -bis =ba =ki*

recent -good 2SG.NOM do.like.this -HABIT = NEG = ASSERT

‘Up until now, you’ve never acted like this before.’

(TN.MML.Adu ñũshĩwu.0204.line 104)

- c. CONTEXT: The animals and humans have banded together and killed *Yuashi* ‘the Greedy One’, and vow never to fear anyone ever again.

tsuaki besedakabaki

*tsua* =*ki* *bese* -*daka* =*ba* =*ki*  
 someone =LAT be.afraid -FUT3 =NEG =ASSERT

‘(We) will never again fear anyone.’ (TN.MRR.Yuashi.0615.line 281)

It is not clear at this time what conditions the use of =*ki* versus =*kĩ* as the form of the assertive, in large part because nasality in Yaminawa is difficult to hear on recordings in this segmental context (after a voiceless consonant and at the end of an intonation phrase). The nasal variant appears to cause nasal spread to a preceding enclitic, particularly the negator =*ba*, for some speakers (some of the time) – in all of the cases where the nasality of the assertive enclitic is clear from nasal spread, the verb is transitive, as in (316). This indicates that transitivity harmony is a likely conditioning factor in the form of the assertive.

- (316) a. *ãwĩ yuiamãkĩ*

*ãwĩ yui* -*a* =*ba* =*kĩ*  
 wife tell -PFV =NEG =ASSERT

‘He didn’t tell his wife.’ (TN.MML.Ruawu dawawu.0261.line 190)

- b. *ãnã wichiãmãkĩ*

*ãnã wichi* -*a* =*ba* =*kĩ*  
 again see -PFV =NEG =ASSERT

‘He never saw her again.’ (TN.MML.Chai Kushi Wewadi.0219.line 241)

Another enclitic expressing relative speaker certainty is the reportative evidential =*kia*. The reportative evidential may occur clause-finally, as in (317a-b), or it may occur on an individual constituent within the clause, as in (317c-d). Whether or not there are scopal differences between these two positions has not yet been investigated.

- (317) a. CONTEXT: Common first line of traditional narratives handed down through oral tradition.

iskadikia...

*iska* -*di* =*kia*  
 be.like.this -PST6 =REP

‘They say it was like this...’(TN.MRR.Înãwã xadu.0283.line 1)

- b. CONTEXT: In ancient times, the children used to get stolen by an evil merman while bathing in the river.

dashipaudiwukia wakewu

*dashi* -pau        -di        =wu =kia wake =wu  
bathe -IPFV.PST6 -PST6 =PL =REP child =PL

‘They say they used to bathe long ago, the children.’  
(TN.MML.Ede mēřã ñũshĩwu.0406.line 2)

- c. CONTEXT: *Yuashiwu*, the Greedy One, refuses to share agriculture and fire with the humans and animals.

yuashiwukia tsuashtakai awa wĩābisba

*yuashiwu* =kia *tsua* -shta =kai        awa        wi -ā        -bis        =ba  
greedy.one =REP anyone -DIM =CONTR anything take -MAL -HABIT =NEG

‘From the Greedy One, they say, no one ever stole anything.’  
(TN.MRR.Yuashi.0615.line 5)

- d. CONTEXT: A man is trapped high up in a tree after his rival knocks down his ladder.

āwē texpa adukia tsauĩnākāwādikia

*āwē*        *texpa*        =adu =kia *tsau* -ĩnākāwā -di        =kia  
3SG.POSS branch =LOC =REP sit -INCEP -PST6 =REP

‘On its branch, they say, he started to sit up, they say.’  
(TN.MRR.Isku ñũshĩwu.0060.line 95)

The enclitic =*mākai* or =*māiki* marks a speaker’s assumption, usually based on some kind of indirect evidence, as in (318). This enclitic is infrequent and its semantics and distribution merit further study, but at this time it appears to only occur clause-finally.

- (318) a. CONTEXT: *Yuashi*, the Greedy One, sees that the Iguana is has one of his chili peppers in his mouth.

mā yuchi wichai kaimāiki

*mā*        *yuchi* *wi*        -chaka -i        ka -i        =māiki  
already chili take -bad -IPFV go -IPFV =ASSUMP

‘This damned one must be stealing a chili!’ (TN.MRR.Yuashi.0615.line 200)

- b. CONTEXT: The Squirrel Spirit is asking his relatives if they are paying attention so he can teach them to cultivate maize. He subsequently explains how to plant maize.

mā mā dikaimē, mā mā dikaimākai

*mã mã dika -i =mẽ mã mã dika -i*  
 already 2PL.NOM listen -IPFV =INTERR already 2PL.NOM listen -IPFV  
 = *mãkai*  
 = ASSUMP

‘Are y’all listening? I guess y’all are listening.’  
 (TN.MRR.Kapa ñũshĩwu.0043.line 400)

The enclitics =*raka*, =*raki*, =*raiki*, =*rakakia*, and =*rakikia* are all weak epistemic modals expressing speaker uncertainty or doubt. It is not clear at this time what conditions the different forms of these enclitics; Lord (2016) describes only =*rakikia* and =*raka* (as a “contraction” of =*rakikia*) as morphemes expressing the meaning “perhaps”. Some examples of the forms of these enclitics are given in (319). At this point in time, these enclitics are only attested with noun phrases. Notice that in (319c), the enclitic occurs internal to a postposition, and that in (319e), it occurs external to case marking.

- (319) a. CONTEXT: A man’s wife has left him. His mother informs him of the fact and suggests that maybe it’s due to something he said.

*mĩraka awara waadu kaa*

*mĩ =raka awara wa =a =du ka -a*  
 2SG.NOM =DUB2 something say =PFV.SUB =DS go -PFV

‘Maybe you said something to make her leave.’  
 (TN.PGF.Riwi ñũshĩwu.0129.line 83)

- b. CONTEXT: The speaker is relating part of a story where an ancestor removes his old skin to be a young man as needed. The speaker is trying to remember if the man also wore beads that he stole from the chief vulture.

*ãwẽ wichi pekatã, nã xete wĩãti, xeteraki wĩãtiba...*

*ãwẽ wichi peka =tã nã xete wi -ã -ti xete*  
 3SG.POSS skin remove =IPE DEM.ANA vulture take -MAL -PST5 vulture  
 =*raki wi -ã -ti =ba*  
 =DUB2 take -MAL -PST5 =NEG

‘When he took off his skin, (with the thing that) he had taken from the vulture, or maybe he hadn’t taken it from the vulture...’  
 (TN.MRR.Ishpawãwẽ xukadi.0051.line 440)

- c. CONTEXT: The speaker is describing a house in a story, which may or may not have resembled their own home (an individual, as opposed to collective dwelling).

*nã pexe wetsa adu, nã iskara pexeraiki adukia...*

*nã pexe wetsa = adu nã iskara pexe = raiki = adu = kia*  
DEM.ANA house other = LOC DEM.ANA like.this house = DUB2 = LOC REP

‘In the other house, In a house maybe similar to this one...’  
(TN.MRR.Xũnũwã ñũshĩwu.0615.line 73)

- d. CONTEXT: The speaker is relating a story where the people are eating some animal, and is trying to remember what kind of animal it was.

*awara yuinã wiwãĩdikia, tii xawerakakia*

*awara yuinã wi -waid -di = kia tii xawe = rakakia*  
something animal get -AM:go.doing -PST6 = REP EXCLAM tortoise = DUB2

‘He went to get some animal, they say, ooh, maybe it was a tortoise.’  
(TN.MRR.Xũnũwã ñũshĩwu.0615.line 32)

- e. CONTEXT: The speaker is telling a traditional narrative where a little boy kills something, but she can’t remember if it was with a bow and arrow or with a shotgun.

*ẽtsa, teketinĩrakikia, teketinĩrakikia*

*ẽtsa teketi -nĩ = N = rakikia teketi -nĩ = N*  
INTERJ:I.don’t.know shotgun -EP = INS = maybe shotgun -EP = INS  
= *rakikia*  
= DUB2

‘I don’t know, maybe with a shotgun, maybe with a shotgun.’  
(TN.MRR.Pãmã weru kechu chaiya.0596.line 479)

More frequent is the dubitative enclitic =*ra*, which may be diachronically related to the other dubitative enclitics, but which has a distinct synchronic distribution. One of the distinct uses of the dubitative enclitic =*ra* is to form indefinite pro-forms from interrogative pro-forms, as in table C.21. See table C.22 for the full inventory of interrogative pro-forms in Yaminawa.

The dubitative =*ra* is also used productively to express doubt clause-finally, as in (320a-b). Infrequently, it is attested marking postpositional phrases, as in (320c). There is a second enclitic that has the same form, =*ra*, but which is used to mark direct quotation (see section C.9.1). Potential scope effects have not yet been investigated.

Table C.21: Indefinite pronouns

base form	meaning	= <i>ra</i> form	meaning
<i>awa</i>	what	<i>awara</i>	something
<i>tsua</i>	who	<i>tsuara</i>	someone
<i>waki</i> ~ <i>wānĩ</i> ~ <i>raki</i>	where	<i>wakira</i> ~ <i>wānĩra</i> ~ <i>rakira</i>	somewhere
<i>aweska</i>	how	<i>aweskara</i>	somehow
<i>awetia</i>	when	<i>awetiara</i>	some (amount of) time

- (320) a. CONTEXT: The *tĩkũ* bird spirit has stolen some grains of maize while *Yuashi*, the Greedy One, was distracted. When *Yuashi* asks where the grains went, the *tĩkũ* bird lies.

ẽtsa, chãĩ, ẽkai ãĩbara...

ẽtsã                      chai                      = *N*    ẽ                      = *kai*    ãĩ -*i*  
 INTERJ:I.don't.know male.cousin = VOC 1SG.NOM = CONTR see -IPFV  
 = *ba*    = *ra*  
 = NEG = DUB1

'I dunno, cousin, I don't think I saw anything...'  
 (TN.MRR.Yuashi.0615.line 149)

- b. CONTEXT: *Yuashi*, the Greedy One, sees a group of humans and animals coming toward his home.

jee, ãĩ wukadira

jee    ãĩ -*i*    wu -*kad*    -*i*    = *ra*  
 INTERJ see -IPFV go.PL -PL.IPFV -IPFV = DUB1

'Huh, I guess they're coming to visit.' (TN.MRR.Yuashi.0615.line 251)

- c. CONTEXT: A huge carnivorous wasp has bit off a chunk of an elderly man's flesh in a traditional story. The narrator is trying to remember where he was bitten.

nĩshwĩnũwãñẽ, tii, wãñĩra aduara dabi tsẽkãdikia

nĩshwidu -*wã* = *nẽ*    tii                      wãñĩ = *ra*    = *adua*    = *ra*    dabi  
*huairanga* -AUG = ERG EXCLAM where = DUB1 = LOC.SRC = DUB1 flesh  
*tsẽkã* -*di*    = *kia*  
 pluck -PST6 = EVID.REP

'A huge *huairanga* wasp, ooh, it bit out some of his flesh from I don't know where.' (TN.MRR.Ishpawãwẽ xukadi.0051.line 81)



The use of the dubitative =*ra* is also used in pragmatic contexts that are similar to interrogatives, as discussed in the following section (C.8.4). The enclitic =*tsi*, which expresses a lack of speaker knowledge about something that they feel they should know (either because they forgot or because it appears to be common knowledge), is used similarly. This enclitic is also discussed in section C.8.4 with the general interrogative enclitic =*me*.

Two additional enclitics relating to epistemic categories are the counter-expectational =*ruku* and the negative counter-expectational =*keruku*. These two morphemes both encode that the proposition expressed by a clause or some constituent of that clause is contrary to the (assumed) expectation of the interlocutor, as in (321). This morpheme is incompatible with the negative morphemes =*ba* and =*yaba*, and instead takes a special negative form =*keruku*, as in (321c).

- (321) a. CONTEXT: A woman abandoned her husband because he was too old and sick to work and hunt. He is magically made young again and now has new romantic prospects. His ex-wife wants him back, and tells the other women that she had him first, despite them thinking he is single.

earuku wiyutiadiki

*ea* = *ruku* *wi* -*yu* -*tiad* -*i* = *ki*  
1SG.ACC = CNTEXP take -do.first -HABIT.FREQ -IPFV = ASSERT

‘He used to always take me (as his sexual partner) first!’  
(TN.MRR.Ishpawāwē xukadi.0051.line 522)

- b. CONTEXT: A Black-Capped Parakeet spirit woman has made *chicha*. Her husband invites her to drink some of her own beverage (violating her prohibitions), and she responds that she cannot imbibe.

ēwē dakaruku ē ayatirumākī

*ēwē* *daka* = *a* = *ruku* *ē* *aya* -*tiru* = *ba* = *kī*  
1SG.POSS chew = PFV = CNTEXP 1SG.NOM drink -POT = NEG = ASSERT

‘But I can’t drink what I have chewed!’  
(TN.MRR.Aya ñūshīwu.0597.line 177)

- c. CONTEXT: A young single woman hears a palm weevil (*Rhynchophorus palmarum*) buzzing in the forest and invites it to turn into a man and be her husband. When he does so, she doesn’t initially believe it is him.

ēñūĩ, ē wupakeruku

*ē* = *ñūĩ* *ē* *wupa* = *keruku*  
1SG.NOM = EXIST 1SG.NOM weevil = CNTEXP.NEG

‘It is I; I am not, in fact, a weevil.’ (TN.MML.Wupa ñūshīwu.0297.line 13)

### C.8.4 Interrogatives

Both polar and content interrogative constructions in Yaminawa are formed using one of three enclitics with interrogative functions and varying levels of speaker knowledge: *=mẽ*, *=tsi*, and *=ra*. Content questions require the use of an interrogative pro-form, the inventory of which are provided in table C.22. Interrogative pro-forms are also used as negative polarity items and indefinite pro-forms (see table C.21 as well). As the examples in this section show, interrogative pro-forms may appear in-situ or in focus position, depending on the interrogative strategy.

Table C.22: Interrogative pro-forms

form	gloss	replaces phrase type
Morphologically simplex interrogative pro-forms		
<i>awa</i>	what, something, anything	non-human NP
<i>tsua</i>	who, someone, anyone	human NP
<i>waki ~ wãñĩ ~ raki</i>	where, somewhere	location
<i>watu</i>	which	NP modifier - identity or quality
Interrogative pro-forms formed with the indefinite bound root <i>awe</i>		
<i>aweti</i>	how many	NP modifier - quantity
<i>awetiu</i>	what size	NP modifier - size
<i>awetĩã</i>	when	temporal adjunct
<i>aweska</i>	how	manner adjunct
<i>aweskai</i>	why	reason or purpose adjunct

The enclitic *=mẽ* is used in direct interrogative contexts where the speaker does not have any inclination or expectation as to the interlocutor's response, as in (322). Polar questions are formed by simply encliticizing the interrogative morpheme to the end of the clause, as in (322a-b), and content questions are formed by using one of the indefinite/interrogative pro-forms in table C.22 in addition to the interrogative enclitic, as in (322c-d).

(322) a. *mĩ ea ñnãstaturubamẽ*

*mĩ*            *ea*            *ñnã* -*shta* -*tiru* = *ba*    = *mẽ*  
 2SG.NOM 1SG.ACC give -DIM -POT = NEG = INTERR

‘Couldn’t you give (it) to me?’ (TN.MRR.Isku ñũshĩwu.0060.line 268)

b. mĩ bisi wiwadiĩ

*mĩ bisi wi -wad -i = mĩ*  
 2SG.NOM *humita* take -AM:do.and.go -IPFV = INTERR

‘Are you going to take *humita*?’  
 (TN.MRR.Pãmã weru kechu chaiya.0596.line 260)

c. tsũã yuchi wiĩ

*tsua =N yuchi wi -i = mĩ*  
 who = ERG chile take -IPFV = INTERR

‘Who is going to steal hot chilies?’ (TN.MRR.Yuashi.0615.line 190)

d. awa mĩ piĩ

*awa mĩ pi -a = mĩ*  
 what already eat -PFV = INTERR

‘What did (you) eat?’ OR ‘Have (you) eaten anything?’  
 (TN.MRR.Ishpawãwẽ xukadi.0051.line 253)

e. mĩ waki kaimĩ

*mĩ waki ka -i = mĩ*  
 2PL.NOM where go -IPFV = INTERR

‘Where are y’all going?’ (TN.MML.Tua ñũshĩwu.0388.line 10)

f. aweskai ěwẽ wake mĩtsũabamĩ

*aweskai ěwẽ wake mĩtsũ -a = ba = mĩ*  
 why 1SG.POSS child sweep -PFV = NEG = INTERR

‘Why doesn’t my daughter sweep?’ (TN.TYW.ĩnãwã Xadu.0283.line 30)

The interrogative enclitics can also be used in non-verbal clauses, as in (323), in either polar or content questions.

(323) a. shĩmãmĩ

*shĩmãmĩ = mĩ*  
 fish = INTERR

‘Is it fish?’ (TN.MML.Wupa ñũshĩwu.0297.line 83)

b. awamĩ

*awa = mĩ*  
 what = INTERR

‘What is it?’ (TN.MML.Wupa ñũshĩwu.0297.line 81)

The enclitic =*tsi* is used when the speaker has forgotten the information targeted by the interrogative or otherwise perceives that the speaker expects for them to know it. Thus, the semantics of this enclitic involve both the epistemic stance of the speaker and the speaker's presumption of the interlocutor's epistemic stance (see Evans et al. 2018a, 2018b on 'engagement'.) Like the general, direct interrogative enclitic =*mē*, =*tsi* is used in both polar and content interrogatives, as shown in (324).

(324) a. uatsi ātũ pexeki

*ua* = *tsi* *ātũ* *pexe* = *ki*  
DEM.DIST = GUESS 3PL.POSS house = ASSERT

'I guess this would be their house?' (TN.MML.Īsũ wake widi.0406.line 134)

b. tii, tsuakaitsi ēwē wēnē adeyawī

*tii* *tsua* = *kai* = *tsi* *ēwē* *wede* = *N* *ade* = *ya*  
EXCLAM who = CONTR = GUESS 1SG.POSS husband = GEN name = POSS  
= *wi*  
= EMPH

'Ay, who would have my husband's same name?'  
(TN.MRR.Isku ñũshĩwu.0060.line 172)

c. awatsi 'techanēādi'

*awa* = *tsi* *techanēā* -*di*  
what = GUESS fish.with.poison -PST6

'What's 'techanēādi' mean?' (TN.MRR.Kapa ñũshĩwu.0043.line 62)

The interrogative semantics of =*tsi* arise from conversational implicature. Depending on the context, when =*tsi* is used with the assertive enclitic =*ki*, as in (324a), it may be interpreted as a declarative (i.e., not requiring or expecting a response from the interlocutor) that expresses speaker uncertainty about an educated guess as to the state of affairs expressed by the proposition. The enclitic =*tsi* is also used to form place-holder words when the speaker momentarily forgets a lexical item, as in (325).

(325) CONTEXT: Lucy, María, and Mechi are looking for a place to put the recorder while they have a conversation; Lucy (the hostess) suggests a small stool but forgets the word.

awatsi, awara pishta dedu witā...

*awa* = *tsi* *awara* *pishta dedu wi* = *tā*  
what = GUESS something small here bring = IPE

'After bringing a whatchamacallit, some little thing here...'  
(Conv.LAW + MML + MMS.0538)

The interrogative use of the enclitic =*ra*, which expresses doubt, also arises from conversational implicature, and in this case indicates an even lower degree of speaker certainty about the state of affairs, and does not indicate an expectation or assumption that the interlocutor have certainty either.

(326) a. jee ũĩ wukadira

*jee ũĩ -i wu -kad -i =ra*  
EXCLAM see -IPFV go.PL -PL.IPFV -IPFV =DUB

‘Oh, I guess they’re coming to visit?’ (TN.MRR.Yuashi.0615.line 251)

b. ea tsũāra chũtātāchũtātadi yabe

*ea tsua =N =ra chũtātā- chũtā -tad*  
1SG.ACC who =ERG =DUB REDUP.REPEAT have.sex -AM:go.do.and.return  
*-i yabe*  
-IPFV night

‘Who could it be that always comes to have sex with me at night?’  
(TN.MML.Uxe.0183.line 16)

## C.8.5 Imperatives

Imperatives in Yaminawa are formed using one of the imperative modal verbal suffixes described in detail in section C.6.4.3. Most of these imperative suffixes require an absence of the subject (2SG/PL nominative pronoun). In the case of the suffix *-ki* the presence or absence of the second person nominative pronoun alters the meaning from prohibitive (pronoun present) to imperative (pronoun absent). These imperative suffixes and whether they require the presence or absence of a 2nd person nominative pronoun are re-summarized in table C.23. Other modals with imperative-like semantics, such as the optative/hortative *-nũ* are not grammatically restricted as to the presence or omission of arguments. For more on the semantics and use of modal suffixes in Yaminawa, see section C.6.4.3.

Table C.23: Imperative suffixes in Yaminawa

form	gloss	meaning	presence/absence of 2 NOM argument
<i>-ki</i>	IMPER.INDIR	indirect imperative, suggestion	2SG/PL.NOM omitted
<i>-ki</i>	PROHIB	prohibitive	2SG/PL.NOM overt
<i>-kiki</i>	PROHIB	prohibitive	2SG/PL.NOM omitted
<i>-pe</i>	IMPER.POL	polite or begging imperative	2SG/PL.NOM omitted
<i>-pu</i>	IMPER.MIR	mirative or urgent imperative	2SG/PL.NOM omitted
<i>-we~-wẽ</i>	IMPER	general imperative	2SG/PL.NOM omitted

### C.8.6 Focus

Focus constructions (and information structure more broadly) are topics which have not yet been investigated systematically in Yaminawa. This section presents some enclitics which appear to mark different kinds of focus, which are summarized in table C.24.

Table C.24: Tentative inventory of focus-like markers

form	gloss	type
identificational markers		
= <i>kai</i>	CONTR	contrastive
= <i>wi...</i> = <i>ki</i>	SUBJ.FOC	subject (nominative pattern)
quantificational markers		
= <i>ri(wi)</i>	ADD	additive
=( <i>re</i> ) <i>s</i>	ONLY	exclusive
= <i>ti(wi)</i>	all	universal
information markers		
= <i>mẽ</i>	GIVEN	given, previously mentioned information
= <i>nũ</i>	NEW	new information

I consider these enclitics under a single broad umbrella because they have similar distributions, though future work may show that many of these enclitics are not actually focus markers. The evidence that these enclitics are focus markers is strongest for subject focus =*wi...* =*ki* and contrastive focus =*kai*. In example (327c), we see subject focus used in a response to a question (in (327)a) targeting a subject. In example (328c), we see contrastive focus used to correct a false assumption in a prior utterance (in(328a)) and contrast an entity with a different set of entities (his brothers, in example (328)b).

(327) CONTEXT: Two young women have returned home with abundant food, when they had previously been starving. Their mother asks who helped them, and they at first deny they had help, then admit it was their marriageable cousin (the Squirrel Spirit).

a. MOTHER: tsũãrã raka batu aweskarashta waxũa

*tsua* =*ra* =*N* =*raka* *batu* *aweskara* *wa* -*xud* -*a*  
 who = DUB1 = ERG = DUB2 2PL.ACC some.way -DIM make -BEN -PFV

‘Whoever did this nice thing for you?’

(4 lines pass with the daughters denying and their mother urging them to be honest.)

(Example continues on next page)

- b. DAUGHTERS: bibikitūwi duku axūaki

*bibikitu* =N =wi duku ak -xud -a  
 marriageable.cousin =ERG =SUBJ.FOC 1PL.ACC AUX.TR -BEN -PFV  
 =ki  
 =SUBJ.FOC

‘Our marriagable cross-cousin did it for us.’  
 (TN.MRR.Kapa ñūshīwu.0043.lines 157-162)

- (328) CONTEXT: A man has married a woman whose father is a cannibal. Her father has killed and eaten both of the man’s older brothers (his wife’s late husbands). The woman warns her husband about what happened to his brothers, but he insists that his fate will not be the same.

- a. WIFE:...uchi rawe ea ēwē ēpā pīādi...

*uchi* rawe ea ēwē epa =N pi -ā -di  
 older.brother two 1SG.ACC 1SG.POSS father =ERG eat -MAL -PST6

‘...my father ate your two older brothers to my detriment...’

- b. HUSBAND: tii, ēwē uchi rawe tatibai wetseaiwāwē atu adi

*tii* ēwē uchi rawe tatiba -i wetse  
 EXCLAM 1SG.POSS older.brother two be.stupid -IPFV do.completely  
 =ai =wāwē atu ak -di  
 =IPFV.SUB =A/S > O.IPFV.PL 3PL.ABS AUX.TR -PST6

‘Oh, he killed them because my two brothers were complete idiots.’

- c. aka eakaibakĩā

*aka* ea =kai =ba =kĩā  
 so.then 1SG.ACC =CONTR =NEG =EXIST

‘But then, I’m not (an idiot).’

(TN.MRR.Isku ñūshīwu ruapitsiwe.0615.lines 194-196)

One of the most frequently encountered types of focus in Yaminawa appears to be subject (nominative patterning) focus, demonstrated in (329). This focus construction involves two enclitics, =wi, which follows the subject noun phrase, and =ki which follows the predicate, typically the verb, but this strategy may also be used with non-verbal predicates as in (329c). Infrequently, instrumental noun phrases may also be focused using this strategy, as in (329d). The enclitic =wi typically blocks ergative/instrumental case, but does not always do so (see the examples in (327) above).

- (329) a. CONTEXT: A woman has just had her first baby. Her labor was difficult and her husband went to get a traditional surgeon. By the time he returns, she has already had the baby, seemingly by herself. After the surgeon leaves, she tells her husband the truth about the Rat Spirit who helped her.

ẽwẽ tsawewi ea ibashtaitaki, wake kãĩbaki

ẽwẽ            tsawe            =wi            ea            ik            -bad -shta -ita  
 1SG.POSS female.cousin = SUBJ.FOC 1SG.ACC AUX.ITR -CAUS -DIM -PST3  
 =ki            wake kãĩ -bad -ki  
 = SUBJ.FOC child exit -CAUS -NF

‘It was my female cousin who made me do it the other day, have the baby.’  
 (TN.MRR.Xuya ñũshĩwu.0091.line 90)

- b. CONTEXT: Two young unmarried women, sisters, went to find food for themselves and their widowed mother. They end up meeting the Squirrel Spirit, who becomes their husband. They take him back home to their mother, who asks where they found him, and they explain to her that it was the Squirrel Spirit who presented himself to them.

bibikiwi dukuki uaki

bibiki                            =wi            duku =ki u            -a            =ki  
 marriageable.cousin = SUBJ.FOC 1PL =LAT come -PFV = SUBJ.FOC

‘It was our marriageable cousin who approached us.’  
 (TN.MRR.Kapa ñũshĩwu.0043.line 166)

- c. CONTEXT: A man laments that his male relatives are constantly going to make war against other tribes but never invite him along. The Grey-Necked Wood Rail Spirit reveals to him that they are actually killing tapirs, not men. He takes the man on a hunt and shows him how to kill a tapir.

awi awaki

a            =wi            awa            =ki  
 3SG = SUBJ.FOC tapir = SUBJ.FOC

‘This is a tapir.’ (TN.MRR.Xukuxukuika ñũshĩwu.0141.line 216)

- d. CONTEXT: A woman who is having a difficult first labor is convinced that she is going to die. Her husband has gone to go get a traditional surgeon, but the Rat Spirit appears to her first and teaches her how to give birth.

nũkũ chishpiwi ñũ kãĩbiski

nũkũ            chishpi =wi            ñũ            kãĩ -bis            =ki  
 1PL.POSS vagina = SUBJ.FOC 1PL.NOM exit -HABIT = SUBJ.FOC

‘With our vaginas, we give birth.’ (TN.MRR.Xuya ñũshĩwu.0091.line 30)



Another highly frequent focus marker is the contrastive focus enclitic =*kai*, shown in (330). In addition to scoping over individual constituents of a clause as in (330a-b), it may also be cliticized to the verb and scope over the entire clause as in (330c).

- (330) a. CONTEXT: The Black-capped Parakeet Spirit has made *chicha* for her husband and mother-in-law. Everyone else is drinking, but she does not.

atūkai ayaiba

atũ            =*kai*      aya   -i            =*ba*  
3SG.ERG = CONTR drink -IMPRF = NEG

‘But she wasn’t drinking.’ (TN.MRR.Aya ñũshĩwu.0597.line 179)

- b. CONTEXT: *Yuashi*, The Greedy One, refuses to share maize with humans and the other animals. The *Tĩkũ* bird spirit steals and hides two grains. When *Yuashi* accuses him of the theft he responds that he didn’t see anything.

ẽtsa, chãĩ, ẽkai ãĩbara, chãĩ...

ẽtsa                              *chai*                      =*N*      ẽ                      =*kai*      ãĩ      -i  
INTERJ:I.don’t.know male.cousin = VOC 1SG.NOM = CONTR see -IPFV  
= *ba*    =*ra*      *chai*                      =*N*  
= NEG = DUB1 male.cousin = VOC

‘I dunno, cousin, *I* don’t think *I* saw anything, cousin...’  
(TN.MRR.Yuashi.0615.line 149)

- c. CONTEXT: The speaker has accused the interlocutor of lying. The interlocutor denies the accusation, and the first speaker repeats the accusation with contrastive focus.

mĩ chãĩkai

mĩ              chãĩ -i              =*kai*  
2SG.NOM lie      -IPFV = CONTR

‘But you *are* lying!’ (TN.MRR.Diwu ñũshĩ.0615.line 99)

The contrastive focus enclitic =*kai* frequently co-occurs with the enclitic =*ruku*, which encodes that the speaker finds something unexpected about the state of affairs. Some examples of this combination are given in (331). There are 23 instances of the order =*kai* =*ruku*, but only one instance of the order =*ruku* =*kai*, which is given in (331c). Notice that with this second order of the enclitics, contrastive focus appears to scope over the counter-expectational, with the speaker (the Anaconda Spirit) expressing a proposition that contradicts the expectation of the man, her interlocutor.

- (331) a. CONTEXT: A man has killed a male paca that was eating his crops. The wife of the paca takes human form and goes searching for her husband. The wife of the human man unwittingly attempts to serve the paca meat to the Paca Spirit woman, who rejects the food.

*mã mĩ wedekairuku mĩ pitirukẽ...*

*mã mĩ wede =kai =ruku mĩ pi -tiru*  
 already 2SG.POSS husband = CONTR = CNTEXP 2SG.NOM eat -POT  
 = *kẽ*  
 = REAS.PFV

‘Just because you may (think you can) eat your husband...’ (doesn’t mean I can eat mine.) (TN.MML.Adu ñũshĩwu.0204.line 54)

- b. CONTEXT: A man comes home to find his house is closed up as if it were nighttime, but it is only the late afternoon. He arrives home asking about the unusual state of affairs.

*kede wepewẽ, ñãtãtaibakairuku mĩ wepuamẽ*

*kede wepe -wẽ ñãtã -taiba =kai =ruku mĩ wepu*  
 wall open -IMPER afternoon -not.yet = CONTR = CNTEXP 2SG.NOM close  
 -a = *mẽ*  
 -PFV = INTERR

‘Open the house! Have you really closed up when it’s not even late?’  
 (TN.MML.Adu ñũshĩwu.0204.line 95)

- c. CONTEXT: A man convinced an Anaconda spirit to have sex with him, but failed to consider the consequences. Now that he has had sex with her, she refuses to let him return home to his wife.

*mã mĩ ea chutaki, mĩ ãnã kaibarukukai*

*mã mĩ ea chuta -a =ki mĩ ãnã ka -i*  
 already 2SG.NOM 2SG.ACC have.sex -PRF = REAS 2SG.NOM again go -IPFV  
 = *ba* = *ruku* = *kai*  
 = NEG = CNTEXP = CONTR

‘Now that you’ve had sex with me, you’re never leaving again.’  
 (TN.MRR.Rũnũwã ñũshĩwu.0132.line 117)

The additive enclitic =*ri(wi)* is used to indicate an entity that is additional to some previously referenced entity, as in (332). This enclitic is external to case marking, as seen in (332c). Unlike the subject focus and contrastive focus markers, this enclitic may not be hosted by a predicative element (e.g., the verb).

(332) a. awiãñã wetsari udi

*awiãñã wetsa =ri u -di*  
again other =ADD come -PST6

‘Again, another one arrived, too.’ (after a sequence of others arriving first)  
(TN.MRR.Pui wake.0141.like 42)

b. xikiri nũ wiinũ

*xiki =ri nũ wii -nũ*  
maize =ADD 1PL.NOM take -OPT

‘Let’s steal some corn, too!’ (in addition to stealing other things)  
(TN.MRR.Yuashi.0615.line 114)

c. mã udikũichĩri mã akax...

*mã udi -kũĩ -chĩ =N =ri mã ak =ax*  
already human -INTENS -EP =ERG =ADD already AUX.TR =SS.PE:A/S>S

‘And after the real man also drank (the ayahuasca)...’ (in addition to the snake men drinking) (TN.MRR.Rũnũwã ñũshĩwu.0132.line 142)

The quantificational enclitic =*ti(wi)* translates roughly to ‘all’. Detailed semantic work on quantification in Yaminawa has not yet been carried out. This enclitic is exterior to the plural =*wu* as shown in (333a). This enclitic sometimes takes the form =*tiwi*, as in (333c-d). The *wi* is not to be confused with the emphatic =*wi* discussed below in this same section, as =*tiwi* does not require clause final marking with emphatic =*ki*. The quantificational enclitic =*ti* may also mark nominal temporal adjuncts, as in (333d). This enclitic is only hosted by noun phrase constituents.

(333) a. xawewuti kaxekadi

*xawe =wu =ti kaxe -kad -i*  
tortoise =PL =all play -PL.IPFV -IPFV

‘All the tortoises were playing.’  
(TN.MLGA.Māshārũnē xawewu puyexkedi.0157.line 14)

b. nã xubayati wukadi

*nã xubaya =ti wu -kad -i*  
DEM.ANA young.women =all go.PL -PL.IPFV -IPFV

‘All of the young women were leaving.’<sup>205</sup>  
(TN.MRR.Ishpawāwē xukadi.0051.line 437)

<sup>205</sup>The suffix -*N* on the demonstrative *da* in this example appears to be a marker of definiteness or that the entity was otherwise previously mentioned in the discourse.

- c. “*ruj ruj*” *nā* wakewutiwi

*ruj ruj nā wake =wu =tiwi*  
 IDEO:escape IDEO:escape DEM.ANA child =PL =all

‘All of the children escaped *ruj! ruj!*’  
 (TN.MLGA.Shidipawāwē kashta ñūshīwu widi.0258.line 186)

- d. waritiwi bia pewepewetiadi

*wari =tiwi bia pewe- pe- we -tiad -i*  
 year =all 2SG.ACC REDUP.REPEAT back- carry -always -IPFV

‘All these years, (I)’ve carried you.’  
 (TN.MRR.Ishpawāwē xukadi.0051.line 36)

The enclitic =*mē* marks a constituent that has been previously mentioned in the discourse or which is otherwise definite. Often this is a noun phrase or locative expression, as in (334a-b), but it may also mark an entire subordinate clause, as in (334c-d). Whereas the interrogative enclitic =*mē* only occurs at the end of a main clause, the ‘aforementioned’ enclitic =*mē* never occurs at the end of a main clause, only elsewhere. One of the most frequent word forms with this enclitic is *askadumē* ‘and after that...’, as in (334d).

- (334) a. CONTEXT: The humans and animals have banded together to kill *Yuashi*, the Greedy One. The birds, who in ancient times did not have colorful feathers, are using the spilled blood of *Yuashi* to paint their bodies. There was no previously mentioned noun phrase with blood in the discourse, but the presence of blood is understood from the context of the killing (with arrows).

*nā āwē ñmīmē xeraixeraishiki*

*nā āwē ibi =N =mē xeraish- xe- raish*  
 DEM.ANA 3SG.POSS blood =INS =GIVEN REDUP.REPEAT tooth- IDEO:rub  
*ik -i*  
 AUX.ITER -IPFV

‘With the blood of this one (*Yuashi*), they stained (lit. rubbed) their beaks.’  
 (TN.MRR.Yuashi.0615.line 269)

- b. CONTEXT: Some women have harvested some ears of ripe corn. Returning from the fields, an older women tells her daughter-in-law that she plans to make *humita*, and begins to process the corn. The corn is mentioned explicitly in the preceding discourse.

*xiki pachimē disai “ris ris ris”*

*xiki pachi =mē disa -i ris ris ris*  
 maize soft =GIVEN grate -IPFV IDEO:grate IDEO:grate IDEO:grate

‘(She) was grating the corn “ris ris ris”.’  
 (TN.MRR.Aya ñūshīwu.0597.line 109)

- c. CONTEXT: A man goes to get a traditional surgeon to help his wife, who is in labor. After he has been gone a while, she complains that he isn't returning fast enough. The husband's leaving is mentioned explicitly in the preceding discourse.

wede kaadumē, “aree, awetĩāruku uchakaimē”

wede ka = a = du = mē aree awetĩā = ruku u  
 husband go = PFV.SUB = DS = GIVEN EXCLAM when = CNTEXP come  
 -chaka -i = mē  
 -bad -IPFV = INTERR

‘After her husband had gone, (she said) “Oh, when will he finally be returning?” ’ (TN.MRR.Xuya ñũshĩwu.0091.line 8)

- d. CONTEXT: A man neglected his wife, a Clay Spirit, and she has melted in the rain while he was distracted fishing. He returns home alone.

askadumē, shĩmā pewewāĩdi, kadikia, ares wisti kadikia

aska = a = du = mē shĩmā pe- we -wāĩd  
 do.like.so = PFV.SUB = DS = GIVEN fish back- bring -AM:go.doing.TR  
 -i ka -di = kia a -res wisti ka -di = kia  
 -IPFV go -PST6 = REP 3SG -ONLY only go -PST6 = REP

‘And after that, (he) went carrying the fish, he left, they say, he left by himself, they say.’ (TN.MRR.Bapu ñũshĩwu.0132.line 113)

Infrequently, Yaminawa speakers use an enclitic =*nũ* that appears to introduce new information or a topic change, as in (335). This morpheme is not yet well understood.

- (335) a. CONTEXT: A man is stuck up in a tall tree, where he meets an Oropendola bird. She tells him a little about their home, then the conversation turns to her husband, who was not mentioned in their prior conversation.

ẽwedenũ nātiwixũ yawa aki wuawu

ẽ- wede = nũ nātiwi = xũ yawa ak -i wu -a  
 1SG.POSS husband = NEW everyone = TR peccary AUX.TR -IPFV go.PL -PFV  
 = wu  
 = PL

‘(As for) my husband, (he) went with everyone else to kill peccaries.’  
 (TN.MRR.Isku ñũshĩwu.0060.line 167)

- b. CONTEXT: Two women are going to inform their relatives that their husband, a Squirrel Spirit, has collected a large amount of maize for them to eat.

*nã ãwĩwu rawemẽ wuwiwu, nã dukuwedenũ atuwe kai*

*nã            ãwĩwũ   rawe = mẽ      wu      = ai            = wu (= du) nã*  
 DEM.ANA woman two = GIVEN go.PL = IPFV.SUB = PL (= DS) DEM.ANA  
*dukuwede = nũ    atu = we    ka -i*  
 man            = NEW 3PL = COM go -IPFV

‘When the two women were leaving, the man (the Squirrel Spirit) went with them.’ (TN.MRR.Kapa ñũshĩwu.0043.lines 222-3)

## C.9 Multi-clause morphosyntax

This section describes the syntax of multi-clause constructions in Yaminawa, including direct speech (section C.9.1), switch reference and other temporal adjuncts (section C.9.2), relativization (section C.9.3), purpose and reason constructions (section C.9.4), and complement clauses (section C.9.5).

Multi-clause utterances are frequent in Yaminawa, and a single grammatical sentence may consist of a large number of clauses. The sentences in (336) provide two examples of naturally produced utterances with a large number and wide variety of clause types.

- (336) a. *ãtũ*, “yua taxushta da mĩ akai keskawaki, yua taxushta nũ wadanũ, ea yua taxushta wistishta ea ñnãpe,” waiwudu, yua taxu riskiriskiatã, nã ãwẽ wishpi adu nã kãitiru adu riskiriskiatã, nã wuwai kãiwudu, “dakĩã, sabañĩwũwãdibakai”

*ãtũ      yua    taxu   -shta da            mĩ            ak            = ai            keska*  
 3PL.ERG yuca stick -DIM DEM.PROX 2SG.NOM AUX.TR = IPFV.SUB like  
*-wa        -ki    yua    taxu   -shta nũ            wada -nũ    ea            yua    taxu   -shta*  
 -VBLZ.TR -NF yuca stick -DIM 1PL.NOM plant -OPT 1SG.ACC yuca stick -DIM  
*wisti -shta ea            ñnã   -pe            wa    = ai            = wu = du yua    taxy*  
 one -DIM 1SG.ACC give -IMPER.POL say = IPFV.SUB = PL = DS yuca stick  
*riski-                    riski                    = ak            = tã, nã            ãwẽ            wishpi*  
 REDUP.REPEAT- IDEO:scratch AUX.TR = IPE DEM.ANA 3SG.POSS eyebrow  
*= adu nã            kãĩ   -tiru    = adu riski-                    riski                    = ak*  
 = LOC DEM.DEF exit -POT = LOC REDUP.REPEAT- IDEO:scratch = AUX.TR  
*= tã    nã            wuwa -i      ka    = ai            = wu = du da            = kãĩã*  
 = IPE DEM.ANA grow -IPFV go = IPFV.SUB = PL = DS DEM.PROX = EXIST  
*saba                    -ñĩwũwãd -i            = ba            = kai*  
 take.a.while -INCEP            -IPFV = NEG = CONTR

‘When they said “Dude, just like you plant yuca, we are also going to plant sticks of yuca, please give me a stick of yuca, even if it is just one,” he would

scratch the yuca stick on the nodes, right where the leaf sprouts, and after scraping where it was sprouting, (he would say) “here it is; it won’t take long (to grow).” ’ (TN.MRR.Yuashi.0615.line 17)

- b. kaxũmẽ, urixũ wai resutaixũmẽ pĩshĩ witã, pĩshĩ wawãĩki, payati waki, payati wawãixũ, mã akiki

ka = xũ                      = mẽ      uri                      = xũ      wai    resutai = xũ  
 go = SS.PE.A/S > A = GIVEN over.there = LOC.TR path edge = LOC.TR  
 = mẽ      pĩshĩ                      wi      = tã      pĩshĩ                      wa      -wãĩ  
 = GIVEN newly.sprouted.leaf take = IPE woven.mat make = CIRC:all.day  
 = ki      payati wa      = ki      payati wa      -wãĩ                      = xũ  
 = SS.SIM fan      make = SS.SIM fan      make = CIRC:all.day = SS.PE.S > A  
 mã      ak      -i      = ki  
 already AUX.TR -IPFV = ASSERT

‘After she left, she gathered the newly sprouted leaves (of *shebón* palms) there to the side of the path, and then she was making woven mats all day, she was making fans, and after she made fans all day, she was doing this.’ (TN.PGF.Riwi.0129.line 70)

In (336a), there are nine clauses (ten if one takes into account that the main verb ‘he said’ is not explicit). This utterance involves two instances of embedded direct speech, the first of which is in-situ between the subject and verb, despite the fact that it is composed of three clauses itself. There are also different subject clauses and temporal adverbial clauses marked with the immediately prior event marker = *tã*. In (336b), there are six clauses, all, except the final main verb, marked with either same subject markers or the immediately prior event marker.

### C.9.1 Direct speech

In Yaminawa, only direct speech constructions are used to report speech; there are no attested indirect speech strategies. Direct speech is highly frequent in both the traditional narrative corpus and in the conversational corpus. In many cases quoted speech is introduced performatively, as independent clauses that are not syntactically subordinated, as in (337) line 2.

- (337) 1. pidkia peres peres peres

pi -di      =kia    peres                      peres                      peres  
 eat -PST6 = REP IDEO:eat.fruit IDEO:eat.fruit IDEO:eat.fruit

‘It was eating, they say, monch monch monch.’

(Example continues on next page)

2. “mã uaki”

*mã u -a =ki*  
already come -PFV = ASSERT

“He’s here now,” (he (the man) said).

3. *wĩ utatã, pia wiakewũwãtã, pĩã akadũ, adũ pakedi*

*wĩ uta =tã pia wi -ake -wuwad =tã*  
latex light.on.fire =IPE arrow take -AM:circular -AM:laterally.TR = IPE  
*pia =N ak =a =du adũ pake -di*  
arrow =INS AUX.TR = PFV.SUB =DS *majás* fall -PST6

‘He lit his latex torch, grabbed his bow and arrows from his side, and when he shot it with an arrow, the *majás* fell.’ (TN.MML.Adu ñũshĩwu.0204.lines 13-16)

Direct speech in Yaminawa may be introduced by any verb of speaking, such as the verb *wai* ‘say’, the semantically-bleached intransitive auxiliary *iki* ‘say, be’, or more semantically rich verbs like *yui* ‘inform’ or *widi* ‘cry speaking’. (338) provides examples of direct speech introduced by the verbs *wai* ‘say’, *iki* ‘say, be’, and *widi* ‘cry speaking’, respectively.

(338) a. “ea ãnũ wãrã pĩãwãpĩãwadi, ě xuu watãnũ, mã,” ãwĩ wadikia

*ea adũ =N wãrã pĩãwã- pi -ã -wad*  
1SG.ACC *majás* =ERG pumpkin REDUP.REPEAT eat -MAL -AM:come.and.do  
*-i ě xuu wa -tad -nũ*  
-IPFV 1SG.NOM hunting.blind make -AM:go.do.and.return -OPT  
*mã ãwĩ wa -di =kia*  
INTERJ:my.dear wife say -PST6 = REP

‘“A *majás* keeps coming to eat my pumpkins; I’m going to go make a hunting blind, my dear,” he said to his wife.’ (TN.MML.Adu ñũshĩwu.0204.line 4)

b. “ia, ě aska waikũiki,” *iki*

*ia ě aska wa -i -kũĩ =ki ik -i*  
okay 1SG.NOM like.that do -IPFV -INTENS = ASSERT AUX.ITR -IPFV

“‘Okay, I will do exactly that,” she said.’  
(TN.MML.Wupa ñũshĩwu.0297.line 73)



c. pui widikiki, “ẽwẽ puishta,” pui widiki

*pui widi -kid =ki ẽwẽ pui -shta pui*  
 sibling cry.speaking -COM.APPL = SS.SIM 1SG.POSS sibling -DIM sibling  
*widi =ki*  
 cry.speaking = SS.SIM

‘She cried with her brother, “my sibling!” while (his/her) sibling cried.’  
 (TN.MML.Isu.0204.line 40)

Direct quotes are also frequently introduced by the quotative enclitic =*ra* (not to be confused with the epistemic uncertainty enclitic =*ra* discussed in section C.8.3), as in the examples in (339). Notice in (339a), that speech reports are also used to represent thoughts.

(339) a. CONTEXT: A husband has asked his wife why she closed up the house so early in the afternoon.

*ia, nũkũ wake rãnã kãshĩ resẽnãtirura ixũ, ẽ aka*

*ia nũkũ wake rãnã kashi =N re- seda -N -tiru =ra*  
 okay 1PL.POSS child various bat =ERG nose- bite -MAL -POT =QUOT  
*ik =xũ ẽ ak -a*  
 AUX.ITER = SS.PE.A/S > A 1SG.NOM AUX.TR -PFV

‘Okay, I did it (closed the house) after thinking that a bat might bite our children on the nose.’ (TN.MML.Adu ñũshĩwu.0204.line 96)

b. ẽwẽ wakeraiki ea yudaxũwira, ẽ bia waanũĩ

*ẽwẽ wake =raiki ea yuda -xud -wi -i =ra*  
 1SG.POSS child =DUB2 1SG.ACC have.fever -BEN -FRUST -IPFV =QUOT  
*ẽ bia wa =a =nũĩ*  
 1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC say =PFV.SUB =EXIST

‘Even though I told you myself that my child had a fever...’  
 (TN.MRR.Yuashi.0615.line 77)

As the examples above demonstrate, direct speech is most frequently introduced before verb of speaking like *wai* ‘say’ or *iki* ‘say, be’. Infrequently, direct speech follows the verb of speaking, as in (340).

(340) dukutushikãxũ, ẽ batu yuia diwu ñũshĩwãwẽ ea pikerada

*duku -tushi -kad =xũ ẽ batu yui*  
 arrive -AM:do.upon.arrival -PL.NF = SS.PE.A/S > A 1SG.NOM 2PL.ACC inform  
*-a diwu ñũshĩwãwẽ ea pi -kerad -a*  
 -PFV forest.dweller spirit.ERG 1SG.ACC eat -almost -PFV

‘When we arrived, I told y’all that a forest spirit almost ate me.’  
 (TN.MRR.Diwu ñũshĩ.0615.line 152)

### C.9.2 Switch-reference and temporal adjuncts

Temporal adjunct clauses in Yaminawa expone limited TAM categories in comparison to main clauses. Verbs in temporal adjunct clauses may not take any position 12 suffixes (see the description of the verbal template in C.6).<sup>206</sup> The most frequently used strategy for forming temporal adjuncts in Yaminawa is to use one of the set of switch reference enclitics, markers which indicate temporal relationships between clauses as well as whether the identity of the subject in the subordinate clause is the same as or different to the subject of the following clause (see van Gijn (2016) for a survey of switch reference in Western South America). The switch reference enclitics are summarized in C.25; the non argument-tracking enclitics are provided in C.26.

Table C.25: Switch reference enclitics in Yaminawa

form	gloss	argument relationship	aspectual relationship
= <i>du</i> ~ = <i>nũ</i>	DS	different subject	event (fully or partially) overlapping with following/main clause when marked with subordinate imperfective = <i>ai</i> ; event prior to following/main clause when marked with subordinate perfective = <i>a</i>
= <i>ki</i>	SS.SIM	same subject	simultaneous with following/main clause
= <i>yãñã</i>	SS.SIM2	same subject	simultaneous with the following/main clause
= <i>ax</i>	SS.PE.A/S > S	same subject; following/main clause intransitive	prior to following clause
= <i>xũ</i>	SS.PE.A/S > A	same subject; following/main clause transitive	prior to following clause
= <i>tũ</i> ~ = <i>wãwẽ</i>	A/S > P.IPFV.SG ~ A/S > P.IPFV.PL	subject of marked clause is object of following (transitive) clause	may only be used with subordinate imperfective aspect = <i>ai</i> ; simultaneous to following/main clause
= <i>kẽ</i>	A/S > P.PFV	subject of marked clause is object of following (transitive) clause	prior to the following/main clause

<sup>206</sup>The exception to this rule is the position 12 tense suffix *-ita* PST3 ‘a few days ago’, which infrequently co-occurs with different subject marking (see the end of section C.9.2.1).

Table C.26: Non-argument-tracking temporal enclitics

form	gloss	aspectual relationship
= <i>tã</i>	IPE	immediately prior to the following/main clause
= <i>xa = ki</i>	LAPSE	lapse of time between the events of the clauses; may be prior or posterior

### C.9.2.1 Different subject marking

The different subject switch reference marker The different subject marker = *du* must always follow either the imperfective = *ai* (used only in subordinate clauses) or the perfective = *a* (identical to the form of the perfective in main clauses). A clause marked for imperfective aspect and different subject is interpreted as being simultaneous (or at least partially overlapping) with the event in the following clause, as in (341).

- (341) a. CONTEXT: An extended family has just successfully rescued their sister who was abducted years ago by monkey spirits. On the way home, they stop to bathe in a river, when the monkey spirits return and abduct her again.

*mã da wai wututaiadu nũ dashiaidu, iwinãshtawākadi*

*mã da wai wutu -tai =adu nũ dashi =ai*  
 already DEM.PROX path descend -always = LOC 1PL.NOM bathe = IPFV.SUB  
 = **du** *iwi -nã -shta -wad -kad -i*  
 = DS take.person -MAL -DIM -AM:come.do.and.return -IPFV

‘Right here in the port while we were bathing, they came to take her away.’  
 (TN.MML.Chai Kushi Wewadi.0219.line 230)

- b. CONTEXT: A grandmother is babysitting her small grandchild.

“ẽwã!” *eaikaidu*, “*deri uwe, deri uwe, deri uwe, deri uwe,*” *wadikia, ãwẽ chĩchĩ*

*ewa =N ea ik =ai =du deri u -we*  
 mother = VOC IDEO:cry AUX.ITER = IPFV.SUB = DS over.here come -IMPER  
*deri u -we deri u -we deri u -we wa*  
 over.here come -IMPER over.here come -IMPER over.here come -IMPER say  
*-di =kia ãwẽ chichi =N*  
 -PST6 = REP 3SG.POSS maternal.grandmother = ERG

‘When (the baby) was crying “mama”, its grandmother would say “come here, come here”.’ (TN.PGF.Riwi ñũshĩwu.0129.line 57)

- c. CONTEXT: A woman is cooking peccary meat while her husband waits to be fed.

yawa kũiaidu, “uuj, wakapa adiwu kedaxũwē!”

yawa kũĩ = ai = **du** uuj wakapa adiwu keda  
 peccary boil = IPFV.SUB = DS EXCLAM:hey brother.in.law old.man call  
 -xud -wē  
 -BEN -IMPER

‘While the peccary boiled, (she said) “hey, call your old brother-in-law for me”.’ (CN.MRR.Isku ñũshĩwu.0060.line 247)

When different subject clauses are marked with the perfective = *a*, the event of the marked clause is interpreted as complete prior to the start of the event of the following clause, as in example (342).<sup>207</sup>

- (342) a. CONTEXT: An old shaman gave two *pijuayo* seeds from the afterlife to his daughter, who has planted them near her home.

wadaanũ, mã wuwaidai

wada = *a* = *ñũ mã* wuwa -ida -i  
 sow = PFV.SUB = DS already grow -AM:upward.ITR -IPFV

‘After she planted (them), (they) were growing up already.’  
 (TN.MML.Yura ñũwē dai mērã kadi.0388.line 87)

- b. CONTEXT: A group of children, the only survivors of a massacre, are sneaking one by one into an disused plantain field to gather food there.

deduri wetsa kaadu, westi chiruwudikia

dedu = *ri* wetsa ka = *a* = *du* westi chiru -wu  
 here = toward other go = PFV.SUB = DS one go.behind -AM:go.doing  
 -di = *kia*  
 -PST6 = REP

‘After another one went over here, one went following, they say.’  
 (TN.MML.Ruawu dawawu.0261.line 133)

Because the subjects in the marked and following clauses are different, the different subject marker may also be preceded by the plural subject marking enclitic = *wu* to indicate number of the subject of the marked clause, as in (343). As the examples below show, plural subject marking may occur with either perfective or imperfective aspect.

<sup>207</sup>Note that the different subject marker takes the form of = *du* in Yaminawa and Sharanahua (as well as for some Nahua speakers), and takes the form = *ñũ* for some Nahua speakers, as seen in (342a) For speakers who use both forms, they appear to be in free variation.

- (343) a. CONTEXT: Two men are trying to kill the evil *Īnāwā Xadu* ‘Grandmother Jaguar’ with their axes.

*Īnāwā xadu apaiaiwudu, “tuj”, dayabai*

*īnāwā xadu ak -pai = ai = wu = du*

Grandmother Jaguar AUX.TR -DESID = IPFV.SUB = PL = DS

*tuj da -yaba -i*

IDEO:axe.impact die -NEG -IPFV

‘While they tried to kill Grandmother Jaguar, (striking her with their axes) “tuj”, she wouldn’t die.’ (TN.TYW.Īnāwā xadu.0283.line 158)

- b. CONTEXT: A description of the difference between killing game meat, which humans then eat, versus killing humans, who are only eaten by vultures.

*reteawudu, xētē piripiribis*

*rete = a = wu = du xete = N piri- pi -ri -bis*

kill -PFV.SUB = PL = DS vulture = ERG REDUP.REPEAT- eat -ITER -HABIT

‘After they kill (them), the vultures always eat (the bodies).’

(TN.MRR.Xukuxukuika ñūshīwu.0141.line 219)

In general, the different subject marker is not used with any tense marking or other markers from the position 12 finite TAM markers (see section C.6.4). However, in the speech of some Sepahua Yaminawa dialect speakers, the different subject marker may occur with the past tense marker *-ita* (PST.3: ‘a few days ago’), as in (344). Co-occurrence with switch reference marking is not attested with any other TAM markers from verbal template position 12, and *-ita* is not attested with the same subject markers (section C.9.2.2) or other temporal adjunct enclitics (section C.9.2.4).

- (344) a. *mā wede daitadu, āwī eaiki, “ēwē wedeshtape”*

*mā wede da -ita = du āwī ea = ik -i ēwē*

already husband die -PST3 = DS wife IDEO:cry = AUX.ITER -IPFV 1SG.POSS

*wede -shta = pe*

husband -DIM = IMPER.POL

‘After (her) husband had died a few days prior, the wife was crying, “my dear husband”.’ (TN.MLGA.Xete ñūshīwu.0258.line 2)

- b. ...*mā askaitadu, mā sabakeaidu, pui kaki...*

*mā aska -ita = du mā sabake = ai = du pui*

already like.that -PST3 = DS already be.awhile = IPFV.SUB = DS defecate

*-i ka = ki*

-IPFV go = SS.SIM

‘...And after that happened a few days prior, after a little while had passed, he was going to defecate, when...’ (TN.MRR.Pui wake.0141.line 89)

In the traditional narrative, contemporary narrative, and conversation corpora, there are only eight instances of the recent past tense *-ita* co-occurring with different subject marking, three of which are repetitions. These tokens were all produced by Yaminawa women over the age of 60 from two different families, indicating that this construction may have been more prevalent in the past.

### C.9.2.2 Same subject marking

There are four same subject switch reference markers: *=ki* (simultaneous), *=yānā* (simultaneous), *=ax* (prior event, following clause intransitive), and *=xū* (prior event, following clause transitive). The same subject simultaneous marker *=ki* is used when the subject of the marked clause is the same as the subject of the clause that follows, and the events described are wholly or partially overlapping, as in (345).

(345) a. *āwē wake rawe mā dashibaki sharawaa*

*āwē wake rawe mā dashi -bad =ki shara -wa -a*  
3SG.POSS child two already bathe -CAUS =SS.SIM good -vblz.tr -PRF

‘While making her two children bathe, he cleaned them up.’  
(TN.MML.Awa ñūshīwu.0183.line 89)

b. *iyawāiki, “mā!” āwī kedabiskia*

*iya -waid =ki mā āwī keda*  
carry.on.back -AM:do.and.go.TR =SS.SIMULT EXCLAM:dear wife call  
*-bis =kia*  
-HABIT =REP

‘As he went with it (the game animal) on his back, he called to his wife, “dear!”’ (TN.MML.Adu.ñūshīwu.0204.line 20)

c. *nā īsūi kaki wichidikia*

*nā īsū -i ka =ki wichi -di =kia*  
DEM.DEF urinate -IPFV go =SS.SIMULT find -PST6 =REP

‘While he was going to urinate, he found it.’ (TN.MRR.Yuashi.0615.line 196)

The enclitic *=yānā* also indicates a simultaneous activity or action by the same subject, as in (346). This enclitic is infrequent in the naturalistic corpus, with just eight tokens in the traditional narrative corpus and only one in the conversation corpus.<sup>208</sup>

<sup>208</sup>The enclitic *=yānā* is much more frequent in elicitation targeting simultaneous events specifically; in fact, it is far more frequent than the same subject simultaneous enclitic *=ki*.

(346) a. uxayabayāñā, pedadikia

*uxa -yaba =yāñā peda -di =kia*  
 sleep -NEG = SS.SIMULT2 be.morning -PST6 = REP

‘He couldn’t sleep, and the sun came up, they say.’ (Lit. ‘While he wasn’t sleeping, the sun rose, they say.’) (TN.MML.Īsū wake widi.0406.line 33)

b. pia wayāñā, “ua ede ea wixūtāpe,” wadikia, wēñē

*pia wa =yāñā ua ede ea wi -xud*  
 arrow make = SS.SIMULT2 DEM.DIST water 1SG.ACC get -BEN  
*-tad -pe wa -di =kia wede =N*  
 -AM:go.do.and.return -IMPER.POL say -PST6 = REP husband = ERG

‘While making arrows, her husband said, “go get me some of that water, please.”’ (TN.MRR.Kapa ñūshīwu.0043.line 507)

It is not clear at this time what conditions the use of *=yāñā* over *=ki*. Lord (2016) describes the imperfective same subject markers in Nahua as consisting of *-i* with intransitive main clauses, *-kī* with transitive main clauses, and *-yāñā* when the transitivity is unspecified (p.82).<sup>209</sup>

The same subject prior event markers have two forms. The enclitic *=ax* is used for clauses where the A or S argument of the marked clause corresponds to the S argument of the following (intransitive) clause, as in (347). The enclitic *=xū* is used for clauses where the A or S argument of the marked clause corresponds to the A argument the following (transitive clause), as in (348).

(347) a. nāskax, yudax, dadikia

*nāska =ax yuda =ax da -di =kia*  
 do.like.that.ANA = SS.PE.A/S > S have.fever = SS.PE.A/S > S die -PST6 = REP

‘After doing just like that, after having a fever, she died, they say.’  
 (TN.MLGA.Xete ñūshīwu.0258.line 88)

b. ñāpā karu peweax idaidi

*ñāpā karu pe- we =ax ida -idi -i*  
 ocho.mollaco wood back- carry = SS.PE.A/S > S climb -AM:upward -IPFV

‘He put the *ocho mollaco* wood on his back and was climbing up.’  
 (TN.MML.Tīkã.0261.line 10)

<sup>209</sup>In the same section, Lord (2016) describes the perfective same subject markers as consisting of *-ax* with intransitive main clauses, *-xū* with transitive main clauses, and *-tā* when the transitivity is unspecified. The corpus used for this description shows *=tā*, which I analyze as an enclitic, not a suffix, to be used in either same- or different-subject contexts, as discussed in section C.9.2.4.

(348) a. wãĩ pĩchãxũ, pipitiadiwu

*wari* = *N* *pĩchã* = *xũ* *pi-* *pi* -*tiad* -*i* = *wu*  
 sun = INS cook = SS.PE.A/S > A REDUP.REPEAT- eat -FREQ -IPFV = PL

‘After cooking it in the sun, they always ate it (like that).’

(TN.MRR.Yuashi.0615.line 38)

b. awa ruawaxũ, widi

*awa rua* -*wa* = *xũ* *wi* -*di*  
 tapir bother -VBLZ.TR = SS.PE.A/S > A get.together.with -PST6

‘After bothering the tapir (calling it to make it take human form), she got together with it.’ (TN.MML.Awa ñũshĩwu.0183.line 3)

### C.9.2.3 Subject-is-object marking

Yaminawa also has a set of switch reference markers that are used when the subject (S or A relation) of the marked clause is the object (P relation) of the following (or main) clause. These enclitics take different forms depending on the aspect of the marked clause and whether the subject is singular or plural. In imperfective aspect, the clause must always be marked with the subordinate imperfective = *ai*, and takes distinct allomorphs with singular subjects, = *tũ*, versus plural subjects = *wãwẽ*, as shown in examples (349a-c). Notice that in (349a) and (349c), = *tũ*/= *wãwẽ* tracks an A to P relation, whereas (349b) and (349d) show tracking of an S to P relation.

(349) a. pĩawãpĩawadaitũ, ěwẽ wẽnẽ awa

*pĩawã-* *pi* -*ã* -*wad* = *ai* = *tũ*  
 REDUP.REP- eat -MAL -AM:come.and.do = IPFV.SUB = A/S > O.IPFV.SG  
*ẽwẽ* *wede* = *N* *ak* -*wa*  
 1SG.POSS husband = ERG AUX.TR -PST1

‘When it (the *majás*) repeatedly came to eat (the pumpkins), my husband killed it.’ (TN.MML.Adu ñũshĩwu.0204.line 55)

b. isu weukākãitiwĩaitũ, adaitipãnã

*isu* *weu* -*kākãĩ* -*ti* -*wi* = *ai*  
 spider.monkey hug.branch -CONT.ITR.SG -? -FRUST = IPFV.SUB  
 = *tũ* *adaiti* -*pãnã*  
 = A/S > O.IPFV.SG finish -IMPED

‘Even though the spider monkeys (en masse) were still running about in the tree, (I) didn’t manage to finish them off.’

(TN.MRR.Diwu ñũshĩ.0615.line 125)



c. *ẽwẽ epashta retei kaiwãwẽ ãĩaskadi*

*ẽwẽ epa -shta rete -i ka = ai = wãwẽ ãĩ*  
 1SG.POSS father -DIM kill -IPFV go.SG = IPFV.SUB = A/S > O.IPFV.PL see  
*-aska -di*  
 -like.so -PST6

‘When (they) were killing my father, (we) saw (them) like this.’  
 (Conv.MML + LAW + MMS.0538)

d. *aska, ñũrã ãtũ wakewu kexea, dashiaiãwãwẽ...*

*aska yura = N ãtũ wake = wu kexe -a dashi*  
 like.so person = ERG 3PL.POSS child = PL take.care.of -PFV bathe  
*= ai = wãwẽ*  
 = IPFV.SUB = A/S > O.IPFV.PL

‘So, a person watched their children while they (the children) bathed.’  
 (TN.MML.Ede mẽrã ñũshĩwu.0406.line 31)

The perfective subject-is-object marker = *kẽ* is far less frequent than its imperfective counterparts in the corpus. In Lord (2016), = *kẽ* is described as a suffix that functions analogously to the imperfective forms discussed above, but which is also sensitive to whether the context is realis or irrealis (p.102). Unlike the imperfective markers, = *kẽ* may combine with forms that already bear finite verbal morphology.<sup>210</sup> In fact, = *kẽ* only seldom occurs directly cliticized to the verb stem, as in (350a-b), or to a non-verbal predicate, as in (350c).<sup>211</sup>

(350) a. *ãnã ukẽ, ãĩkãki*

*ãnã u = kẽ ãĩ -kad -ki*  
 again come = A/S > O.PFV -PL.IPFV -IPFV

‘When he comes again, they will see him.’  
 (TN.MML.Nã ñũshĩwu.0247.line 147)

b. *ñaskakẽ nũ tãpĩa*

*ñaska = kẽ nũ tãpĩ -a*  
 do.like.so.ANA = A/S > O.PFV 1PL.NOM know -PFV

‘It (the sun) was like that and we knew (about) it.’  
 (TN.JRR.Wari.0050.line 124)

<sup>210</sup>These cases do not appear to have an argument tracking function; rather, = *kẽ* on fully-inflected verb forms is only attested as a reason clause strategy (see section C.9.4) in the corpus used for this description.

<sup>211</sup>Note that neither the traditional narrative, contemporary narrative, nor conversational corpus yield an instance of = *kẽ* tracking an A to P relation on a bare transitive verb stem (i.e., one that is not marked with finite morphology, as in example (350)). Lord (2016) does not provide such an example, either. Future elicitation will be necessary to determine whether speakers accept such forms and whether they interpret them as argument tracking.

c. *mĩ wakeshtakẽ, nũ bia wedashtadi*

*mĩ*        *wake -shta =kẽ*        *nũ*        *bia*        *weda*        *-shta -di*  
 2SG.NOM child -DIM = A/S > O.PFV 1PL.NOM 2SG.ACC search.for -DIM -PST6

‘When you were a little girl, we looked for you.’

(TN.MML.Chai Kushi Wewadi.0219.line 181)

The subject-is-object marking enclitics described above only track argument relations when the following or main clause is transitive and has a P relation (object) available. When the following or main clause is intransitive, as in (351), or when the object relation in the following or main clause is already occupied by an overt element, as in (352), the subject-is-object marked clause is interpreted as a reason clause without argument tracking between clauses.

(351) a. *aũ baupubedikia, ui ichapa weaitũ, uikia*

*a*        *=ũ*        *ba-*        *upu*        *-be*        *-di*        *=kia*        *ui*        *ichapa*        *we*        *=ai*  
 3SG = INS head- cover -REFL -PST6 = REP rain much come.PL = IPFV.SUB  
*=tũ*        *ui*        *=kia*  
 = REAS.IPFV rain = REP

‘(She) covered her head with it (a leaf), they say, because there was a lot of rain coming, rain, they say.’ (TN.MRR.Bapu ñũshĩwu.0132.line 96)

b. *chakabiskẽ ãwẽ awuba sãitiruwuba*

*chaka -bis*        *=kẽ*        *ãwẽ*        *awu*        *=ba*        *sã*        *ik*        *-tiru*        *=wu*  
 bad -HABIT = REAS 3SG.POSS relative = NEG cry AUX.ITER -POT = PL  
*=ba*  
 = NEG

‘Since he has habitually been bad, his non-relatives can’t cry (when he dies).’  
 (From Lord (2016:p.106)<sup>212</sup>; orthography and morphological analysis normalized to be consistent with the conventions used in this description)

(352) a. *dukuwede wãrã pãwãpãwadaitũ, xuu wadikia, ãwẽ wãrã adu*

*dukuwede wãrã*        *pãwã-*        *pi*        *-ã*        *-wad*        *=ai*  
 man        pumpkin REDUP.REPEAT eat -MAL -AM:come.and.do = IPFV.SUB  
*=tũ*        *xuu*        *wa*        *-di*        *=kia*        *ãwẽ*        *wãrã*        *=adu*  
 = REAS.IPFV.SG hunting.blind make -PST6 = REP 3SG.POSS pumpkin = LOC

‘It (the majás) was repeatedly coming to eat the pumpkins to the man’s detriment, so he (the man) made a hunting blind, where his pumpkins were.’  
 (TN.MML.Adu ñũshĩwu.0204.line 2)

<sup>212</sup>No clear example of a subordinate clause marked with *=kẽ* occurring with an intransitive main verb was found in the corpus for this description.

b. *ẽ aduxũ achakanũĩ ea mãĩ uduxũ wakewãwẽ mũshãtirukẽ*

*ẽ a =adu =xũ ak -chaka -a =nũĩ ea bai*  
 1SG.NOM 3SG =LOC =TR AUX.TR -BAD -PFV =NEW 1SG.ACC ground  
 =N *udu =xũ wake =wãwẽ busha -N -tiru =kẽ*  
 =INS there =TR child =ERG.PL shatter -MAL -POT =REAS

‘I made (the pots) here, because over there the children might shatter them on the ground to my detriment.’ (TN.MRR.Bapu ñũshĩwu.0132.line 18)

Section C.9.4 describes additional purpose and reason clause strategies in Yaminawa. Note that the forms =*tũ* and =*wãwẽ* also appear in relativization, as described in section C.9.3.

In Lord (2016), the subject-is-object markers are described in the same way as above for Nahua, with a focus on the argument tracking uses. In the corpus used for this description, which includes both Sepahua Yaminawa and Nahua speech, the reason clause use appears to be the most common use of these enclitics, followed by relativization, and then least frequently the switch-reference argument tracking use. Each of these interpretations is more syntactically restricted than the one before, with the reason clause interpretation being available in nearly all uses, and the argument tracking interpretation only being available where the main verb is transitive and has an available object relation. However, there are many bridging contexts that connect these various uses, for example, utterances like (353) appear to have all three available. For this example, I provide the free translation as it was produced by a consultant (different than the speaker) while reviewing the text. I have also provided three distinct English translations (my own) with the example below, each showing a different possible interpretation of the use of the enclitic =*tũ*: as marking a reason clause, as marking a relative clause, and as marking a switch reference clause, respectively.

(353) *awa ñũshĩwu mẽ reteweradiki, ea chutapaiaitũ*

*awa ñũshĩwu -Ø mã ẽ rete -werad -i =ki*  
 tapir spirit -ABS now 1SG.NOM kill -AM:do.and.come -IPFV =ASSERT  
*ea chuta -pai =ai =tũ*  
 1SG.ACC have.sex -DESID =IPFV.SUB =S/A>O.IPFV.SG

SPANISH: ‘Yo he matado a la sachavaca porque me ha querido hacer.’  
 (translation by LAW)

ENGLISH: ‘I am coming from having killed the tapir spirit because he tried to have sex with me.’

OR

ENGLISH: ‘I am coming from having killed the tapir spirit, who tried to have sex with me.’

OR

ENGLISH: ‘I am coming from having killed the tapir spirit, when he was trying to have sex with me.’

(TN.MML.Awa ñũshĩwu.0183.line 65)

#### C.9.2.4 Non-argument-tracking temporal relation enclitics

Yaminawa also has a set of temporal adjunct enclitics which do not encode relationships between the arguments of a dependent clause and the following clause. An inventory of the temporal adjunct enclitics of Yaminawa is given in the bottom portion of table C.25. These enclitics are incompatible with the switch reference markers.

The most frequent of the temporal adjunct enclitics is *=tã*, which indicates that the marked clause occurred immediately prior to the following clause. The subject is often, but not necessarily, the same. Example (354) provides some instances where *=tã* is used across clauses with the same subject, and example (355) provides some instances where it is used across clauses with different subjects. Instances where the subjects are different are very infrequent, but this appears to be due to the semantics and pragmatics of the immediate prior event marker (it is more often the case that the actions of a single actor be communicated as immediately preceding or following than the actions of multiple actors), and not due to a grammatical restriction.

- (354) a. *ãwẽ udi wẽtsã bapu witã, aya ichudikia*

*ãwẽ udi wetsa =N bapu wi =tã a =ya ichu -di =kia*  
3SG.POSS person other = GEN head take = IPE 3SG =with run -PST6 =REP

‘He grabbed his brother’s head and took off running with it, they say.’  
(TN.MML.Uxe.0183.line 104)

- b. *wĩ utatã, pia wiakewũwãtã, pĩã akadu, adu pakedi*

*wĩ uta =tã pia wi -ake -wuwad =tã pia =N*  
latex light = IPE arrow grab -AM:circular -AM:lateral.TR = IPE arrow = INS  
*ak =a =du adu pake -di*  
AUX.TR = PFV.SUB = DS *majás* fall -PST6

‘He lit the latex torch, raised his bow and arrow from his side, and after he shot it, the *majás* fell.’ (TN.MML.Adu ñũshĩwu.0204.line 16)

- (355) a. *pedatã, wuidi wukadi*

*peda =tã wu -idi -i wu -kad -i*  
be.morning = IPE go.PL -AM:upward -IPFV go.PL -PL.IPFV -IPFV

‘When it was morning, they were going up(hill).’  
(TN.MRR.Yuashi.0615.line 245)

- b. *dedu xuu watã, nã dedu kashta*

*dedu xuu wa =tã nã dedu kashta*  
here hunting.blind make = IPE DEM.ANA here armadillo

‘He made a hunting blind here, and the armadillo was right here.’  
(TN.MLGA.Shedipawãwẽ kashta ñũshĩwu widi.0258.line 41)

The immediate prior event enclitic *=tã* is not attested with any TAM markers, but it is attested with the imperfective/non-finite plural suffix *-kad*, as shown in (356).

(356) a. *ea pãrãkãtã, wuriwuribiswu*

*ea pãrã -kad =tã wuri- wu -ri -bis =wu*  
 1SG.ACC deceive -PL.NF = IPE REDUP.REPEAT- go.PL -ITER -HABIT = PL

‘They deceive me and they always leave.’

(TN.MML.Wupa ñũshĩwu.0297.line 5)

b. *mãmã ayakãtã, bisi pikãtã, wudiwukia*

*mãmã aya -kad =tã bisi pi -kad =tã wu -di =wu =kia*  
*chicha* drink -PL.NF = IPE *humita* eat -PL.NF = IPE go.PL -PST6 = PL = REP

‘They drank *chicha*, ate *humita*, and left, they say.’

(TN.MML.Isu.0406.line 65)

Another frequent temporal adjunct enclitic is =*xaki* which indicates that there is a lapse of time between two events. The event may have occurred either before or after the reference time, and the enclitic only indicates that there was a lapse of time between the two events. Unlike the immediate prior event enclitic, the lapse enclitic =*xaki* may co-occur with tense or aspect marking. The examples in (357) show the enclitic in contexts where it indicates a prior event, including past tense marking. In (358), the enclitic is shown in contexts where it indicates an event that occurred later, including (modified) future tense marking. It is far more frequent that =*xaki* marks a prior event. Note that in most examples, clauses indicating prior events also precede the clause describing the next event, and in =*xaki*-marked clauses that indicate following events, the clause generally also follows the clause describing a preceding event (i.e., there is temporal iconicity in the ordering of the clauses).

(357) a. *da isku wakeshta wichitaxaki, isku wakeshta wipaiyuadu, ea duibisbatũ eki teu xatea*

*da isku wake -shta wichi -ita =xaki isku wake -shta wi*  
 DEM.PROX *paucar* child -DIM find -PST3 = LAPSE *paucar* child -DIM take  
*-pai -yu =a =du ea dui -bis =ba =tũ e*  
 -DESID -DO.FIRST = PFV.SUB = DS 1SG.NOM love -HABIT = NEG = ERG 1SG  
*=ki teu xate -a*  
 = LAT ladder cut -PFV

‘After (I) had seen this baby *paucar* (Crested Oropendola, *Psarocolius decumanus*), I wanted to take the baby *paucar*, then my enemy cut down my ladder from me.’ (TN.MRR.Isku ñũshĩwu.0060.line 161)

b. *ẽ pupu dikabisxaki, ẽ ua*

*ẽ pupu dika -bis =xaki ẽ u -a*  
 1SG.NOM owl hear -PERF = LAPSE 1SG.NOM come -PFV

‘After having heard an owl (a sign of visitors or people near), I came.’

(TN.MML.Ruawu dawawu.0261.line 169)

- c. kee, nã yuduwbixaki, ãnã yuduyabai

kee                      nã              yudu -wi      -bis      =xaki      ãnã      yudu -yaba  
 EXCLAM:how.bad DEM.ANA work -FRUST -HABIT =LAPSE again work -NEG  
 -i  
 -IPFV

‘How unfortunate, even though he had been a hard worker before, he couldn’t work anymore.’ (TN.MRR.Wuipapi.0141.line 71)

- (358) a. ã batuwe kanũ yawaya uwaixaki

ã              batu      =we      ka -nũ      yawa      =ya      u      -waiyabea =xaki  
 1SG.NOM 2PL.ACC =COM go -OPT peccary =POSS come -FUT1      =LAPSE

‘I’ll go with y’all, and later we’ll bring back peccary.’  
 (TN.MML.Tua ñũshĩwu.0388.line 15)

- b. da pedatã, kayui kaibakai, da shawatã, kawaixaki

da              peda      =tã      ka -yu      -i      ka -i      =ba      =kai  
 DEM.PROX morning =IPE go -do.first -IPFV go -IPFV =NEG =CONTRAST  
 da              shawa      =tã      ka -waiyabea =xaki  
 DEM.PROX sunrise =IPE go -FUT1      =LAPSE

‘Today, I’m still not going to go, tomorrow I will go.’  
 (TN.MRR.Rũnũwã ñũshĩwu.0132.line 71)

It is not known why the use of the enclitic =xaki causes longer tense markers like -yabea PST4 ‘weeks to months ago’ and -waiyabea FUT1 ‘tomorrow’ to shorten to only their first two syllables as in the examples above, but it is likely that this is an effect of metrical phonology that remains to be investigated more fully.

The enclitic =xaki also causes plural marking to occur outside of its normal position. The plural marker used with =xaki is =kad, which splits the morpheme =xaki, as in (359).

- (359) a. adu piamãkĩ, mã yabe piwaxakãki, ãwĩwãwẽ piamãkĩ wẽnã

adu      pi      -a      =ba      =kĩ      mã      yabe      pi      -wa      =xa      -kad  
 majás eat -PFV =NEG =ASSERT already night eat -PST1 =LAPSE<sub>1</sub> -PL.NF  
 =ki      ãwĩwãwẽ      pi      -a      =ba      =kĩ      wẽnã  
 =LAPSE<sub>2</sub> woman.ERG eat -PFV =NEG =ASSERT early

‘She hadn’t eaten the majás (lowland paca, *Cuniculus paca*) because they had eaten before in the night, and the woman hadn’t eaten early.’  
 (TN.MML.Adu ñũshĩwu.0204.line 30)

b. aka dawara ixũ, pibisxakāki...

aka dawa =ra ik =xũ pi -bis =xa  
 well other.tribe = QUOT AUX. ITR = SS.PE.A/S > A eat -HABIT = LAPSE<sub>1</sub>  
 -kad =ki  
 -PL.NF = LAPSE<sub>2</sub>

‘Well, having believed that they were people (another tribe), they didn’t start eating them until later.’ (TN.MRR.Xukuxukuika ñũshĩwu.0141.line 234)

### C.9.3 Relativization

Relative clauses are much less frequent in natural speech than switch reference clauses.<sup>213</sup> Same-subject and subject-is-object switch reference markers appear to assume much of the functional load of subject and object relativization.<sup>214</sup>

Relative clauses in Yaminawa are internally headed, and subjects of both intransitive and transitive verbs may be relativized, as the sentences in (360) demonstrate. Heads of simple relative clauses like the following are generally internal to the relative clause and receive ergative or absolutive case within it. The relative clause as a whole is then marked for absolutive (null) or ergative (= *tũ*) case. (360a) shows an absolutive subject relativized as an absolutive subject, (360b) shows an ergative subject relativized as an absolutive subject, (360c) shows an absolutive subject relativized as an ergative subject, and (360d) shows an ergative subject relativized as an ergative subject. In each of these examples, the head of the relative clause is the first element in the clause.

(360) a. ua wake uxa nẽāiki

[ ua wake = Ø uxa =a ] = Ø nẽā ik -i  
 DEM.DIST child = ABS sleep = PFV.SUB = ABS IDEO:snore AUX. ITR -IPFV

‘That child who is asleep (lit. fell asleep) is snoring.’ (E.RGR.0252)

b. wake eaikaitũ āwẽ uchi beei

[ wake = Ø ea ik =ai ] = tũ āwẽ uchi  
 child = ABS IDEO:cry AUX. ITR = IPFV.SUB = ERG 3SG.POSS older.brother  
 = Ø bee -i  
 = ABS hit -IPFV

‘The child who is crying is hitting his older brother.’ (E.DGR.0257)

<sup>213</sup>In the first 500 clauses of the story *Yuashi* by María Ramírez Ríos, there are only seven instances of relative clauses, versus 61 instances of argument-tracking switch reference clauses.

<sup>214</sup>Indeed, it is difficult to consistently elicit relative clauses through translation from Spanish to Yaminawa.

c. dukuwēñē āwē dupe tekea dashi

[ dukuwede =N āwē dupe =Ø teke =a ] =Ø dashi  
 man =ERG 3PL.POSS machete =ABS break =PFV.SUB =ABS bathe  
 -i  
 -IPFV

‘The man who broke his machete is bathing.’ (E.RGR.0266)

d. ua dukuwēñē waba reteatũ ea ãĩ

[ ua dukuwede =N waba =Ø rete =a ] =tũ  
 DEM.DIST man =ERG alligator =ABS kill =PFV.SUB =ERG  
 ea ãĩ -i  
 1SG.ACC see -IPFV

‘That man who killed the alligator is looking at me.’ (E.DGR.0326)

A third person pronoun may optionally occur outside the relative clause, as in (361).<sup>215</sup>

(361) a. a wake uxa nēãiki

a [ wake =Ø uxa =a ] =Ø nēã ik -i  
 3SG child =ABS sleep =PFV.SUB =ABS IDEO:snore AUX.ITER -IPFV

‘The child that is asleep is snoring.’ (E.JMRS.0259)

b. a pãxtã yua piatũ wake keyua

a [ paxta =N yua =Ø pi =ai ] =tũ wake =Ø keyu  
 3SG dog =ERG yuca =ABS eat =IPFV.SUB =ERG child =ABS bite  
 -a  
 -PFV

‘The dog that is eating yuca bit the child.’ (E.JMRS.0259)

Relative clauses may also lack an overt head altogether, as in (362).

(362) ea duibisbatũ eki teu xatea

[ ea dui -bis =ba ] =tũ e =ki teu =Ø xate -a  
 1SG.ACC love -HABIT =NEG =ERG 1SG =LAT ladder =ABS cut -PFV

‘(The one) who hates me cut down my ladder.’  
 (TN.MRR.Isku ñũshĩwu.0060.line 158)

<sup>215</sup>Only some speakers do this, and only some of the time – it is possible that this *a* is actually functioning as a demonstrative (there appears to be significant dialectal variation in the demonstrative inventories of languages in the Yaminawa dialect complex), or that speakers otherwise include it in utterances elicited from Spanish sentences with relative clauses to more closely match the structure (e.g., “*el niño que...*” “the child who...”, “*el perro que...*” “the dog that...”).



In the relative clauses in the examples above, the basic word order remained the same as that which is typical of main clauses: SV or SOV. When the head of a relative clause is the object of that clause, as in (363), it is typically placed first, causing the order within the relative clause to be OSV. The elements within the relative clause are still assigned case within that clause, and the relative clause as a whole receives case within the main clause, as above.

(363) ua paxta kapepã keyuatũ yua pii

[ ua paxta =  $\emptyset$  kapepa = N keyu = a ] = tũ yua =  $\emptyset$  pi  
DEM.DIST dog = ABS alligator = ERG bite = PFV.SUB = ERG yuca = ABS eat  
-i  
-IPFV

‘That dog that was bitten by an alligator is eating yuca.’ (E.DGR.0083)

Object relative clauses may occur in situ, as in (364).

(364) a. ua pãxtã wãkẽ yua pi ai keyua

ua paxta = N [ wake = N yua =  $\emptyset$  pi = ai ] =  $\emptyset$   
DEM.DIST dog = ERG child = ERG yuca = ABS eat = IPFV.SUB = ABS  
keyu -a  
bite -PFV

‘That dog bit the child that is eating yuca.’ (E.RGR.0252)

b. a pãxtã takara wadai beei

a paxta = N [ takara =  $\emptyset$  wada = ai ] =  $\emptyset$  bee -i  
3SG dog = ERG chicken = ABS sing = IPFV.SUB = ABS hit -IPFV

‘The dog bites the chicken that was singing.’ (E.JMRS.0259)

In other cases, especially where relative clauses serve as objects, the relative clause may occur before the subject as in (365a), post-verbally as in (365b), or the relative clause may occur post-verbally, with the head in situ, as in (365c).

(365) a. dukuwẽnẽ yuduai ã ãĩã

[ dukuwede = N yudu = ai ] =  $\emptyset$  ã { } ãĩ -a  
man = ERG work = IPFV.SUB = ABS 1SG.NOM see -PFV

‘I saw the man who is working.’ (E.MML.0075)

b. ã ãĩã ãwĩwu dashia

ã { } ãĩ -a [ ãwĩwu =  $\emptyset$  dashi = a ] =  $\emptyset$   
1SG.NOM see -PFV woman = ABS bathe = PFV.SUB = ABS

‘I saw the woman who bathed.’ (E.MML.0075)

c. *ẽ saweti pãtsãi ẽwẽ wẽnẽ waxtea*

*ẽ*            *saweti* =  $\emptyset$     *pãtsã -i*    [*ẽwẽ*        *wede*        = *N*    { } *waxte*  
 1SG.NOM clothes = ABS wash -IPFV    1SG.POSS husband = ERG        tear  
 = *a*            ] =  $\emptyset$   
 = PFV.SUB       = ABS

‘I am washing the clothes that my husband tore.’ (E.LAW.0086)

Data from elicitation on the accessibility hierarchy (see Comrie 1989:pp.155-163), specifically translations of Spanish relative clause constructions to Yaminawa, yields highly inconsistent data. It is not clear how (indirect) objects of ditransitives, genitives, and obliques can be relativized in Yaminawa. The more complexity that an utterance has, the more likely speakers are to resort to a non-relative strategy like switch reference, or a pair of juxtaposed sentences. No such relativizations have been identified in the traditional narrative corpus, and only subject and object relativizations are presently attested. Relativization is a domain of Yaminawa grammar that merits considerable future study.

#### C.9.4 Purpose and reason clauses

In this description, purpose clauses are taken to be those clauses which elaborate on the unrealized or desired outcome resulting from the realization of the main clause, and reason clauses are taken to be those clauses which elaborate on the already causes or reasons that, if realized, would result in the main clause. Some syntactic strategies for these semantic ends have already been introduced earlier in this description. Section C.6.6 describes the use of the verb *kai* ‘go’ to introduce purposes. Section C.9.2.3 on subject-is-object switch reference markers describes their function as marking reason clauses when the main clause is intransitive or when the P relation (object) of the main clause is already saturated.

Two additional strategies for forming purpose clauses are the use of the optative suffix *-nũ*, and the use of the non-finite suffix *-ki*. Purpose clauses formed with the optative suffix *-nũ* appear to be syntactically independent, as clauses with verbs inflected with *-nũ* may stand alone in other contexts (see section C.6.4). When it accompanies an imperative clause, either following or preceding, optative clauses typically have purposive semantics, as in (366).

(366) a. *ẽpã, nã ea wexũpe, ẽ wadanũ*

*epa*        = *N*    *nã*            *ea*            *we*    *-xud -pe*            *ẽ*            *wada*  
 father = VOC DEM.ANA 1SG.ACC bring -BEN -IMPER.POL 1SG.NOM plant  
*-nũ*  
 -OPT

‘Father, please bring me it, so I can plant it.’

(TN.MML.Yura ñũwẽ dai mērã kadi.0388.line 58)

- b. ea wākāwā idibaxūnū, nūkū epashta wetsa ea īnāwē

ea wākāwā idiba -xud -nū nūkū epa -shta wetsa  
 1SG.ACC sister.in.law.ERG be.happy -BEN -OPT 1PL.POSS son -DIM other  
 ea īnā -wē  
 1SG.ACC give -IMPER

‘Give me one of our sons, so that your sister-in-law will be happy with me.’  
 (TN.MRR.Isku ñūshīwu.0060.line 267)

Purpose clauses formed with the non-finite suffix typically occur after the main clause, as in (367). The non-finite suffix frequently co-occurs with the imperfective future -xi, as in (367b).

- (367) a. mē batu atsa pīchāxūaki, pikāki

mā ē batu atsa pīchā -xud -a =ki, pi -kad -ki  
 already 1SG.NOM 2PL.ACC yuca cook -BEN -PRF = ASSERT eat -PL -NF

‘I cooked yuca for y’all to eat.’ (TN.MML.Awa ñūshīwu.0204.line 56)

- b. ē yabi witānū, rerayuxiki

ē yabi wi -tad -nū rera -yu -xi  
 1SG.NOM axe get -AM:go.do.and.return -OPT fell.tree -DO.FIRST -FUT.IPFV  
 -ki  
 -NF

‘I’m going to get an axe, to go ahead and fell trees.’  
 (TN.MML.Īsū wake widi.0406.line 39)

There is a homophonous enclitic =ki that marks reason clauses, but this enclitic requires that the verb be finite, as in (368a), or it may be directly marked on non-verbal predicates as in (368b). The other strategies used to form reason clauses are all drawn from the subject-is-object switch reference markers (see section C.9.2.3).

- (368) a. udu mī epa kadiki, katāwē

udu mī epa ka -di =ki ka -tad -wē  
 there 2SG.POSS father go -PST6 = REAS go -AM:go.do.and.return -IMPER

‘Get going, because your father went that way.’  
 (TN.TYW.Īnāwā xadu.0283.line 115)

- b. ia, ē bia iyui kanū, ē āwīyabaki

ia ē bia iyui -i ka -nū ē āwī =ya  
 okay 1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC take.person -IPFV go -OPT 1SG.NOM wife = POSS  
 =ba =ki  
 =NEG =REAS

‘Okay, I’m going to take you (to my home), because I do not have a wife.’  
 (TN.MML.Bataxta ñūshīwu.0388.line 23)

### C.9.5 Complement clauses and juxtaposition

Aside from many of the subordinate clause types described in sections C.9.1 through C.9.4 (direct speech introduced with the quotative =*ra*, switch reference, relativization, and purpose and reason clauses), other clause combining strategies do not appear to involve any morphology indicating subordination. This section briefly describes complements to verbs of perception, and two cases of clausal juxtaposition: frustratives and conditionals.

One of the most frequently encountered types of complement clauses (aside from unmarked direct speech reports, see section C.9.1), are those introduced by verbs of perception such as *ũĩ* ‘see’ or *dikai* ‘hear’. These clauses are introduced without any special morphology indicating subordination, as in (369). Unlike quoted speech, complement clauses of this type typically follow the verb that introduces them.

(369) a. *awērāki ũia āwē chii xikitibea*

*ak -werad =ki ũĩ -a āwē chii xikitibe*  
 AUX.TR -AM:do.and.come.TR =SS.SIMULT see -PFV 3SG.POSS fire be.lit  
 -a  
 -PFV

‘While they were coming to kill him, they saw that his fire was lit.’  
 (TN.MRR.Yuashi.0615.line 233)

b. *wari keyakũĩadukia dikaskadikia udi wetsawu kaxekadi, dashikadi “jee jee jee jee!”*

*wari keya -kũĩ =a =du =kia dika -aska -di =kia*  
 sun be.tall -INTENS =PFV.SUB =DS =REP hear -like.this -PST6 =REP  
*udi wetsa =wu kaxe -kad -i dashi -kad -i jee jee jee jee*  
 sibling =PL play -PL.IPFV -IPFV bathe -PL.IPFV -IPFV ha ha ha ha

‘When it was midday (lit. ‘the sun was very high’), she heard like this that her siblings were playing, bathing “ha ha ha ha!”’  
 (TN.PGF.Riwi ñũshĩwu.0129.line 71)

Frustrative-marked clauses, formed by affixing *-wi* to the verb, may occur independently, indicating that the eventuality denoted by the verb was not realized successfully or that the desired or anticipated result was not achieved (see section C.6.4), but frustrative clauses also frequently occur juxtaposed with a second clause that describes the actual result, as in (370).

(370) a. *wadawiawu, wuwayabai*

*wada -wi -a =wu wuwa -yaba -i*  
 sow -FRUST -PFV =PL sprout -NEG.NF -IPFV

‘Even though they planted it, it would never grow.’  
 (TN.MRR.Yuashi.0615.line 27)

- b. da Wuipapi mǎ asapaiwia, baa, tsuatsi asai

da            Wuipapi mǎ      asa    -pai    -wi      -a    baa tsua    = tsi  
 DEM.PROX Wuipapi already drown -DESID -FRUST -PFV no   no.one = GUESS  
 asa      -i  
 drown -IPFV

‘He wanted to drown this Wuipapi (a forest gnome who attached itself to his leg), but no, no one could drown it.’ (TN.MRR.Wuipapi.0141.line 82)

Conditional constructions are formed by combinations with a clause marked with the conditional verbal suffix *-kerad*, which may occur independently with semantics indicating that the eventuality denoted by the verb was nearly or almost realized (see section C.6.4). Conditional constructions may involve the juxtaposition of two otherwise independent clauses as in (371a), or they may involve a subordinate switch-reference clause combined with a conditional-marked main clause, as in (371b).

- (371) a. āwē upuxkunē wakeshta tekea, ubiskūikerada

āwē            upuxku = nē    wake -shta teke    -a    ubiskūi    -kerad -a  
 3SG.POSS ankle    = LOC child -DIM injure -PFV have.pity -COND -PFV

‘If the child had injured herself on her ankle, (one) would have had a lot of pity.’ (Conv.MML + JMRS.0517)

- b. ēwē āwī diadu, ē bia wipaikeradaba

ēwē            āwī di      = a      = du ē            bia      wi    -pai    -kerad -a  
 1SG.POSS wife stand = PFV = DS 1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC take -DESID -COND -PFV  
 = ba  
 = NEG

‘If my wife were still alive, I wouldn’t try to get together with you.’  
 (TN.MLGA.Wedeuba rawe.0300.line 21)

While my current understanding, based almost entirely off morphological evidence, is that these types of constructions consist of simple juxtaposition of clauses, further research into the syntax of these constructions may reveal that they involve types of subordination not yet identified in Yaminawa. For example, in some other Panoan languages, such as Shipibo (Valenzuela 2003b) and Kakataibo (Zariquiey 2018a), certain subordinate clause types are limited in their ability to take second position clitics. Such restrictions are not immediately evident in Yaminawa, but a thorough investigation of these, as well as other topics, is outside the scope of this preliminary description.

## Appendix D

### Affectively neutral speech: mundane agricultural talk

Affective stances manifest themselves in all interactions, but they are more prominent in some interactions and less prominent in others. One type of talk in Yaminawa that is typically not highly affectively expressive is talk about agriculture. Certainly this talk may be highly affective, for example, when criticizing a neighbor who does not participate in communal work, relating details about an unfortunate accident, or when describing the pursuit and capture of a delicious game animal while clearing fields. This section aims to provide a baseline for the reader to compare against the affective styles presented in chapters 5 through 7, as well as to exemplify the transcription conventions which can be found in the front matter of this dissertation. The following examples of agricultural talk come from four members of the same residence group, the social unit most relevant to the organization of day-to-day agricultural work.

In the following example, José Manuel Ramírez (JMRS) and his brother-in-law Juan Gómez (JnGR) discuss the topic of animals that they may find when clearing and burning fields that season, in particular the prospect of finding tortoises, and where they may be concentrated.

(372) 1. JMRS: *mã kuuwaiyabea ayer, al día siguiente* |*kaxũ, mã wichikeraita*|  
A A

*mã kuu -waiyabea ayer al día siguiente ka = xũ,*  
already burn -PST2 yesterday the.next.day go.SG = SS.PE.A/S > A  
*mã wichi -kera -ita*  
already find -COND -PST3

‘(The field) was burned yesterday, if they went the following day, they would have found it.’

*(Example continues on next page)*

2. JnGR: |<sub>A</sub>ahh, ah, aa|<sub>A</sub> wedaki sharawax nũ wechi |<sub>B</sub>rete<sub>B</sub>|

*weda -ki shara -wa = ax nũ wechi -i rete -a*  
 search -NF clean = VBLZ.TR = SS.PE.A/S > S 1PL.NOM find -IPFV kill -PFV

‘ahh, looking while we clean up we will find it dead.’

3. JMRS: |<sub>B</sub>ahã|<sub>B</sub>(.6)

4. JnGR: wedaki sharawax (.8)

*weda -ki shara -wa = ax*  
 search = INF clean = VBLZ.TR = PFV.SUB = SS.PE.A/S > S

‘looking while we clean up’

5. JMRS: xawewuruku mẽ dedu wu|<sub>C</sub>i|<sub>C</sub>

*xawe = wu = ruku mã ã dedu wu -i*  
 tortoise = PL = CNTEXP already 1SG.NOM here take -IPFV

‘Maybe I’ll take some tortoises here.’

6. JnGR: |<sub>C</sub>sí|<sub>C</sub>

‘yeah’

7. JMRS: chaibashtawu

*chai -ba -shta = wu*  
 far -NEG -DIM = PL

‘they’re close by’

8. JnGR: ay da, deduriri aa Pochitonã ãwẽ arus

*da dedu = ri = ri Pochito = nã ãwẽ aros*  
 DEM.PROX here -ADD = toward Pochito = GEN 3SG.POSS rice

‘this, umm, over here, too, Pochito’s rice (field)’

9. JMRS: mmhmm

10. JnGR: *al frente* ãw- chiku *Rosapã* bae aduri

*al frente chiku Rosa = pã bae = adu = ri*  
 in.front younger.sister Rosa = GEN field = LOC = toward

‘In front of her- over by my younger sister Rosa’s field’

(Example continues on next page)

11. JMRS: |hh|  
D D

12. JnGR: |sepa|ki nāduri wetsa nū wechita nātsi ūnūri wetsari  
D D

*sepa =ki nā =adu =ri wetsa nū wechi -ita*  
clear =SS.SIMULT DEM.ANA =LOC =toward other 1PL.NOM find -PST3  
*nā -tsi udu =N =ri wetsa =ri*  
DEM.ANA -GUESS there =LOC? =toward other =ADD

‘clearing over here we found one, and, whatsit, over there we found another one, too’

13. JnGR: hh (2.1)

14. JnGR: nā, viverowu chaiba, aka vivero waa aduri (1.1)

*nā vivero =wu chai =ba aka vivero wa -a =adu*  
DEM.ANA nursery =PL far =NEG so.then nursery build -PFV =LOC  
*=ri*  
=toward

‘this one, the nurseries aren’t far, so then, over toward where the nurseries were built...’

15. JMRS: *vivero?*

‘the nursery?’

16. JnGR: awia- (1.1) *proyecto wabis*

*a -wi -a proyecto wa -bis*  
AUX.TR -FRUST -PFV project DO -NOMZ.HABIT

‘even though- the ones who are doing the project’

17. JMRS: ājā

‘uhuh’

18. JnGR: ājā, nāduri aduax

*ājā nā =adu =ri =adu =ax*  
uhuh DEM.ANA =LOC =toward =LOC =SRC.STR

‘uhuh, over here, from here’

19. JMRS: ya ya |ya|  
E E

‘okay, okay, okay’

(Example continues on next page)



20. JnGR: | $\underset{E}{\tilde{a}}\underset{E}{j}\tilde{a}$ |, aka, mm yaba bae aduri

*ājā aka yaba bae =adu =ri*  
uhuh so.then EXIST.NEG field =LOC =toward

‘uhuh, so, umm, there’s not any over by the field.’

21. JMRS: ia

‘okay’  
(Conv.JMRS + JnGR.0541)



In the above example, both speakers use modal voicing throughout the excerpt, and a slow to moderate rate of speech. Speech where all of the participants are men is underrepresented in the corpus, but my general impression is that men speak more slowly with fewer overlaps and longer pauses than women. The overlaps evident in this excerpt involve backchannels only, not bids for the turn. The structure of the backchannels is typically acoustically minimal: *ājā* ‘uhuh’ and the like. There are only two points where significant pauses are seen. The first set of pauses occur in lines 3 and 4 as José Manuel transitions from mild disappointment over his disappeared quarry to mild hopefulness about the possibility of finding roasted tortoises in the freshly burnt fields, at the encouragement of Juan. The second group of significant pauses occurs between lines 12 and 16. In line 12, Juan forgets the word for ‘nursery’ (*vivero*) and takes a long (2.1s) pause in line 13 as he recalls it. He uses the word twice in line 14, then pauses again, for 1.1s at which point José Manuel takes a turn in line 15 and asks what a *vivero* is. After a false start and a 1.1s pause, Juan finds a way to explain it. The excerpt ends with José Manuel acknowledging understanding of the location that Juan is referring to.

In the following example, Jose Manuel Ramírez and his wife María Miranda Llergo discuss the possibility of buying peanuts to plant and wonder where they might be able to buy the seeds. I (KCN) was a co-participant in this interaction, and I started this particular topic by informing José Manuel and María that a neighbor was planning to plant peanuts (*tàbà*) that summer.

(373) 1. KCN: *taba wadapai*

*taba wada -pai -i*  
peanut sow -DESID -IPFV

‘he wants to plant peanuts’

2. MML: *taba*

*taba*  
peanut

(Example continues on next page)

3. JMRS: ta- ta|ba|  
<sub>A A</sub>

*taba*

peanut

4. KCN: |mhm| (.4)  
<sub>A A</sub>

5. MML: uu|u|  
<sub>B B</sub>

6. JMRS: |ee|, ã |semilla|  
<sub>B B C C</sub>

*ẽ semilla-*

1SG.NOM seed

‘I– seeds–’

7. MML: |nũri|wi taba duitiru, |wadaki|  
<sub>C C D D</sub>

*nũ =riwi taba dui -tiru wada -ki*

1PL.NOM -ADD peanut like -POT sow -NF

‘We would also like some peanuts to plant.’

8. JMRS: |nũ, ã semilla| aya|ba ta|ba semil|la  
<sub>D D E E E E</sub>

*nũ ã semilla a =ya =ba taba semilla*

1PL.NOM 1SG.NOM seed 3SG =POSS =NEG peanut seed

‘we, I don’t have any seeds, peanut seeds’

9. MML: |ta-| |nũ ayaba|, (.3) |tsua aya|  
<sub>E E F F G G</sub>

*nũ a =ya =ba tsua a =ya*

1PL.NOM 3SG =POSS =NEG someone 3SG =POSS

‘we don’t have any, someone has them’

10. JMRS: |nãska| (.6)  
<sub>G G</sub>

*nãska*

like.that.ANA

‘so it is’

11. MML: udua nũ witruba rakikia? (.6)

*udu =a nũ wi -tiru =ba =rakikia*

there =SRC 1PL.NOM get -POT =NEG =MAYBE

‘Couldn’t we maybe get them from there?’

(Example continues on next page)

12. JMRS:  $n\tilde{u}$  witi $\underset{H}{|}$ ru $\underset{H}{|}$

$n\tilde{u}$          $wi$  - $tiru$   
1PL.NOM get -POT

‘we could get them’

13. MML:  $\tilde{a}$  $\underset{H}{|}$ , kuua chakabiswu (.4)

$kuu$  - $a$      $chaka$  - $bis$         =  $wu$   
burn -PFV bad    -HABIT = PL

‘they already burned it up’

14. JMRS: rakiawi, rakia, rak $\underset{I}{|}$ i $\underset{I}{|}$

$raki$     =  $a$     =  $wi$          $raki$     =  $a$      $raki$   
where =SRC =SUBJ.FOC where =SRC where

‘from where, from where, where?’

15. MML:  $pu$  $\underset{I}{|}$ eblo $\underset{I}{|}$  adu (.9)

$pueblo$  =  $adu$   
town    = LOC

‘in town’

16. JMRS:  $pueblo$  aduba

$pueblo$  =  $adu$  =  $ba$   
town    = LOC = NEG

‘not in town’

17. MML: tsua aya $\underset{J}{|}$ ba, tsua $\underset{J}{|}$

$tsua$          $a$     =  $ya$     =  $ba$      $tsua$   
someone 3SG =POSS =NEG someone

‘no one has them, no one’

18. JMRS:  $uu$  $\underset{J}{|}$   $r\tilde{a}$  $\underset{JK}{|}$   $n\tilde{r}a$  $\underset{K}{|}$

$r\tilde{a}n\tilde{r}$         =  $ra$   
where = DUB1

‘ooh, where (could we get them)?’  
(Conv.JMRS + MML.0517)



This interaction is slightly more affectively expressive than the previous one, and the timing of turns, pauses, and overlapping speech is likewise different. In this example, as in the following one, we see that the interaction of married couples involves shorter pauses and more overlap. After the topic of ‘peanut planting’ is established in the first 5 lines, José Manuel has a false start in line 6 (trying to say that he does not have peanuts), and María raises her pitch in line 7 when she expresses her desire to plant peanuts too (this positive evaluation shares some acoustic features with expressions of affection, discussed in section 7.2). In lines 7 through 10, María and José Manuel have significant amount of simultaneous speech, particularly in lines 8 and 9 in their declarations that they don’t have seeds. Lines 11 and 12 return to a more neutral affect with modal voice (though María’s pitch only drops from around 280 Hz in line 7 compared to 270Hz in line 11) and no simultaneous speech, when María asks where the seeds may be found and José Manuel says it’s possible to get them. In lines 13 and María’s affect shifts to a negative evaluation of the recent burning of a fallow field that may have had some peanut plants: her pitch drops very low, with a slight creak, and remains low in line 15 where she responds to her husband’s question as to where the burning was. Notice where her previous affect was more positive, there was more overlap, and where the evaluation turns negative there are more salient pauses. There is a long, .9s pause as José seems to think about where María is referring to in town. José’s pitch remains moderate in his response in line 16 that there are not peanuts in town and María expresses her disappointment that no one has peanuts by maintaining low pitch in line 17. The exchange closes with José Manuel wondering aloud where they can be found.

In the following example Juan Gómez (JnGR) and his wife Teresa Ramírez (TYW) tell me (KCN) about their plans for the planting season. Teresa believes that it will be easy to find cacao seeds to buy, but her husband disagrees. This conversation is very similar in affective tone as the previous exchange, though Juan and Teresa tend to speak more slowly and with more pauses, but also overlap more, often partial repetitions of each other’s words.

(374) 1. TYW: chipu ěwě yua ě wadaxĩ

*chipu ěwě            yua ě            wada = ax                            = kĩ*  
 later 1SG.POSS yuca 1SG.NOM sow = SS.PE.A/S > S = ?

‘after I’ve planted my yuca...’

2. JnGR: |yua|, yua taxu

*yua yua taxu*  
 yuca yuca stick

‘yuca, sticks of yuca’

*(Example continues on next page)*

3. TYW: |yua|<sub>A</sub>, yua wadatã (.7)

yua yua wada = tã  
yuca yuca sow = IPE

‘once I’ve planted my yuca,’

4. TYW: aska, (.7) chaxu rēxūwĩ āwē exe (.6)

aska chaxu rēxūwĩ āwē exe  
so.then cacao 3SG.POSS seed

‘then, the cacao seeds’

5. TYW: rānĩ|<sub>B</sub>ra aduara, rā|<sub>B</sub>nĩra aduara |wituruwu ě dikai|<sub>C</sub>ta

rānĩ =ra =adu =a =ra rānĩ =ra =adu =a =ra  
where =DUB1 =LOC =SRC =DUB1 where =DUB1 =LOC =SRC =DUB1  
wi -tiru =wu ě dika -ita  
get -POT =PL 1SG.NOM hear -PST3

‘where was it, where was it that I heard they can be gotten?’

6. JnGR: |muy difícil|<sub>B</sub> |we- wekaxkũĩ nũ wechitiruba|<sub>C</sub>

muy difícil wekax -kũĩ nũ wechi -tiru =ba  
very difficult annoy -INTENS 1PL.NOM find -POT =NEG

‘it’s very difficult, so annoying, we can’t find them’

7. KCN: mhmm

8. TYW: |wechitiru|<sub>D</sub>, ti rānĩri ěwē raisĩ yuita aska

wechi -tiru ti rānĩ =ri ěwē raisi =N yui  
find -POT EXCLAM:oh! where =ADD 1SG.POSS male.in.law =ERG tell  
-ita aska  
-PST3 like.so

‘we can find them, where was it my brother-in-law said?’

9. JnGR: |nũ wechitiruba|<sub>D</sub>

nũ wechi -tiru =ba  
1PL.NOM find -POT =NEG

‘we can’t find them’

(Example continues on next page)

10. JnGR: *pues después va |a conseguir chipu, chipu| nũ |wechi|tiru*  
<sub>E</sub> <sub>E</sub> <sub>F</sub> <sub>F</sub>

*pues después va a conseguir chipu chipu nũ wechi -tiru*  
 well.then after get.FUT.PROX after after 1PL.NOM find -POT

‘well, then after he gets them, afterwards we can find them’

11. TYW: *|wii, nũ witiru|*  
<sub>E</sub> <sub>E</sub>

*wi -i nũ wi -tiru*  
 get -IPFV 1PL.NOM get -POT

‘we’ll get them, we can get them’

12. TYW: *|chipu| wechi- chaxu rēxũwĩ |exe|* (.6)  
<sub>F</sub> <sub>F</sub> <sub>G</sub> <sub>G</sub>

*chipu wechi chaxu rēxũwĩ exe*  
 after find cacao seed

‘afterward (we can) find some cacao seeds’

13. JnGR: *|mm|*  
<sub>G</sub> <sub>G</sub>

14. TYW: *da, da, wãrĩ cacaoal wakadi ã dikaita, (.3) êkawiri kapaixiki (.4)*

*da da wari =N cacaoal wa -kad -i ã dika -ita*  
 this this sun =INS cacao.field make -PL.IPFV -IPFV 1SG.NOM hear -PST3  
*ẽ -ka =wi =ra a -pai -xiki*  
 1SG.NOM -? =ADD =DUB1 AUX.TR -DESID -FUT.IPFV

‘this, this, they’re letting the cacao field dry (in the sun), I heard, and I want to do the same’

15. TYW: *ẽwẽnã ikaspayabai ẽwẽ wakewunã mẽ daadu, wakewunã*

*ẽwẽ =nã i -kaspá -yaba -i ẽwẽ wake =wu*  
 1SG.POSS =GEN AUX.ITR -DESID.NEG -NEG -IPFV 1SG.POSS child =PL  
*=nã mã ẽ da =a =du wake =wu =nã*  
 =GEN already 1SG.NOM die =PRF.SUB =DS.PE child =PL =GEN

‘mine don’t want to not do it, it will be my children’s, when I die, it will be my children’s (field)’

16. JnGR: *mmm*  
 (Conv.JnGR + TYW.0520)



This interaction, as the previous ones, mostly consists of speech with a modal voice quality, mid-range pitch, and moderate rate. The first four lines of the exchange are particularly slow and repetitive as Teresa and Juan verbally walk me through the first stages

of their plans for the planting season: to plant Teresa's yuca, and then (hopefully) a sizeable cacao field.<sup>216</sup> In line 5, Teresa's rate quickens and volume increases as wonders aloud where she seeds can be gotten, and Juan's line 6, an evaluation of the difficulty of getting them, remains moderate in rate, low in volume, and has a slight falling intonational contour consistent with negative evaluations (see chapter 6). In line 8, Teresa's pitch increases with mild affection as she mentions her brother-in-law having told her where they are available. The subsequent lines 9-12 slow and return to a mid-range pitch as Juan and Teresa come to agreement that they can look for seeds later. In these lines we see a number of points of overlapping speech consisting of repeated material from Juan's repetition of the root *wéchi* 'find' in line 9, to Teresa's translation of *conseguir* in Spanish to Yaminawa *wî* 'get' in line 11, and her repetition of *chìpù* 'later' in line 12. After the pause following line 12, Teresa continues to explain her plans with the same moderate rate with significant pauses that she used in the opening lines of the example.

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<sup>216</sup>Teresa and Juan were highly successful in this endeavor.